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ARTICLE XI.

A STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF NOUN-INFLECTION IN THE VEDA.

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THE treatment of the inflective forms of any Indo-European tongue requires a division of the subject into two: the verb, and the noun. Each of these, again, is bipartite: the one part deals with the formation of word-stems; the other, with the suffixes of inflection.

For the language of the Veda, three of these four chapters have been made the object of special systematic investigation: the first, or mode and tense-stems, by Delbrück, in his book *Das Altindische Verbum* (Halle, 1874), p.83 ff.; the second, or verb-inflection in a narrower sense, by the same scholar, *ibidem*, pp.23-78; the third, by Lindner in his *Altindische Nominalbildung* (Jena, 1878); a careful working out of the fourth, or noun-inflection in the Veda, has become a desideratum. This I now attempt to supply.

In so doing, certain limitations of the plan of the work and of the ground covered by it seemed advisable. I have accordingly restricted myself to the texts of the Rigveda-sanhita and the Atharvaveda-sanhita: for the former I have aimed to be complete and exhaustive; from the latter I have excerpted, I believe, all the noteworthy forms, generally excluding those which conform entirely to the norms of the later language, but including all belonging to the double sets, like those in *-ā* and *-āni*, *-āsas* and *-ās*, etc. The terms "noun" and "verb" cover the great bulk of the Vedic vocabulary. Under "noun" I have included all that is subject to distinctively nominal inflection—that is, substantives, adjectives, and participles, and even the nominal forms from pronominal stems. Thus, of the three

equivalent forms, *úpare*, *úparás*, and *úparásas*, I have taken account of the second and third, but not of the first. These true pronominal forms, along with a few numerals, make a small residue of so varied character that it is best treated by itself. The infinitives and absolutives, too, given by Delbrück (p. 221 ff.), I have not repeated, although, on their inflectional side, they are nouns.

With the history and genesis of the forms of declension I have concerned myself only where circumstances demanded. These matters lie beyond the scope of my work; but, I may add, such collections of facts as the following seem to me to be a *sine qua non* for fruitful speculation upon this subject—if, indeed, it ever can be very fruitful.

An extension of this work over the texts of the *Bráhmaṇas* and later literature would doubtless be useful. This has been done for the verb by Professor Avery in the preceding article; but the inflective system of the Veda, when contrasted with that of the later language, is comparatively less multiform on the field of the noun than on that of the verb: for although, upon both, the Veda shows a rank growth of forms which die out later, yet the process and result have been different for each. Originally there may have been some slight modal or other distinction between *ṛṇavas*, *ṛṇu*, *ṛṇudhi*, *ṛṇuhi*, and *ṛudhi*; but the instrumental singular feminine of an *i*-stem had absolutely no implicit difference of function or meaning, whether ending in *-iā*, *-yā*, *-ī*, *-i*, or *inā*. In the later Sanskrit, the conception of modal relations and the ability to utilize the ample means of nice expression offered by its system of verb-inflection, instead of developing to wonderful perfection (as they did with the Greeks), became lost; and with them also a host of forms; until, for example, the style of the *Hitopadeśa* hobbles along with the aid of bungling absolutives and participles. The conception of the case-relations, on the other hand, naturally survived, and, for each, at least one form, and generally only one, for its expression. The inflective system of the nouns has become contracted, rigid, and uniform; but not, like that of the verb, essentially mutilated.

From considerations of practical importance, the work of collection was based upon Grassmann's excellent Index-vocabulary to the Rig-Veda; by it alone was almost entire completeness attainable, and the necessity of separating by exegesis multitudes of homonymous forms (for the most part) avoidable. That a careful revision of the exegesis of all these ambiguous forms, with constant reference to the views of Roth in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, would have been a proper preliminary to my collection of materials, I cannot deny; but I hope that the progress of Vedic study may be better furthered by my offering

what I have at once, than by waiting to carry out such a plan. It is, at any rate, a real step in advance to have all that is doubtful and questionable conveniently grouped together. This done, the cases of the docket are at least prepared for the decision of scholars of riper judgment.

The material from the Atharva-Veda was collected by the aid of Professor Whitney's complete manuscript Index to that text. To him I desire to make acknowledgments for his kindness in lending me the volume, and for the advice and encouragement he has given me in my work.

The order in which I have treated the different stems aims chiefly at convenience of practical reference, and is in general as follows:

- I. Stems whose suffixes end in vowels;
- II. Suffixless stems;
- III. Stems whose suffixes end in *t*, *n*, and *s*.

I. The *a*-stems (m. and n.), as most numerous and important, come first; then the *â*-stems (f.); the *i*-stems (m., n., and f.) and the *u*-stems (m., n., and f.) follow, along with the few masculines and feminines in *î* and *û*, not radical; next, the *ar*-stems (m., f., and n.), and finally those in *o*, *ai*, and *au*.

II. Under this head I have arranged the stems of nouns, simple and compound, substantive and adjective, whose only element, or whose final element, is a root; first come the vocalic, and then the consonantal stems, in alphabetical order. Some words, however, as agreeing in declension with class II., and therefore better excluded from III., are treated here, although formed with suffixes (as *-aj*, *-ij*, *-it*, *-ut*, *-vat*). They are neither numerous nor important enough to warrant our setting up special classes for them.

III. First come the stems ending in vocalic root + *t*, belonging declensionally to II.; then, the participles: namely, present participles in *-ant* (or *-at* of reduplicating verbs) and perfect participles in *-vañs*; and, as analogous to these, the comparatives in *-iyan̄s*; and finally, the stems formed by the suffixes *-vant* and *mant*, *-van* and *-man*, *-an* and *-in*, *-as*, *-is*, and *-us*.

Lindner has treated the form and accentuation of noun-stems only in relation to their derivation from roots. There are also certain changes of stem and of accent which are common to whole classes of words, and are purely declensional; as, the shifting of the accent to the ending in the genitive plural of oxytone stems in *i*, *u*, *r*, and the distinctions of "strong," "middle," and "weak" forms of the same stem. These facts will be noticed in their proper places. (For a general discussion of the *Stammabstufende Declination*, see Brugman, in Curtius's *Studien*, ix.361 ff., and Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxiv.1 ff.) Besides

these, there are many and varied minor peculiarities, occurring sporadically; as, the nasalization of a final vowel (e. g., *camasá'ñ*, I.s.m., which thus becomes identical with the *samhitá*-form of an accusative plural masculine before a vowel), or of a stem (e. g., *yúj*, *yúnj*-), the "strengthening" of a stem (e. g., *pád*-, *pá'd*-), or the contraction of a case-form (e. g., *vedhá'm* for *vedhá-sam*). The comparison of such of these as are similar will be facilitated by an Index. A concluding section will take account of words which resist convenient classification; and will give comparative statistics concerning the use of double-forms, and so much of a general summation of results as may be necessary.

The full set of declensional forms of many words is a piece of patch-work made by putting together fragments of the sets of several stems: so for *akshán ákshi*, *asthán ásthi*, *dadhán dádhi*, *sakthán sákthi*; *yakán yakr't*, *çakán çákr't*; *nákta naktán*, *çîrshá çîrshán*; *cákshas cákshan* (Á V. x.2.6). This "change of theme" is especially common between the *i* and *î*-stems (cf. *óshadhi*, *bhû'mi*, *râ'tri*, and their forms), so that it is often doubtful to which of these a form is to be referred. This subject deserves a special investigation. (See Asboth, *Die Umwandlung der Themen im Lateinischen*, Göttingen, 1875.)

I have enumerated in full all the forms that occur, whenever it seemed that any valuable practical purpose would be served by such an enumeration. Grassmann's and Müller's Indexes being in the hands of every student of the Veda, it is believed that a detail of case-forms found in the text on every page, and counting by scores and hundreds, would be a useless expenditure of space.

The names of the cases are abbreviated by their initials in capitals (N. A. I. D. Ab. G. L. V.); designations of number (s. d. p.) and of gender (m. f. n.), by their initials in small letters. Gr. stands for Grassmann; his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* is designated by *Wb.*, his *Uebersetzung*, by *Ueb.* The Lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth is cited by the initials BR. The *pada*-text is denoted by p.

STEMS IN A.

The following is a synopsis of the terminations of the inflectional forms:

Singular: N.m., -as, -a'; A.m., -am, -ām?, -a'; N.A.n., -am, -a'; I.m.n., -ā, -ā, -enā, -enā (-enāñ, -āñ); D.m.n., -āya (-āyañ); Ab.m.n., -āt, -aat?; G.m.n., -asya (-asyañ), -asiā?, -asyā; L.m.n., -e, -a'; V.m.n., -a (-añ), -ā.

Dual: N.A.V.m., -ā (-āñ), -au, -a; N.A.n., -e; I.D.Ab.m.n., -ābhyām, -ābhiām; G.L.m.n., -ayos, -os.

Plural: N.V.m., -āsas, -ās, -aas; A.m., -ān, -āñ, -āns; N.A.V.n., -ā, -āni, -āā?, -a?; I.m.n., -ebhis, -ais; D.Ab.m.n., -ebhyas, -ebhias; G.m.n., -ānām, -ānaam, -ām; L.m.n., -eshu.

There are no irregularities of accent.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

The regular ending of this case is -s. It is the most frequent form in the RV., and occurs 10,071 times (cf. Benfey, *Vedica*, p. 115). The number of stems in connection with which it is found is 1845: their frequency forbids their enumeration. The form *īndras*, for example, occurs 523 times; *ēkas*, 104; *eshās*, 106; *kās*, 111; *devās*, 203; *mitrás*, 132; *yās*, 1010; *sās*, 891; *somas*, 220; *vārunas* is found 94 times; *sutās*, 93; *punānās*, 84; *vṛshabhās*, 80; *pāvamānas*, 65; *bhāgas*, 65; *vīpras*, 59; *pūtās*, 56; *sūrias*, 56; *jātās*, 55; *mārtias*, 54.

The only alleged deviation from rule in the form of the N.s.m. is *krānā'* (Scholiasts, after Pāṇ. vii.1.39). It is not hard to believe, with Bollensen (Z.D.M.G. xxii.574), that -ā may represent -as sporadically; and perhaps the relation of -a(s) to -o is like that of -ā to -au in the dual. In two instances the supposed *krānās* is not followed by a sonant, and the exegesis by no means requires a nominative. I have therefore referred them to the I.s.m., *q.v.*

Even after the elision of the s of the ending, crasis of the preceding a with a following vowel sometimes takes place. Cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.199. Numerous examples of this may be seen among those cited Rik Pr. ii.33,34. Thus *sāh asi ukthyāh*, ii.13.2, is to be read *sā'si ukthiāh*. So *sāh enā' ānikena*, ii.9.6, must read *sānā'nīkena*; and *sā utā bāndhuh*, AV. ii.1.3, *sótā bāndhuh*. In vii.86.4, the crasis (*turēyām*) is indeed metrically unavoidable, but does not necessitate our reading it as a vocative (Gr., *Wh.*), nor yet as a verb (root *tar*, *tur*, Gr., *Ueb.*). In view of the analogous cases just cited, I prefer to follow the *pāda*, and read *turās iyām*: 'With sins forgiven, humbly I would straightway betake myself to thee.' In vi.46.4, we need not resort to an emendation (*vṛshabhó va*), nor yet follow the *pāda*, *vṛshabhā'-iva*; but may regard the *samhitā*-reading as another instance of crasis after elision, *vṛshabhā iva*. The usage of the Atharvan is instructive. It is given by Whitney (note to Ath. Pr. ii.56). The contraction

of *-as iva* to *-eva* is here the rule (in 46 out of 59 instances). Compare also Benfey, *Abh. d. kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xix. 250 ff.

The *-as* of the N.s.m. appears in the *saṃhitā* with exceeding frequency as *-o* (see A. Weber, *Beiträge*, iii. 385 ff.). In this final *o* other case-forms are sometimes concealed. Thus x.155.2, *cattō* is to be resolved into *cattā' u*, N.s.f. AV. xvi.4.2, *amṛ'ta* stands for *amṛ'tā u*. But even a final *-am* suffers elision and crasis before *u*, and is misunderstood by the *pada* (as nominative): thus (as Roth suggests) in x.119.13, *grhō yāmi āramkrto devébhyo havayavā-hanaḥ*; 'And home (*grhām u*) I go, satisfied, and take along for the gods something from the sacrifice.' In like manner, after the resolution of *śārdho* (*anarvāṇam*, masculine) into *śārdham u*, i.37.1, the particle *u* with *abhī prā gāyata* is by no means inappropriate, for it is often used in a summons of that kind. Cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.197, 208.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

The regular ending is *-m*. Next to the N.s.m. it is the most frequent form in the RV., and occurs 6861 times, in connection with 1357 stems. For example: *imām* occurs 130 times; *īndram*, 335; *tām*, 509; *yām*, 259; *yajñām*, 183; *vājam*, 123; *sōmam*, 212; *adhvarām* is found 48 times; *āṣvam*, 48; *enam*, 68; *gārbham*, 56; *tyām* and *tiām*, 46; *devām*, 65; *mitrām*, 53; *vṛtrām*, 82; *samudrām*, 52; *sutām*, 62; *sūriam* and *sūryam*, 90; *stōmam*, 77; *hāvam* (sometimes neuter), 88.

In some instances the gender is doubtful: thus *ābhogāyam* may be neuter. Nouns elsewhere neuter are sometimes used as masculines, and have been included here: thus *ārtham* (*etām*), x.18.4; 51.4,6; *cakrām* (*āṣūm*), iv.1.3; *rātnam* (*brhāntam*), vi.19.10. *Asmākam* may be set down as G.p. of the personal pronoun, or as A.s.m. of the possessive. *Viśvam* occurs 139 times; but I have not separated the masculines from the neuters, and have enumerated them among the latter. The total 6861 would require a slight correction accordingly. *Vāram*, vi.13.4 (p. *vā āram*), has been counted as one word.

The only probable irregularity in the ending of the A.s.m. is in x.40.8, *yuvām vidhāntām vidhāvām urushyathah*, 'Ye protect the widower (root 2 *vidh*) and the widow;' but *vidh* has no active forms, and this difficulty led Roth to the conjecture that *vidhāvām* stood for *vidhāvām* with metrical lengthening, and he translates the two words by *viduum cultorem*. Herein he is followed by Grassmann, who adds that "the metrical lengthening frequently occurs where the written text has *am*" (*Wb.* 1281; but *Ueb., cultorem et viduam!*). In i.50.6, *jānāñ* is not singular (Roth, *L.u. G.d. W.* p.82); *bhuranyāntam* is to be made the direct object of *pācyasi*, and not joined to the stock-phrase *jānāñ ānu*. In viii. 33.8, *dānā' mrgō nā vāranāḥ purutrā' carātham dadhe*, 'To the feast, as a wild animal, hither and thither he takes his course,' *dānā' mrgō* is for *dānām mrgō*, unless we assume that *dānā* (m.) is used once as a neuter plural.

Elision and crasis: *ācūm ná cakrām ráthieva*, 'like the swift wheel of a chariot (*ráthiam*), as it were (*iva*);' p. *ráthyā-iva*, iv.1.3. Both texts have *-am iva* in iv.18.5, where the metre demands *eva*. Compare the usage of the Atharvan (Whitney, *Prātiśākhya*, ii.56); *-am iva* is contracted to *-eva* 25 times out of 40.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

The regular ending is *-m*, without distinction of form for the two cases. Nominatives and accusatives s.n. (taken together) occur 4275 times, in connection with 949 stems. For example: *antáriksham* occurs 45 times; *amṛ'tam*, 31; *idám*, 165; *ṛtám*, 70; *kám*, 48; *kshatrám*, 31; *ghṛtám*, 47; *cakrám*, 35; *citrám*, 34; *drávinam*, 41; *náktam*, 32; *padám*, 46; *pavitrám*, 37; *prathamám*, 38; *priyám*, 44; *bhadrám*, 39; *rátanam*, 44; *vīṣvam* (m. and n.), 139; *sakhyám* and *sakhiám*, 43; *satyám*, 40; *suvi'riam*, 57; *havyám*, 33.

The gender is not always to be determined: as *ajakāvám*, *odanám*, *kshīrapákám*, *nakhám*, *muhūrtám*, *rāmám*, *lā'yam*, sometimes 2 *vāram*, *vā'ram*, *śī'pālam*, *śā'lam*. In v.87.9, *hāvam* is used as n., although generally m. A few of the occurrences of *vīṣvam* are m. *Ca rátham*, i.70 7; 72.6, has been counted as one word. Some of the words included above are accusatives s.n. in form and adverbs in function: as *kám* (?), *nīsvarám*, *prataram*, *vitaram*, *śī'bham*, *sapitvám*, *sámantam*, *sarátham*.

In viii.29.8, *prá pravāśeva vasataḥ*, we have an example of crasis after elision of final *m* (so Roth). The *pada* reads *pravāśā-iva*. So too we may resolve *sāmaneva* in iv.58.8 (Nir. vii.17) and vi.75.4 (Nir. ix.40); cf. x.168.2: and I would even add *sāmanāvagātīya* (*-am ava-*), vi.75.5. Cf. N.A.p.n. and Ath. Pr. ii.56. Similarly, x.103.11, *asmā'kam índraḥ* is to be pronounced *asmā'kéndrah*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

The general case-ending is *-ā*; but the I.s.m.n. of *a*-stems ends regularly in *-ena*. If this is historically developed out of *-a-in-ā*, we might expect to find a good many instances in which the final is not shortened; and in fact, out of a total of 1071 instrumentals s.m. and n., there are 85 in *-enā*. Moreover, the still more organic form *-a-ā* or *-ā* ought to have left traces. These, again, number 114. The stem *virīa* exhibits three forms; arranged in historical order, they would stand as follows: **virīa-ā* (cf. *mahitvāā*), *virīā*, *virīenā*, *virīena*.

1. Of the regular ending there are 872 examples; 374 are m. (from 150 stems) and 344 are n. (from 157 stems), besides which *tēna* occurs 57, and *yēna* 97 times. In two cases the final vowel is nasalized in the *samhitā* at the end of a *pāda*, before an initial vowel in the next: i.33.4, *ghanēnañ ēkas*, and i.110.5, *tējanenañ ēkam*. Examples are: *īndrena*, 34; *vājrena*, 33; *yajñēna*, 13; *sū'riena*, 37; *ghṛtēna*, 31.

2. The following is, I believe, a complete enumeration of all the forms with long final (85).

ix.70.2.	<i>ubhé dyā'vá ká'viēnā vī caṣrathe</i>	vi.32.2.	<i>sū'riēnā kavīnā'm</i>
ix.80.1.	<i>br'haspāte ravāthēnā vī didyute</i>	vii.18.17.	<i>pētuenā jaghāna</i>
ix.84.5.	<i>vīprah kavīh ká'viēnā sūarcanāh</i>	viii.85.2.	<i>vīthaurēnā cid āstrā</i>
x.48.4.	<i>purīshīṇām sá'yakēnā hiranyāyām</i>	ix.96.17.	<i>ká'viēnā kavīh sán</i>
i.32.5.	<i>kulīcēnā vivrkānā</i>	x.42.10.	<i>vrjānēnā jayema</i>
i.33.13.	<i>vrshabhēnā pūro 'bhet</i>	x.56.3.	<i>vā'jīnēnā suvenī'h</i>
i.116.24.	<i>ācīvenā nāva dyā'n</i>	x.68.8.	<i>viravēnā vikr'tya</i>
i.117.21.	<i>bākurenā dhāmāntā</i>	x.88.4.	<i>d'jiēnā vrjānā'h</i>
i.164.30d.	<i>mārtiēnā sāyonih</i>	x.111.2.	<i>tavishēnā ráveṇa</i>
i.164.38b.	<i>mārtiēnā sāyonih</i>	x.139.4.	<i>tād rtēnā vī āyan</i>
iii.31.12.	<i>skāmbhanēnā jānitrī</i>	x.180.1.	<i>dākshīnēnā vāsūni</i>
iii.32.2.	<i>mā'rutenā gaṇēna</i>		
iv.18.5.	<i>vīriēnā nīrśtam</i>		
iv.34.8.	<i>daivienā savitrā'</i>		
iv.39.3.	<i>vārunēnā sajōshāh</i>		
AV. iii.12.8.	<i>amr'tenā sāmāndhi</i>	ix.10.8.	<i>mārtiēnā sāyonih</i>
v.1.5.	<i>ká'viēnā kr̥nomi</i>	ix.10.16.	<i>mārtiēnā sāyonih</i>
RV. vii.55.7.	<i>tēnā sahasyēnā vayām</i>		
AV. vii.60.7.	<i>aīshyāmi bhadrēnā saha</i>		

The substantive forms in *-enā* are so few, that m. and n. have been given above together. In four instances *nā* is the eighth syllable of a *jagatī-pāda*; in 26, the eighth of a *trishtubh*; in three, the sixth of an *anushtubh*. In all cases the *pada* reads *na*. See Rik Prāt. viii.21, and cf. Ath. Prāt. iii.16.

Tēnā, *yēnā*, *svēnā* appear invariably in the *pada* as *tēna*, *yēna*, *svēna*. This long final occurs without exception in the second place of the verses concerned, of which 13 are *anushtubh*, 8 *jagatī*, and 7 *trishtubh*, and is in every case followed by a single consonant and that by a short vowel. *Tēnā* is first word of an *anushtubh-pāda* 6 times: i.49.2: vii.55.7: viii.20.26; 67,6: ix.61.19. AV. iv.5.1; *yēnā*, 7 times: i.50.6: vi.16.48: viii.12.2a; 17,10; 19,20; 24,25: x.126.2. *Yēnā* stands at the beginning of a *jagatī-pāda* 8 times: v.54.15; 87,5: viii.3.9; 3,10; 12,1; 12,2c; 12,4: ix.108.4; and as first word of a *trishtubh-pāda* 6 times: i.62.2c (=ix.97.39c); i.72.8; 80,2: ii.17.6: iv.51.4 (18 of the 21 occurrences of *yēnā* are given by Müller, Prāt. vii.28). *Svēnā* occurs as first word of a *trishtubh-pāda* vii.21.6. For other occurrences in the Atharvan, see Whitney, Prātiçākhyā, iii.16 note, and Benfey, *Abh.* etc. xxi.18,32.

Enā, *enā'*. In four instances, where the unaccented I.s. of the demonstrative stem *a* is used as a substantive pronoun, the *pada* reads *ena*: v.2.11, *sūarvatir apā enā jayema*, 'Let us win by it (*stōmena*) the heavenly waters;' x.108.3, *ā' ca gāchān mitrām enā dadhāma*, 'If he come hither, we will make friends with him (*indrena*).' These two cases are precisely analogous to those of the nouns above. For ix.96.2 the Prāt. viii.19 prescribes the lengthening; *vidvā'n enā sumatīm yāti ācha*, 'By it (by ascending the wagon) the wise one gets into favor.' In i.173.9, the final, as

syllaba anceps, remains short in the *saṃhitā*; *āsāma yáthā sushakhá'ya ena*, 'In order that we may be good friends with him.'

With the accented form *ená'* the case is different. The *pada* invariably reads *ená'*.

It occurs as an adverb or crystallized case-form 17 times. with *-á'* in both texts, and that in one instance even where the *saṃhitā* requires a short, vi.20.10 (Kuhn, *Beitr.* iii.123). It stands as follows: *anushtubh*, i.30.3 and ix.61.11, second place; v.73.4, sixth place; *trishubh*, x.14.2; 148.3, second place; i.164.17, 18, 43; ix.97.52; x.82.5; 125.8, eighth place; i.164.5; ix.97.53; x.27.21; 31.8, fifth place; finally x.112.6, where the text looks suspicious.

As an adjective pronoun it occurs 17 times with its substantive in the same *páda*; and four times it is used substantively: vii.71.4c, *á' na ená' náasatyópa yátam* (sc. *ráthena*); vi.44.17. *ená' mandánó jáhi cára cátrán* (sc. *pá'tareṇa*, v.16); x.144.5c,d, *ená' váyo vi tári d'yur jívase*, *ená' jágára bandhúta* (sc. *sómena*). Of these 21 occurrences, (a) 12 are such as show the syllable *ná'* in the second place of the verse: *jagati* x.144.5c; *trishubh* iii.34.4; vi.4.417: x.14.4; 85.27; and with crasis i.105.19 and ii.9.6; *anushtubh* ii.6.2: v.19.3; 53.12; vii.16.1: x.144.5d. (b) A long is perhaps favored in the fourth place of a *jagati*, *trishubh*, and *anushtubh* respectively iv.36.7: vii.71.4, and viii.5.39. (c) The remaining six occurrences are in the fifth place: of a *jagati* ii.34.14 and viii.21.6 before *námasá*; of a *trishubh* i.171.1 and vii.93.7, before *námasá*; viii.85.8, before *havishá*; x.23.7, before *sakhidá'*.

Aside then from the word *ená'*, where analogy led the *pada-kára* to treat the pronoun in the same way as the crystallized adverb, the *saṃhitā* shows no forms in *-ená* which cannot be explained on the ground of metrical lengthening; while, on the other hand, they may just as well be regarded as relics of the original form of the instrumental, whose preservation was favored by their place in the verse.

It is only because there is an *a priori* probability that the long *á* is organic, that these forms can be taken in evidence at all, as explaining the genesis of the ordinary *-ena* (see Bopp, *Vgl. Gr.*³ i.326, § 158; and Schleicher, *Comp.*⁴ p.561, § 258). Regarded as relics, the uniformity of their preservation in the cadence of the verse is remarkable. I have searched diligently every passage containing an I.s.m. or n. of an *a*-stem (1071 in number), and have found only one genuine instance where the final is not long if required by the cadence. A short is extremely rare, where a long is merely favored by the verse: as ix.109.14, *yéna víçvāni*, better *yéná: pañkti*. So viii.41.10, *skambhéná*. The solitary instance referred to is ii.11.19, *víçvá spr'dha d'riena dásyūn*; I read *víçvá [it] spr'dha d'riena dásyūn* (?) as i.179.3: v.55.6.

If this requirement is satisfied by a double consonant forming position, the long final does not appear in the written text. These would seem to be crucial test-cases for this question; for an original long ought at least to hold its own in the eighth place of a *trishubh*. Thus we have iii.31.12, *vishkabhuánta skambhanená jánitri*; but x.111.5, *cáskám̐bha cit kám̐bhanena skábhiyán*. So i.163.3, *ási tritó gúhiēna vratēna*; vii.63.4, *nānām jánāḥ sá'riena prásūtāḥ*. Again viii.3.9, *yéná yátibhyo bhr'gave dhāne hité*, but *yéna práskanvam d'vitha*. In viii.55.9, *kád á nú asya d'kṛtam*

indrasya asti paúnsiam: keno nú kam grómatena ná çuçruve janúshah pári vrtrahá'—the *-a* of *grómatena* may perhaps be regarded as a *syllaba anceps* (cf. Prāt. viii.29). In ii.6.2, *ayá' te agne vidhema ú'rjo napád áçvamishte: ená' sákténa sújāta*—the trochaic movement would require *sákténā*; but the true metrical character of the verse may have been lost sight of. In x.148.2, pronounce *dāasir víçah sú'riena sahyāh*.

As uniformly and invariably as a long vowel appears when required in the cadence, just so arbitrary does it seem to be at the beginning of the *pāda*. I can discover no principle determining the quantity of the final of *yéna* or *téna* in the second place. In general *yéna* and *téna* are of course much more frequent than *yénā* and *ténā*. The third syllable is generally short also when *yéna* is used; so that that seems to make no difference. And either form, *-na* or *-nā*, seems to occur without distinction as regards place in the stanza, at the head of *pāda a, b, c, or d*.

Schleicher's L.s.m. with inserted *y* has no existence. His only example is *svápnayá*; but this is a stereotyped adverbial case, of feminine form. See *ā*-stems, L.s.f.

3. The existence of instrumental forms like *yajñá'* (= *yajñéna*) is unquestionable. I have noted 114 instances. Some will find more, and others less, according to their exegesis of certain passages.

The Ls. in *-ā* is found with m. stems as follows (37 cases): i.168.1, *yajñá'-yajñā*, 'with every sacrifice;' and vi.48.1, parallel with *girá'-girā*. *Krāná'* (cf. *a*-stems, N.s.m.), 'with longing, eagerly:' i.58.3; 139.1: v.7.8; 10.2: ix.86.19 (SV. i.559, *prāná'*); 102.1 (SV. i.570, *prāná'*): x.61.1. In all seven places the *pāda* has *krāná'*. See B.R. v.1339. *Tuá'*, Ls. of the stem *tuā* (in compounds only): *tuā'-āta*, 'holpen by thee;' ii.11.16, *tuā'-ātā id indra vá'jam agman*, 'by thee, O Indra, holpen, came to riches;' so vi.16.27; *tvóti*, 'enjoying furtherance (*átí*) by thee (*tuā'*),' thrice with crasis; *tuā'datta*, ii.33.2, *tuā'dattebhī rudra çántamebhīh çatām hímā aciya bhashajébhīh*, 'with balms most wholesome given by thee, O Rudra, may I attain unto a hundred winters:' so viii.81.18; *tvā'dāta*, 'given by thee,' i.10.7: iii.40.6: v.7.10; 39.1; *tvā'hata*, 'slain by thee,' vii.32.7; *tvā'ishita*, 'impelled by thee,' viii.66.10, with crasis.

In i.36.16, *ghanéva víshvag ví jahi árāvñas*, Gr. proposes *ghanéna*; but Agni does not slay 'with a club.' The *ghaná* is Indra's weapon (i.33.4). I therefore prefer not to change the text, but to follow the *pāda*, *ghaná'-iva*, 'As with a mace (as though thou didst use a mace), all apart, smite the evil-doers.' In i.63.5, *ghanéva vajriñ chnathihī amitrán*, p. *ghaná'-iva*, the collocation of words is such that the sense is nearly equivalent to *tvám vájreṇa çnathihī*, so that *iva* is by no means superfluous; 'as with a mace, do thou with the thunderbolt destroy the foes.' And in fact Sây. says: *vajrivann indra ghanéva ghanena káthinena parvaténeva vájreṇa çnathihī*. In ix.97.16, the exceedingly figurative language *ghanéva víshvag duritá'ni víghnán*, p.

ghanā'-iva, addressed to Soma, makes the *iva* all the more necessary; 'as with a club, all asunder, the dangers driving away (flow thou).' Sây. takes it as instrumental. Finally in i.8.3, where Grassmann (*Ueb.* ii.504), reading *ghanān*, gets the same sense as Sây. (*çatrupraharanāya atyantam drdham*), I consider a change again unnecessary (Gr., *Wb.* 421, *ghanā's*), and interpret the *ghanā'* here as I. denoting accompaniment; 'O Indra, through thy favor may we receive (have to use) thy thunderbolt *along with thy mace* (and so) conquer in the fight our foes.' *Dānā'*, 'with a gift,' v.52.14 (Sây. *havirdānena*), 15; 87.2. viii.20.14; it may also be referred to the stem *dāmān* (see *man*-stems, I.s.m.); for *dānā'*, viii.33.8, see *a*-stems, A.s.m. In x.25.4, *krátum nah soma jīvāse dhārāya camasā'n-iva*, the *pada* has *camasā'n-iva*, misled, as it would seem, by the correct *avatā'n-iva* of *pāda b*. The *tertium comparationis* is indeed doubtful, but *camasā'n* is probably a nasalized I.s.m. 'Our spirit, O Soma, keep thou alive, as by the beaker (thine is kept),' with a slight play on *krátum*. Grassmann (*Wb.*) has assumed for the Vedic language a stem *ghrñā'* upon the basis of four passages: iv.43.6, *ghrñā' váyo arushā'sah pári gman*; v.73.5, *pári vām arushā' váyo ghrñā' varanta átápah*; i.52.6, *párim ghrñā' carati, titvishē gávaḥ*. In the first two he takes *ghrñā'* as A.p.f., contrary to the *pada*, and, as it seems to me, to the sense; in the third, as N.s.f. It will be observed that in each case the verb is accompanied by *pári* and is naturally construed with an instrumental. This is surely less forced in the fourth passage, i.141.4, *d'd id yávisktho abhavat ghrñā' gúcih*, than a N.s.f. in apposition to *yávisktho*. If they are all instrumentals, it is unnecessary to set up a feminine stem, and these four along with ix.107.20 can be referred to the stem *ghrñā* (as is done by B.R.). Cf. *th*-stems, I.s.m. and *suhávān* TS. iii.3.11⁵.

The neuters of this form are more frequent (77). In viii.25.18, the third *pāda*, *ubhé ā paprau ródasī mahitvā'*, cannot be catalectic, as the metrical structure of the other stanzas shows. The requirements of the metre are satisfied with the least violence to the text, if we pronounce *mahitvāā* (as also perhaps x.96.11). And this exemplifies the organic form which all the instrumental cases under this head presuppose, and from which they, with the following, arise by contraction of *-a-ā* to *-ā*. iv.33.10, *yē (rbhāvas) hāri medhāyā ukthā' mādanta indráya cakrūh suyājā yē ācāā*, I translate, 'Ye who so wisely, in his word rejoicing, for Indra made the pair of bays, the docile,' *ukthā' mādantas* means 'glad of the promise' made them—'of the word' fetched them by Agni from the gods (i.161.2), namely promotion to divine honors. The I. is the regular construction with *mād* in this sense. *Medhāyā* is used ἀπο κοινοῦ; they made it skillfully; but they were also shrewd fellows to take up with the proposition (i.161.2); for, as the context shows, they were glad to do even more than was asked of them: Sây., *ukthaiḥ stutibhīr madanto harshayantah*. *Kavitvā'* x.124.7; *kavitvānā'* viii.40.3; *taranitvā'* i.110.6; *mahitvā'* i.52.13;

67.9; 68.2; 91.2; 109.6; 164.25: ii.15.6: iii.1.4; 54.15: iv.16.5; 42.3: v.2.9; 58.2: vi.29.5; 67.3, 10; 68.4: vii.13.2; 20.4; 23.3; 58.1; 61.4; 97.8; 100.3: x.54.1; 55.5 (*devásya paçya kâviam mahitvādyā* [p. *mahitvā adyā*): Roth, *mahitvām adyā*, with elision and crasis; but this is suspicious at the end of a *pāda*, and I take it as an I. of accompaniment: 'Behold [herein] the god's wisdom coupled with might: to-day etc.'). 56.7; 75.7; 88.9; 89.1; 96.11; 121.3, 4. In all these 33 cases (except i.67.9), it is at the end of a *trishtubh-pāda*, which the resolution of the final contract-vowel would convert into a *jagatī*. *Mahitvand'* i.85.7: iv.53.5: v.81.3: viii.24.13, all at the end of a *jagatī-pāda*; i.86.9: vi.16.20: viii.57.2: ix.100.9, at the end of an *anushtubh-pāda*; *rāthiā* (*cakrēna*), 'with wagon-wheel,' i.53.9; *vīriā* i.80.15; *vṛshatvā* i.54.2; *vṛshatvand'* viii.15.2; *sakhiā* x.23.7a; *mākir na enā sakhiā vī yaushus tāva ca indra vimadāsya cārsheh*, 'May no one cut us off from that friendship, made (of old) between thee, O Indra, and thy singer, Vimada,' ii.32.2, *mā' no vī yaush sakhiā' viddhī tāsya nah*, 'Cut us not off from thy friendship; be mindful of it, we pray.' B.R. interpret *sakhiā'* as I.s.n., because *tāsya* is singular; so also Sây., '*tāsya*' *tat sakhitvam* . . . '*viddhī jñāhi*. But this is not conclusive; the *tāsya* may refer to the whole request *mā' . . . sakhiā'*. viii.75.1, *mā' no vī yausham sakhiā'*. iv.16.20, *bráhma akarma . . . nā' cid yáthā nah sakhiā' viyóshat*, 'So we have made supplication, to the end that he may not cut us off now from his friendship.' In x.10.1, *ó cit sákhāyam sakhiā' vavṛtyām*, *sakhiā'* is to be taken as I.s.n.; *sakhyā'nī* does not occur in the AV., nor *sakhyā'* as plural. It is superfluous 'to turn a friend to friendship;' and 'guilty friendship' (Gr.) is rather more than the word means. Better 'I would fain bring him hither by my overtures of love,' or adverbially, '*vertraulich*.' The Sāma variant, i.340, *ā' tvā sákhāyah sakhiā' vavṛtyuh*, admits either construction. iv.34.1, *ratnadhēyā (īmam yajñām ratnadhēyópa yāta)* is not A.p.n. in apposition to *yajñām*, but rather an I.s.n.; because it refers not to what mortals give the gods, but to what the gods give to mortals (cf. vii.53.3), and corresponds in usage to *ratna-dhā'* (i.1.1, and always, of the gods) and *rātnam dhā'* (iv.15.3: i.47.1, and often): 'Unto this sacrifice come ye with bestowal of blessing.' v.35.5, *sarvarathā' nī yāhi*, 'Drive over the foe with all thy host of chariots.' x.160.1, *sarvarathā' vī hāri iṥā muñca*, 'With all thy chariots, here thy bays unharness.' x.141.4, *indraváyū' br'haspátim suhāvēhā havāmahe*; *suhāvā*, 'with goodly invocation;' so A. Weber. The interposition of *br'haspátim* makes it less natural to call it A.d.m. In AV. iii.20.6 (where ed. has misprint, *susāvā* for *suhāvā*), the interpretation as dual is favored by the parallelism. And although *suhāvā hū* is an established idiom, it is better to take it as dual in RV. vii.44.2; 82.4; 93.1.

From the Atharvan I have the following forms: *mahitvā'* iv.2.2 (Rik x.121.3), 5 (Rik 4), 4: v.11.3: vii.79.1; 80.1: viii.3.24 (Rik v.2.9); 9.2: ix.10.3 (Rik i.164.25), 9 (Rik x.55.5): xii.3.5: xiv.2.32:

xix.49.1; in all 13 cases at the end of the *pāda*. *Suhādvā* vii.47.1, *kukū'm devī'm . . . suhādvā johavīmi*; and xi.1.26, *ṛ'shīn . . . suhādvā johavīmi*: here a dual is impossible. In vii.48.1, *rākā'm ahām suhādvā sushṭutī' huve*, the I. is natural, as parallel to *sushṭutī'*. But Rik ii.32.4 has the variant *suhāvām*, and TS. iii.3.11⁵, *suhāvāñ* (cf. *camasā'ñ* above).

There remain finally certain adverbs, which are crystallized case-forms: cf. Kühner, *Griech. Gram.*² i.728: *πᾶ*, etc. Thus *and'* iv.30.3: viii.21.13; 47.6: x.94.3, 4: Latin furnishes the Acc. of the same stem, *enim*. *Sānā* iii.54.9: v.75.2: Abl. with adv. accent, *sand't* i.55.2, etc. Of this the stem is used as a real adj. ii.29.3, etc. *Uccā* i.24.10; 28.7; 33.7; 116.22; 123.2: ii.2.10; 30.5; 40.4: ix.61.10: x.106.5; 107.2; 183.2:—that is, 12 times; also AV. xiii.2.36. It may be regarded as I.s.n. from a stem *uccā*, on account of *uccāis*, v.32.6. So *nīcā* ii.13.12; 14.4: iv.4.4; 38.5: vi.8.5: x.34.9; 152.4, on account of *nīcā't* i.116.22, and *nīcāis* AV. ii.3.3: iii.19.3: ix.2.1, 15: v.11.6. It is however more probable that *nīcā* and *uccā* are instrumentals of *nīac* and *ūdac*; but, since to the apprehension of the speaker the stems were vocalic, *uccā* and *nīcā*, they became the points of departure for the new formations *uccāis*, *nīcā't*, and *nīcāis*. The same method of explanation would require for *paçcā* (ii.27.11, and 7 times) a stem *pas-ānc* or *pas-āc*, from which I.s.n. **pas-ācā*, *paçcā'*. By the side of this, as if it were from a stem *paçcā*, arose the form *paçcā't* (ii.41.11, and 16 times).

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

The D.s. of the *a*-stems ends in *-āya*. There is nothing in the Veda, to my knowledge, that casts any light on the genesis of this difficult form. It occurs 1502 times; 1107 forms are masculine (from 310 stems), and 395 are neuter (from 144 stems). In the *samhitā* two of these forms are nasalized: *tadvaçā'yañ eshā*, ii.14.2, and *savā'yañ evā'*, i.113.1. Cf. Rik Prât. xiv.20.

Among the forms most frequently occurring are the following: *īndrāya*, 188; *devā'ya*, 26; *mādāya*, 76; *mārtiāya*, 25; *mitrā'ya*, 23; *yājāmānāya*, 20; *vārunāya*, 23; *sū'ryāya*, 11;—*tānāya*, 18; *tokā'ya*, 21; *sakhyā'ya* and *sakhiā'ya*, 29; *suvitā'ya*, 34.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

The Ab.s. of the *a*-stems ends in *-āt*. There are 389 such forms; 183 are m. (from 116 stems) and 206 are n. (from 98 stems). The latter include some adverbs. In only 389 instances, therefore, is the Ab.s. of substantives distinguished formally from the G.s. (for *didyót* or *vidyót*, see *u*-stems, Ab.s.f.). According to theory, the organic form is *-a-at* (e. g., *āçva-at*). Justi (*Handbuch*, p. 359, §13) gives 14 such Zend forms (as *dāēvāatca*); but Geldner (*Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, § 30) says that the Ab. ending *-āt* counts regularly for one syllable. For the Veda the existence of forms in *-aat* is extremely doubtful (cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.181): they have been proposed for i.30.21: viii.5.31:

x.22.6, *parákāat*; x.158.1, *antárikshaat*; viii.11.7, *sadhásthaat*.—but in every case the *pāda* is one of seven syllables with catalectic close, and it is far from certain that the fuller cadence is necessary. The like is true of *caritrāt*, viii.48.5.

Examples of ablatives in *-āt* are: *indrāt*, 8; *upásthāt*, 9; *samudrāt*, 15;—*antárikshāt*, 12; *dārāt*, 19; *paçcāt* (adv.), 26.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

The G.s. of *a*-stems ends in *-asya*. There are 3340 such forms; 1890 are m. (from 503 stems), and 695 are n. (from 175 stems). Moreover *asya* occurs 402 times; *tāsyā*, 83; *yāsyā*, 203; and *viçvasyā*, 67. In x.60.2, *bhājérathasyā* has been counted as two words (*rāthasyā*). In one instance the final vowel is nasalized at the end of a *pāda*: viii.89.5, *ṛtāsyāñ ékam*, cf. Prāt. ii.31.

Vocalization of the *y* of the ending is a thing of at best doubtful existence. In x.23.6, *vidmā' hī asya bhōjanam ināsyā*, and Vāl. 11.4, *saptā svásārah sādana ṛtāsyā*, a catalectic *jagati-pāda* with the penultimate long by position, is certainly better than the cadence with resolution, *ināsia, ṛtāsia*. In i.61.13, *turāsia karmāni nāvya ukthāh* (so Gr.), the metre is quite out of order; if we read *turāsyā . . . nāvīya* (cf. i.105.15), the cæsura is wrong. In x.114.10b (Gr. wrongly *rāthasyā*), the sixth syllable is syncopeated. The vocalization is possible in the case of *asia* and *asiā*: v.45.9, *yād asia urviyā' dīrghayāthē*; x.61.24c, *saraniūr asia sūnūr āçvo*; x.142.5, *prāti asia çrēnayo dadrçre* (better, perhaps, *asya çrāyinayo*); in i.23.24, if an extra syllable is needed at all, it should be *devaas*, not *asia* (see *a*-stems, V.p.m.); i.131.6, *ā me asiā vedhāso nāvīyaso*; and ix.98.8, *asiā vo hī āvasā*. The final *a* suffers protraction (purely metrical, Benfey, SV. lx.) as follows: i.162.19, *ékas tvāshṭur āçvasiā viçastā'* (cf. VS. xxv.42; TS. iv.6.9³:—TPr. iii.8, p. 91); vii.79.4, *yā'm tvā jajñūr vrshabhāsyā rāvena*; AV. i.12.2, *yō āgrabhīt pārva asyā' grābhītā*; see Ath. Pr. iii.16.

Examples of this case are: *asyā*, 119; *indrasyā*, 123; *devāsyā*, 60; *yajñāsyā*, 55; *sutāsyā*, 53; *sū'riasyā* and *sū'ryasyā*, 93; *sómasyā*, 88;—*amī'tasyā*, 35; *asyā*, 55; *ṛtāsyā*, 187; *bhūvanasyā*, 39.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

The case-suffix is *-i*, as with consonant stems. This, united with the thematic *a*, forms *-e*. There are 2491 such locatives in *-e*; 1235 are m. (from 373 stems), and 1256 are n. (from 309 stems). In some instances, where the ending appears in the *saṁhitā* (Prāt. ii.10) as *-a*, before vowels, the *padakāra* mistakes them for nominatives, and writes them with *visarga*: thus in iv.17.14, *ā' krshnā im juhurānō jighartī tvacō budhnē rājaso asyā yōnau*, p. *krshnāh*; we must interpret, '(Misleading) craftily he darts it (*cakrān sū'ryasyā*) to the black abyss of night, to the depth of this sky,' i. e., to the place where the sun remains from its setting until its rising. The reading *krshnē tvacās budhnē* is

confirmed by the following gloss, *ásikniám yájamáno ná hótá* (Sây., *púrvarcá saha dr̥sh̥tántatvena sambadhyate*). In vii.76.3, *járá ivácáranty úsho*, p. *járáh-iva ácárantí*, we read *járé-iva*: 'Ushas, as if hastening to her lover.' In i.112.17, *agnír ná'dídec citá iddhó ájmann á*, p. *citáh*, we interpret, 'Was glorious, as the fire kindled on the altar (*cité iddhó*), upon its path.' In v.52.10, *á'pathayo . . . yajñám vishtárá ohate* (3 pl.), the *pada*-text reads *vishtáráh*; I understand it thus: Let their customs carry them where they may, yet when I sacrifice 'they wait' quietly 'on the straw (*vishtáré*)' for it. Finally, it seems necessary to read *ibhe suvraté*, ix.57.3 (where the text has *ibho rá'jeva suvratáh*); 'As a king amid his trusty following.'

Examples of this case are: *adhvaré*, 68; *abhí'ke*, 22; *indre*, 33; *upásthe*, 49; *grhé*, 23; *jáne*, 26; *dáme*, 40; *máde*, 48; *yajñé*, 28; *suté*, 53;—*ágre*, 43; *antárikshé*, 23; *duroṇé*, 31; *padé*, 33; *mádhye*, 29; *vidátthe*, 49; *sádane*, 35.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

This case is like the stem in form. The accent, if there be any, is always on the first syllable. The vocatives s.m. number 2498 (from 259 stems).

There is hardly a single indubitable example of a vocative s. neuter in the Rig-Veda. In i.44.5, *stavishyá'mi tu'd'm ahám vícvasyámṛta bhojana*, 'Immortal delight of every one,' there may be two, *amṛta* and *bhojana*; but it is possible to take *bhojana* as V.s.m. of an active verbal adjective (see Gr., *Ueb.*); or (as B.R. suggest, v.388) we may write *amṛtabhojana*, and take it as V.s.m. of the stem *amṛtabhójana* (see Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, p. 42). In v.46.2b, *gárdhah prá yanta má'rutotá vishno*, the sense seems to require us to take *má'ruta* as vocative with *gárdhah*. For the accent, cf. x.86.13b. The 'AV. has several vocatives s.n. They are *antariksha* vi.130.4; *tráikakuda* and *dévāñjana* xix.44.6; *talpa* xii.2.49; and *visha* iv.6.3, where the MSS. have *vishah*.

In vii.25.4, the *samhitá* shows a nasalized vowel before *ókas*: *vícvéd áhāni tavishīva ugrañ*. Cf. Prāt. xiv.20. So in viii.15.3, 11, *purushtutañ éko*.

Protraction occurs in some instances: i.61.16, *evá te háriyojaná suvrktí*; viii.4.1, *simá purí nr'shátō asi á'nave* (cf. Prāt. vii.17); viii.45.22, *abhí tvá vrshabhá suté*, and 38, *evá're vrshabhá suté*. The *pada*-text has *háriyojana*, *śima*, and *vrshabha*. B.R. take *simá* as adv., 'allenthalben.' The stem is *simá*, and for adverbial retraction of the accent I can give no example. The *pada*-texts of RV. and SV. (i.279, ii.581), and the accent make against the view of B.R. Grassmann, in his note to i.6.3—*pégo maryá apecáse*, p. *maryáh*—takes *maryá* as V.s.m. The sense requires it, and the above examples seem to justify it. Kuhn (*Páli-gram*, p. 71) refers to this lengthening. I think it is purely metrical. If the requirements of metre are satisfied by a double consonant, the *-a* remains short: thus, *mahina práyishtháh* vi.26.8b; so vii.24.16.

In the phrase *vā'yav indrag̃ca*, i.2.5, 6, *indras* is taken by Grassmann as a V.; similarly i.18.5; 135.4: iii.25.4: iv.47.2, 3: vi.69.8: vii.97.10; 104.25: ix.95.5; the peculiarity is, however, doubtless a syntactical rather than a formal one, and the case a nominative.

The stem *indra* is one of the few, complete sets of whose forms occur in the s. It occurs as follows: N. 523; A. 335; I. 34; D. 188; Ab. 8; G. 123; L. 33; V. 1007; N.A.V.d. 11; in all, 2262 times.

Examples of vocatives are: *amṛta*, 12; *ugra*, 23; *deva*, 132; *puruhāta*, 49; *pavamāna*, 63; *yavishtha*, 29; *mitra*, 35; *varuṇa*, 45; *vṛshabha*, 27; *çāra*, 94; *sōma* and *soma*, 240.

NOMINATIVE ACCUSATIVE AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

The Vedic ending of the N.A.V.d.m. of *a*-stems is *ā*. In the Rik the ending *au* is exceptional (and by no means organic; cf. Benfey, *Gram.* p. 303). The comparative statistics will be given elsewhere. As regards the circumstances of occurrence of these endings a few interesting observations may be made.

A. *ā* occurs in the Rik 1129 times. It is the ending used

1. at the end of a *pāda*;
2. before consonants;
3. before an initial vowel with which it is fused;
4. It is never used before vowels with hiatus.

B. *au* occurs 171 times. It is the ending used chiefly before vowels, where it forms a separate syllable *āv*, without hiatus.

The determinant of the form is therefore to a certain extent the metre. The regular form is *ā*, and it is used before consonants, and before an initial vowel where the words could not be pressed into the metrically limited verse save by its fusion with that vowel; otherwise, hiatus not being tolerated (exceptions below), *āv* was used before such an initial. These differences are illustrated by i.184.1, *tā' vām adyā tā'v aparām huvema*, and i.14.3, *mitrā'gnīm pūshānam bhāgam*; so too most strikingly by i.93, passim: e. g. *āgnīshomāv imām*, but *āgnīshomā yó*.

Of the 1129 *ā*-forms:

1. 230 are at the end of a *pāda*: 62 at the end of *pāda b*, and 45 at the end of *d* or of the verse; 81 at the end of *a*, and 42 at the end of *c*. In 26 of the 81 cases, *pāda b* begins with a vowel, and then the two are always written as fused in the *saṁhitā*; but (unlike the epic *gloka*) they never coalesce in reality: thus, i.28.2 *a, b*. vii.66.17 *a, b*. So in 8 of the 42 cases, as i.116.10 *c, d*, *dasrā ā't*: *saṁhitā*-text, *dasrā'd*; i.18.3 *c, d*: vi.62.2 *c, d*: See Böhlingk, *Chrestomathie*², p. 342. There are only two instances, on the other hand, of *au* in the pause *b, d*: ii.30.6 *b, codāt*, and v.47.3 *d, āntau*.

2. 799 stand before consonants (in the interior of a *pāda*). 137 are before *v*, and 141 before other labials; 126 before sibilants, and 395 before other consonants: i. e., 278 labials against 521 consonants of the other classes. The frequency of *v* is significant as

regards the development of *au* from *á*. Cf. *tá' vām* and *tá'v aparām*; and see below.

The ending *au* occurs in the Rik exceptionally before consonants 48 times: i.179.6: ii.27.15; 40.1, 2 *quater*: iii.33.13; 53.17: iv.41.2: v.34.8 *bis*; 36.6; 40.7; 66.1; 68.4: vi.59.5; 60.14; 74.4 *bis*: vii.50.2; 84.2: viii.33.19 *bis*; 35.4, 5, 6: ix.112.4: x.14.10 *ter*, 11 *bis*, 12 *bis*; 27.20 *bis*; 85.11, 18, 42; 113.7; 117.9 *bis*; 136.5; 137.2 *bis*; 178.2 *bis*. That is, in only 27 different hymns; before labials 17 times, sibilants 15; 5 times at the end of *pāda a*, vi.74.4: x.14.12; 27.20; 85.11, 18, and once at the end of *c*, ix.112.4. An examination of these passages yields striking results, as proving how the criteria of dry grammatical investigation confirm the results of criticism based on other methods. The dual-form in *au* is found either in the last verse of a hymn (i.179.6: iii.33.13: v.36.6: vi.74.4 *bis*: viii.33.19 *bis*: ix.112.4: x.117.9 *bis*), or the last but one (v.34.8 *bis*; 68.4: vi.60.14: x.178.2 *bis*), or some verse near the last, which has been patched on (x.27.20) or interpolated (vi.59.5) by later hands; or the whole character of the hymn betrays its later origin (as vii.50: x.85; 117; 136; 137; 178). And it is something more than a mere coincidence that 15 of all the instances of *-au* before a consonant, about one-third, occur in verses found in Grassmann's *Anhang: Uebersetzung später angefügter Verse und Lieder*.

3. 93 coalesce with a following vowel (in the interior of a *pāda*): 53 to *e*, as v.76.2 *b*, *açvínópastutehá*; viii.34.9*b* and often with *iva*; 24 to *á*, as i.161.7 *tá'kr̥notana*; 182.4 *d̄*: v.46.3 *a*; and 16 to *o*, namely i.34.9; 36.17; 116.10; 117.1; 183.5: ii.39.8: iv.14.1; 21.9, *bhadrá' te hástá súkrtotá pānī'*; 44.4: vi.48.4: vii.63.5; 64.2; 71.4: Vâl. 9.4: x.87.3; 125.1.

4. The exceptions to A. 4 are as follows:

a. The cases in which *á* is followed by *u*- or *á*- in the interior of a *pāda* form a class by themselves. In the 16 passages just cited, the concurrent vowels are run into one syllable. The Atharvan and later *sandhi* would write *-áv u-*: thus AV. iv.32.7, *ubhá'v upāñcá*; so x.4.8, *tá'v ubhá'v arasá'*; xi.2.14, *sainvidānā'v ubhá'v ugrā'*; TA. iii.12.5, *ká'v ūrá'*; but once, xx.136.7, *mushká' upá'vadhít*, like the Rik. If the metre requires them to be kept apart as two syllables, the *Rík-sainhitá* extracts them with hiatus, and the *padapátha* reads always *-au u-*. (Aufrecht², *pāda*-extracts to x.83.7, a mere omission?) The cases number 15 and are: i.2.9 = SV. ii.199, *twijátá' uruksháyá*; 13.8, *sujihvá' úpa*; 35.6, *dvá' upásthá*; iv.41.10, *cakráná' átibhís*; v.65.3, *pá'rvá úpa*; viii.22.13, *tá' á*; 14, *tá' ushási*; 40.3, *tá' u*; 76.4, *vāvrđháná' úpa*; 90.2, *vārshishthakshatrā urucákshasá*; x.83.7 (=AV. iv.32.7, *ubhá'v*), *ubhá'v upāñcá*; 90.11, *ká' ūrá'*; 93.6, *mitrá'vārunā urushyatām*; 106.1, *ubhá' u*; and once in vii.70.4, *devā óshadhīshu*, p. *devau*. (x.90.11 = AV. xix.6.5, *kím ūrá'*; VS. xxxi.10, *kím ūrá'*; TA. iii.12.5, *ká'v ūrá'*.) This fact is significant, when taken in connection with what was said above about the labials. At the end of the *pāda*, the two vowels are fused to *o* in the *sainhitá*, but are of course always to be read with hiatus: i.22.2, *yá' suráthá rathítamobhá' devá' divispr'cá*, read *-á u-*; i.93.6: v.64.4: viii.9.9; 61.17: x.106.4.

β. Of the 1129 forms there remain seven. Six seem to precede a vowel with hiatus. As in the case of the Rik *au*-forms before consonants, the exceptions here only confirm the rule. v.41.3, *á' vām yáishthá açvinā huwádhyaí*; the hymn is not homogeneous, and abounds in false readings. x.132.2, *sushumná' ishítatvátá yajímasi*; the metre is in the utmost confusion, alike in no two consecutive verses, and the sense is obscure. v.65.6 (last verse), *yuvám mīt(a)remán jánam*, perhaps, as in v.40.7, *tuám mītaró*. vii.70.1, *á' viçvavárāçvinā gatañ nah*; perhaps it once began *éhá viç-* or *á' viçvavárāv açvinā gatañ nah*. In x.22.5, perhaps we have to read *ad' agá rjrá'* (*a*)*tmáná váhadhyaí*; *atmáná* is the link between *átmáná* and *tmáná* (accent!); but the metre is really hopeless. In vi.63.1, *kúva tyá' valgá' puruhūtá' adyá*, the hiatus is not the only trouble; we need a short, *puruhūtá* (see below).

γ. In vi.67.1, finally, *duḍ' jánāñ āsamā bāhūbhīh svañh*, the hiatus is prevented by nasalization (but p. *jānān*). So too i.35.6, *upāsthāñ | ékā*.

δ. Some apparent cases of hiatus our canon teaches us to avoid, as follows: pronounce, i.36.17, *agnīh prā āvan mītrótā mēdhyātīm*; ii.10.2, *utā arushā'ha cakre vibhrtāh* (not *utā'rushā' āha*); vii.50.1, *ā' māam mītrāvaruṇehā rakshatam* (not *-ṇā ihā*); vii.67.5, *prācīm u devācvinā dhīyam me*.

B. 1. In the Rik *-au* occurs 171 times. In the older portions thereof, it is used only before vowels, and is written *-āv*. This is the case in 121 instances, 70 per cent. of the whole number. Its occurrence before a consonant may even warrant a suspicion of the lateness of the verse concerned (the 48 cases are above, A. 2).

2. Of the 388 cases in which *-au* occurs in the Atharvan, in only 102 does *-au* stand before a vowel (as *-āv*); i. e., about 26 per cent., against 70 in the Rik.

3. The Atharvan has *-au* as *variā lectio* in some passages where the Rik has *-ā*: iv.32.7, *ubhaū = x.83.7, -ā*; vii.58.1, *dhrtavratāu = vi.68.10, -ā*; viii.3.3, *dānshtrau = x.87.3, -ā*; in xviii.3.12, *mītrā'varunā*, the Ath. *pada* has *-ṇau*.

There are 47 forms in *-ā* in passages peculiar to the Atharvan (not found in the Rik). They are distributed as follows: at the end of a *pāda*, 7; before consonants, 33 (of which 7 before *v*); coalescing, xiv.2.64, to *e*; iii.4.4 and x.4.16, to *o*; making hiatus, vi.3.3: xix.13.1: xx.129.15, 16.

The N.A.V.d.m. appears with shortened final as follows:

1. Cases where the *pāda* reads *-ā*; the *saṁhitā* has *-a*:

a. For the sake of the metre, in the seventh place of a *jagatī*: i.151.4, *prā sā' kshītīr asura yā' māhi priyā'*; of a *tristubh*: vi.68.5, *indrā yō vām varuṇa dā'cati tmān*: vii.61.1, *ūd vām cākshur varuṇa supratīkam*; in the fifth place of a *gāyatrī*: i.15.6, *mītrāvaruṇa dūlābham* (p. *-ṇā*); 17.3, *indrāvaruṇa rāyā ā'* (p. *-ṇā*); 17.7, *indrāvaruṇa vām āhām* (p. *-ṇā*); 17.8, *indrāvaruṇa nū' nū vām* (p. *-ṇā*); 17.9, *indrāvaruṇa yā'n huve* (p. *-ṇā*); v.67.1, *bālithā' deva nishkrtām* (p. *devā*); β. at the end of a *gāyatrī-pāda* (metre indifferent), i.15.6, *yuvām dāksham dhrtavratā* (p. *-vratā*); v.64.6, *yuvām no yēshu varuṇa* (p. *varunā*); γ. against the metre v.66.6, *mītra vayām ca sūrayah* (p. *mītrā*); vii.60.12, *iyām deva purōhitir yuvābhyām* (p. *devā*); 85.4, *yā āditya pāvasā vām nāmasvām* (p. *ādityā*); viii.9.6, *yād vā deva bhishajyāthah* (p. *devā*). These are all given in the Prāt. iv.39.40.

2. Cases where both texts read *a*: v.74.4, *paūra paūrā'ya jīnvathah* (p. *paūra*); vi.63.10, *bharādvājāya vīra nū' girē dāt* (p. *vīra*); *ashtā*, x.27.15, seems to be a shortened dual-form (cf. i.35.8, *ashtarū*), like the later *duḍ*, *ambō*, *dvō*. Compare also *indrāvāyā* i.2.4, and *mītrārājānā* v.62.3.

3. A merely graphic peculiarity is the short final *a* at the end of an odd *pāda*, where the next begins with *r*:- ii.3.7, *vidūshtara | rjū*, p. *vidūh-tarā*; vi.68.2, *tuviçūshma | rtēna*, p. *-mā*; viii.66.11, *sūsamskrta | rdūpē*, p. *-tā*; x.66.13, *purōhita | rtāsya*, p. *-tā*.

4. The metre demands a short in vi.63.1, *kūa tyā' valgā' puruhātā' adyā*: see above; and vi.67.8, *tād vām mahitvām ghrta-annāv astu*. Cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.120-121.

i.112.18, *yā'bhīr āngiro mānasā niranyāthah*. For *āngiro* as a genuine dual-form there is no support. See Gr., *Wb.* 14, and Kuhn, *Beitr.* iii.121. Because the Prāt. allows *-o* for *-au* in the Loc., we may not put *-o* for the proper dual-ending *-ā*. We

might explain it as an instance of crasis, for *aṅgirā u*, 'And with what helps, ye two Angiras;' but there is no support for giving the Agvins that name. See therefore *as*-stems, A.p.m.

It must be remembered that the above statistics refer to forms from *a*-stems only. The forms from non-*a*-stems will be found to yield substantially corresponding results. The complete enumeration of the Rīg-Veda forms in *au* follows:

Nominatives: *āṅsau*, *aghniāu*, *ajārau*, *āntau*, *ārdhau*, *-itau* 2, *imāu* 3, *indrāvāruṇau*, *udumbalāu*, *ubhāu* 4, *urāṇasaū*, *ṛjraū*, *ṛshvaū*, *etaū* 2, *ōshthau*, *kārṇau*, *kapilakāu*, *kulphaū*, *kshdyau*, *gaurāu* 3, *caturakshaū* 2, *codau*, *jā'yamānau*, *jātāu* 3, *jānuu*, *jushnāu*, *jrayasānāu*, *taū* 13, *tigmā'yudhau*, *dānsishtaū*, *dūtaū*, *devau* 12, *-hitau*, *nāvyaū*, *pādakaū*, *punarmanyau*, *purōhitau*, *prchāmānau*, *prāyishthau*, *bhū'ripācru* *bhedau*, *māhikshatrau*, *mitrā'vāruṇau* 4, *mithunau* 2, *mōdamānau*, *yāu* 8, *yātāmānau*, *yamaū*, *yuktaū*, *rākshamānau*, *rōhitau*, *raūdrav*, *vārnau*, *vā'tau*, *vāvrđhānau*, *ṣaphau*, *ṣabālau*, *ṣukrau*, *ṣyenau*, *ṣvetaū*, *sācamānau*, *sajōshau*, *samaū*, *samudrau*, *sāmanau*, *sārameyau*, *sudhānau*, *suvi'rau*, *supēvau*, *stānau*, *-stutau*, *sthirau*, *haṅsau* 4, *hariṇau*, *hāstau* 2.

Vocatives: *āgniparjanyaū*, *āgnishomau* 4, *indrāvāruṇau*, *indrāvāruṇau* 3, *indrāsomau*, *ghṛtaṇṇau*, *dasrau* 7, *devau* 9, *dhiṣṇiaū*, *nāsatiyau* 4, *bhuraṇau*, *mitrāvāruṇau* 9, *rudrau*, *viprau*, *ṣundārau*, *somārudrau*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

This case ends in *-e*, which appears to be the result of fusion of the thematic vowel with the general ending *-ī*. The form occurs 57 times, in connection with 32 stems. There is no instance of a vocative. *Nākta*, although neuter, is declined as a masculine, and used with a feminine adjective, in the combination *ushā'sā-nāktā*. In ii.39.4, *yugēva nābhyeva* must be resolved as *yugē va nābhye va*, although the *pada* has in both instances *-ā-iva*.

Enumeration: *acakrē*, *apārē* 2, *imē*, *ubhē* 15, *krāmaṇe*, *cakrē* 3, *tē*, *tānaye* 2, *tigmē*, *tokē* 2, *dvakē*, *-hite*, *nāve*, *padē*, *pavāste*, *pātalyē*, *priyātame*, *mā'ñṣatve*, *yē*, *rējāmāne*, *vādhatre*, *vidāthe*, *vishurāpe* 2, *ṣirshē*, *ṣūshē*, *ṣṛ'ṅge* 5, *satyānr̥tē*, *sāmānte*, *sācānācānē*, *sudne*, *sumēke* 2, *tastabhānē*.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL.

The ending is *-bhyām*, before which the thematic *a* is lengthened. There are only 24 of these forms, all told; 19 are m. (from 14 stems), and 5 are n. (from 4 stems). The oblique cases of the dual being so rarely used, the consciousness of their several meanings was not definite and clear; at any rate, a certain relation was not always expressed by the properly corresponding form. Thus *tā'bhyām*, ix.66.2, seems to be an I. with the meaning of a L. A like uncertainty existed as regards the form of some of the nominatives and accusatives p.n. See *mant*-stems.

There is no evidence that these cases were ever formally separated. The exegesis groups them as follows:

Instrumentals masculine: *tā'bhyām*, vi.57.3: x.137.7; *dāṣaākhābhyām*, x.137.7; *mitrā'vāruṇābhyām*, v.51.9; *yukta'bhyām*, vi.23.1; *ṣubhrā'bhyām*, i.35.3; *hās-tābhyām*, x.137.7; *haryatā'bhiām*, viii.6.36:—neuter: *ṛksā'mābhyām*, x.85.11; 114.6; *ubhā'bhyām*, ix.67.25, is joined with two nouns, one m. and one n.

Datives masculine: *ābhyā'm*, ii.40.2; *tveshā'bhyām*, Vāl. 9.5; *nā'satyābhyām*, i.116.1: v.77.4; *nicirā'bhyām*, i.163.1; *yā'bhyām*, viii.38.10; *nāasatyābhiām*, i.20.3.

Ablatives masculine: *ānsābhyām*, x.163.2; *ābhyām*, iv.32.22; *kārṇābhyām*,

x.163.1; *tá'bhyám*, x.14.11:—neuter: *mátasnábhyám*, x.163.3; *prápádābhiám*, x.163.4.

I add a few forms from the Atharvan: m. *kárṇābhyám*, ix.4.17; 8.2; *dānshtrābhyám*, x.5.43; *dakshinasavyá'bhyám*, xii.1.28; *vṛṛhiyavá'bhyám*, x.6.24; *sār-yácandramásābhyám*, vi.128.3: xi.3.34; n. *pārçvā'bhyám*, ii.33.3.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL

The general ending of this case is *-os*; but between this and the thematic vowel of the *a*-stems there is an inserted *y*. There are 57 of these forms in *-ayos*; 27 are G.d.m. (from 12 stems), and 27 are L.d.m. (from 15 stems); besides, *táynos*, n., occurs thrice.

Here, too, there seems to be some confusion of form and function. Thus *dhvasráynos*, ix.58.3, does the duty of an Ab. Cf. the preceding section, and *i*-stems, G.L.d.m.

Roth explains *avós*, vii.67.4, as equal to *ayós*, 'of these twain;' so vi.67.11, and x.132.5 (*avór vá[m]*).

The Zend usually has the inserted *y*; as, *zactayó*, Y. lvii.31; *pádhayáo*, Yt. x.23; but not always; as, *fratíráo*, *baēshataçtíráo*, Yt. xiii.125. The Veda also shows a few such peculiar forms, in which the ending *-os* is added directly to the stem after this has dropped its final *a*. In i.136.1, 5: vi.69.8: vii.103.4, we have *enos* (for *enayos*); x.105.3, *yós* (for *yáyos*); so in x.96.10, *pastíos* (for *pastiayos*), and ix.102.2, *páshíos* (for *páshiayos*), unless we assume a genuine feminine formation for each of these two passages. In iii.55.2, *purānīóḥ sádmanoh*, we have an anomaly, the reverse of that in i.160 i, *sujánmanē dhisháne*.

Genitives d.m.: *ayós*, vi.25.6 (pronounce *áyós*); *indrāvárūṇayos*, i.17.1; *īcánáyos*, vii.90.5; *ubháynos*, i.120.1: vi.25.6; *táynos*, i.17.6; 21.1; 22.14; 136.3; 164.20: v.86.3; *deváyos*, vii.61.1; *mitráyos*, vi.51.1; *mitrá'várūṇayos*, x.130.5; *yáyos*, iii.50.2: vi.60.4: vii.65.1: viii.10.3, 4; 40.4: x.22.5; 65.5 bis: Vá. 11.2; *yamáyos*, x.117.9; *várūṇayos*, vi.51.1; *vaikarṇáyos*, vii.18.11.

Locatives d.m.: *ānsayos*, v.57.6; *āçpayos*, vi.47.9; *ayós* (p. wrongly *áyós*), iii.54.2: x.105.4, 9; *upákáyos*, i.81.4; *táynos*, x.114.1; *tuvijátáyos*, vii.66.1; *nadáyos*, x.105.4; *mitráynos*, vii.66.1; *mushkáyos*, x.38.5; *yáyos*, ix.58.4; *várūṇayos*, vii.66.1; *vāhishthayos*, vi.47.9; *vīvratayos*, x.105.4; *sthāráyos*, vi.29.2; *hástayos*, i.24.4; 38.1; 55.8; 81.4; 135.9; 162.9; 176.3: vi.31.1; 45.8: ix.18.4; 90.1.

Genitives d.n.: *táynos*, iii.55.11, 15: vii.104.12.

From the Atharvan: *kárṇayos*, vi.141.2: xix.60.1; *dānshtrayos*, iv.36.2: xvi.7.3, etc.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

There are two endings, *-āsas* and *-ās*. The forms in *-āsas* (N. 936 + V. 101 = 1037, from 403 stems) are about one-half as numerous as those in *-ās* (N. 1954 + V. 226 = 2180, from 808 stems) in the Rik. The Atharvan has in all only 91 forms in *-āsas* (from 54 stems), against 1545 forms in *-ās* (from 576 stems). Deducting those that occur in Rik-passages, the Atharvan has in verses peculiar to itself only 57 forms in *-āsas* against 1366 in *-ās*. That is, the ratio has changed from 1:2 to 1:24. The details of comparison will be given hereafter. In general, accordingly, the ending *-āsas* is the older, and goes gradually out of use in the Vedic period. On the other hand, we may not stretch the interpretation

of these figures. Both forms stand often side by side, as in iv.25.8, and I believe that the choice of the poet between the longer and the shorter form was often decided simply by the requirements of the metre. This is illustrated by the comparison of some similar verses: v.59.6, *té ajyeshthā' ākanishthāsa udbhīdah*, but v.60.5, *ajyeshthā'so ākanishthāsa eté*; so ii.1.16, *brhād vadema vidāthe suvīrāh*, but ii.12.15, *suvīrāso vidātham ā' vadema*; and by the Atharvan variants of Rik passages: AV. iv.31.1, *hārshamānā hr̥shitā'so marutvan*, RV. x.84.1, *hārshamānāso dhr̥shitā marutvah*; AV. v.2.4, *mā' tvā dabhan durēvasāh kaçókāh*, RV. x.120.4, *mā' tvā dabhan yātudhā'nā durēvāh*; AV. v.3.4, *vīçve devā' abhī rakshantu mehá*, RV. x.128.4, *vīçve devāso ādhī vocatā nah*; AV. xix.13.11, *asmā'n devāso avatā hāveshu*, RV. x.103.11, *asmā'n u devā avatā hāveshu*. The difference between RV. iii.29.9, *yēna devā'so āsahanta dāsýūn*, and AV. xi.1.2, *yēna devā' āsahanta dāsýūn*, rests perhaps upon a mere haplographia.

These comparisons suggest a most plausible remedy for some defective *pādas*. I have found no cases of redundant *pādas* needing the substitution of *-ās* for *-āsas*. On the other hand, *pādas* deficient by one syllable are not uncommon, and the emendation (*-āsas* for *-ās*) seems certain in several cases: iv.37.4, *áyahçiprā[so] vājīnah sunishkā'h*; v.41.9, *tujē nas tane pārvatās[ah] santu*; x.94.11, *tr̥dilā[so] ātr̥dilāso ādrayah*; also AV. xi.1.2; RV. vii.35.14d = x.53.5b, *gójātā[sa] utā yē yajñīyāsah* (Gr. suggests *-taās*, but *ā* is frequent in the third place, as in i.89.1 b: ii.27.3 b: iv.4.12 b); x.78.6, *çiçū'lā[so] ná kr̥idāyah sumātārah* (Gr., -aas). In v.41.4, *ājīm na jagmur āçvāçvatāmās[ah]*, *āçvāçvatāmāh* is possible. In vii.56.3c, *vā'tasvanāsas* is formally justified by iv.6.10, where the stem *tuviśhvānās* occurs; the pentasyllabic metre, however, requires the form from the vocalic stem, *vā'tasvanāsas* (cf. x.46.7 a, c).

On the contrary, in vii.97.6, *tām [u] çamā'so arushā'so āçvāh*, the insertion of *u* (cf. verse 3) seems to me better than either the resolution *arushāaso* (Kuhn, *Beitr.* iv.183), or the emendation *āçvāsah*. So in i.163.10 and iii.8.9, *çrayiniçās* is better than the quite possible *hansā'sas*. Roth suggests *stómatashtāras* for *-tāsas*, x.15.9.

Grassmann (*Wb.*) suggested the resolution of *ā* to *aa* or *āā* in x.77.2, *divās putrā'sa, étā ná yetire*; 78.2, *suçármāno ná, sómā rtām yaté*, and 78.3, *pit̥r̥nāam ná, çānsāh surātāyah*. These *pādas* are peculiar in structure and movement. Their rhythmic accent is as follows: $\sim \text{—} \sim \text{—} \sim \text{—} \sim \text{—}$, $\sim \text{—} \sim \text{—} \sim \text{—}$. In each, the syllable *ās* is the first accented one after the *çasura*, and requires no resolution (Grassmann, *Ueb.* ii.479). The final *pāda* of ii.1; 2; 11; 13; 23; 27; 33; 39; 40; 42; 43: ix.86, *brhād vadema vidāthe suvīrāh*, can be read with catalectic cadence, since it is a stereotyped refrain, and need not be made to correspond with the other *pādas* of its verse by the resolution *suvī'raah*.

The resolution *aa* in *devaas*, i.23.24: vii.66.2: x.137.5; 159.4; 174.4, and in *dā'naas* v.27.5, is in each instance at the end of an

octosyllabic *pāda*, and of doubtful necessity; but in *devaas*, i.105.5, it occupies the fifth and sixth places. See p. 338, top.

In i.127.7 and vi.67.10, *kistā'sas* ought to be read as a dactyl. Perhaps it is an erroneous way of writing the original *kistā's*, which was pronounced *kistāas*. If so, *darṣatā'sas* ix.101.12 is an analogous instance.

Examples of the forms in *-āsas* are: *amr'tāsas*, 11; *ādityā'sas*, 24; *jānāsas*, 41; *devā'sas*, 86; *yajñyāsas*, 21; *sutā'sas*, 29; *sómāsas*, 41:—of those in *-ās*: *amr'tās*, 22; *ādityā's*, 39; *jānās*, 24; *dévās* and *devās*, 311; *yajñyās*, 10; *sutā's*, 27; *sómās*, 42.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

This case ends in *-ān*. The Rik has 908 such forms, from 256 stems. In the *saṃhitā*, however, they appear as *-āñ* before a vowel, except at the end of a *pāda* (Rik Pr. iv.26). Thus, i.92.7, *úsho góagrāñ úpa māsi vā'jān*. I have noted the *saṃhitā*-form for 200 instances. In 73 it was *-āñ*: before *a*-, in 42; before *ā*-, in x.53.2; before *i*-, in six (as iii.32.6); before *ī*-, in ix.97.56; before *u*-, in eighteen (as iv.22.10); before *r*-, in v.32.2 and vi.15.18; before *e*-, in i.1.2 and iv.54.5; before *o*-, in iv.4.4. It stood at the end of a *pāda*, in 68 instances unchanged; but as *-āñ* in iv.1.17; 19.7: viii.64.1 (there are six other exceptions given Rik Pr. iv.26,27); it stood before consonants unchanged in 47 cases; before *ç*- the *sandhi* was *-ñ ch*- in i.35.5; 126.2: ii.12.10; and *-ñ c*- before *c*- in four cases. Only twice did *-āñç* appear, x.51.8 before *ca*, and v.31.2 before *cid*. See the Pr. iv.32 for the other instances. According to the Pr. iv.33, there are only five examples of *s* inserted between *-ān* and *t*. Professor Whitney (note to Ath. Pr. ii.27) regards *āñ* before a vowel as, equally with *āñs*, *āñç*, *īñr*, *ūñr*, coming from the original ending in *ns*; in all these cases alike, *s* is treated after a nasal vowel as it would be after a pure vowel: e. g. *jānā ānu* and *jānāñ ānu* are parallel results, the one from *jānās* and the other from *jānāñs*. With regard to the inserted *t*, between *-ān* and *s*, see the Ath. Pr. ii.9. Aufrecht has left them out in the second edition (see Preface, p. vi.); but they seem to be justified phonetically; and their development is aided by the false analogy of many instances in which the "inserted *t*" is organic: thus, i.80.10, *īndro nīr ahant sāhasā sāhah*; x.40.12, *ā' vām agant sumatir*; x.20.5, *minvānt sādma purā eti*; so vii.104.21 *d*.

The only instances of resolution of the *ā* of *-ān* are: *çukrāan* in iv.2.2; *devāan* in viii.64.2; and in x.12.2, unless *devó[si]devā'n paribhā'r ṛtēna* be better; in x.93.2, finally, the metre is in a hopeless state.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

There are two endings, *-ā* and *-āni*. The forms in *-ā* number 1682 (from 394 stems); those in *-āni*, 1050 (from 280 stems). The older form, therefore, which is entirely unknown in the later language, here greatly outnumbers the younger. The Atharvan

has in all 302 forms in *-ā* (from 102 stems) against 407 in *-āni* (from 158 stems). Deducting those that occur in Rik-passages, the AV. has in verses peculiar to itself 228 forms in *-ā* against 334 in *-āni*. For the Rik the percentages are 62 : 38; for the Atharvan 41 : 59. In the Rik the older form predominates largely; in the Atharvan, the younger has already gained the advantage of its rival. Nevertheless, it seems from this, that in the AV. the *-ā*-forms have held their own, as against the *-āni*-forms, better than any other old form, as against its more modern equivalent.

I have not found a single example of the V.p.n. in the Rik. The Atharvan has one, *cittāni*, iii.2.4; but even here the MSS. read *cittā'ni*, according to Professor Whitney's MS. Index.

The genesis of the younger form calls for a word. On the one hand, it is not a double formation (like the oft-quoted *prtsūshu*), made by adding the general ending, *i*, to the existing form in *-ā*, with mediating *n*; nor is it a good explanation to say that it was formed by adding the general ending, *i*, to the stem, with mediating *n*—which would give only *-a-n-i* (as, *yugāni*). We have here a plain case of transfer to the *an*-declension. In this, the distinction between “strong” and “weak” stem exists, and the N.A.p.n. ends in *-ān-i*. The coexistence of such forms as *krtrīma krtrīmāni*, *pūrvā pūrvāni*, *yugā yugāni*, *vāmā vāmāni*, *talpā talpāni* (AV. xiii.1.17: xiv.2.41), shows how easy was the transition from *krtrīma* to *krtrīman*, *pūrvā* to *pūrvan*, *yugā* to *yugān*, *vāmā* to *vāmān*, *talpā* to *talpān*. This theory is strengthened by the abundant converse facts in regard to the *an*-stems. Moreover the form *āhānām*, viii.22.13, proves beyond a doubt the transition from the *an*- to the *a*-declension, for a case other than those in question.

The older and the younger form stand side by side so often that this is almost the rule. Common stock-phrases illustrate it, as *vīśvāni kāvā*. It is worth noticing that generally, if two nominatives or accusatives p.n. stand in the same *pāda*, and the one ends in *-āni* (from *a*- or *an*-stem, without distinction), *-īni*, *-ūni*, or even *-ānsi*, *-īnshi*, *-ūnshi*, the other ends in *-ā*. From very many examples I cite a few: ix.61.30, *yā te bhīmāni āyudhā*, and vii.67.9, *āsviā maghāni*; so viii.41.5, *vēda nāmāni gūhiā*; i.166.10, *bhūrīni bhadrā*: cf. vii.19.4 b; iii.36.8, *sāvanā purāni*; viii.67.8, *vāsāni sāngatā*; iii.4.4, *ārdhvā śoci'nshi prāsthītā rājānsi*; iii.1.8, *rabhasā vāpānshi*. It is plain that this common collocation is favored by the metre. A comparison of the similar metrical structure of iii.39.2c; 55.10b: vi.62.2c, and x.56.5b, is instructive.

The difference in the metrical value of the two forms often decided the poet's choice. Compare x.82.3b, with *ā* (*bhūvanāni*, *bhūvanā*); v.79.7, *yē no rādhānsi āsviā gavyā bhājanta sūráyah*, with vi.44.12, *īndro rādhānsi āsviāni gavyā*, and viii.34.14, *ā no gavyāni āsviā*; iv.8.3, *dāti priyāni cid vāsu*, with vii.32.15, *yē dādāti priyā vāsu*; x.120.7, *āta inoshī kārvarā puri'ni*, with AV. v.2.6, *āta invata kārvarāni bhā'ri*; x.165.5,

sañyopáyanto duritá'ni víçvá, and AV. vi.28.1, *sañlobháyanto duritá padá'ni*. The difference between x.85.18, *víçvány anyó bhúvanābhicāšte*, and *víçványó bhúvanā vicāšte* (AV. vii.81.1, *et alibi*), furnishes a most striking example of haplographia.

In several cases, the change of -ā to -āni gives a plausible emendation: i.173.4, *tā[ni] karma śhatarā[ni] asmai*; v.41.10, *gocāshkeço nī rñāti vānā[ni]*; vi.22.6, *ācyutā[ni] cid vīditā' suojah* (these are suggested by Grassmann); vii.4.2, *sām yó vānā[ni] yuvāte çúcidan* (cadence? see Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.476). For AV. iv.4.4, see below. For viii.12.28 30, Grassmann proposes *bhúvanā nī yemīre* (as x.56.5), for *bhúvanāni yemīre*. If he is right, ix.86.30 needs the same change.

In the trochaic *pāda*, viii.2.30 *b*, the resolution, *ukthāá ca tūbhya[ni] tā'ni*, seems to be the best way out of the metrical difficulty; if correct, it gives an example of the organic form of the case.

The rule of hiatus does not hold for the final -ā; it sometimes coalesces with a following vowel: e. g., x.60.5 *a*; iv.25.6, *kēvalēndrah*; so in *hāvemā'*, vii.29.3. This is probably the case in i.85.9 and viii.85.19, where the text has *nāri āpāñsi*, and we must read with Grassmann *nāriāpāñsi*, i. e., *nāriā āpāñsi* (cf. verse 21).

In several passages the *pāda* has -ā, where the assumption of the usage so common in the Atharvan (Pr. ii.56) is, perhaps, preferable: i.57.2, *nīmnēva* for *nīmnām iva*; x.40.9, *nīvanēva* for *nīvanām iva*; v.66.2, *vratēva* for *vratām iva* (*Ueb.* i.577); v.73.8, *yāt samudrā'ti pārshathah*, for *samudrām āti*. AV. iv.4.4 *b*, *sā'ra ṛshabhā'nām*, p. *sā'rā*, Bk. interpret as *sā'ram ṛshabhā'nām*. If *sā'rā* may be considered a voucher for the use of the word in the plural at all, I should prefer to read *sā'rāni ṛshabhā'naam*. The metre is thus entirely rectified. For *yugēva* and *nābhyeva*, ii.39.4, see N.A.d.m.

The *pāda* sometimes has a *visarga*, where the exegesis demands a plural neuter: thus vi.29.2, *nāriās* (cf. vii.45.1); i.174.8 and v.29.15, *nāvyās*; v.61.16, *puruścandrā's*. *Vice versa*, the *visarga* is wrongly omitted, before *s*, in iii.32.5, *apó ārnā[s] isarshī* (cf. i.174.2).

The final long -ā has disappeared in Greek and Latin, leaving only scanty traces: Il. xiii.22, *ἀφ'ἑτα αἰεῖ*; so *συνά* (*συνος*); *certā*, *falsā*, C.I.L. i.1440, 1441 (Bücheler, *Lat. Declination*, p. 19). On the other hand, in the Veda, there is hardly a trace of this shortening (save in forms from *an*-stems), although, as *syllaba anceps*, it might often be read as short. There is reason, however, for assuming this shortening in some cases: *vāna*, ix.88.2: *sāvarshātā vāna ārdhvā' navanta*, p. *vāne* (cf. i.88.3, and 171.3, and Grassmann's note); *āha*, i.92.3: *víçvād āha yājamānāya sunvatē* (cf. i.130.2, *āhā víçvā*); possibly *víçva[m]* in vii.7.2, *jāmbhebhūr víçvam uçádhag vāndāni* (but see Grassmann's note), with -m as in i.60.3, *jā'yamānā* (text, -nam as-), which is certainly a N.s.f. Cf. *çatāmāti*, *satyāmugra*, *sahásramāti*; and *ekamanta*, *Indische Studien*, v.437.

The difficult verse, ix.10.9, *abhī priyā' divās padām adhvar-yūbhīr gūhā hitām* (sc. *kavér āpatyam*) *sūrah paçyati cākshasā*, offers perhaps the least uncertain example of this phenomenon. I translate: 'To its [own places of the sky] home in the sky, the Soma, set away [in the vat] by the priests, looks with the eye of the sun;' i. e., with the image of the sun reflected in its surface, it seems to look aloft to the regions whence it was brought by the falcon (iv.26.6). How *priyām* could become *priyā'* (see Grassmann) in our text, I cannot conceive; but that *padām* can here stand for *padā'* is even probable; cf. ix.12.8. Of course, the Sāma variant smooths everything over and has *priyām* (ii.477); but its reading ought not to have any weight here.

Gr. says that *vāça* is used once as neuter, in ii.24.13 (p. *vāçā*). By BR. it is described, *s.v.*, as standing for *vāçāñ*. It is a simple case of elision (before *r*, for *vāçam*), and crasis; pronounce *vāçarnām*. So Roth would now correct the dictionary. *Veshānā*, iv.33.2 (Gr., A.p.n.), is probably an I.s.n.

Some of the most frequent forms are: in -*ā*, *imā'*, 57; *ukthā'*, 25; *tā'*, 71; *duritā'*, 31; *bhūvanā*, 36; *yā'*, 50; *vīçvā*, 249; *sāvanā*, 30; *havyā'*, 44:—in -*āni*, *krtāni*, 20; *tāni*, 34; *bhūvanāni*, 57; *yāni*, 25; *vīçvāni*, 110; *vṛtrāni*, 36; *vratāni*, 34; *havyāni*, 25.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

There are two endings, -*ebhis* and -*ais*. In the Rik, instrumentals in -*ebhis* are almost as frequent as those in -*ais*, and in certain parts more so (details will be given hereafter). The forms in -*ebhis* number 571 (414 from 146 m. stems, and 129 from 65 n. stems, besides 28 occurrences of the pronoun *tēbhis*); the forms in -*ais*, 666 (457 from 142 m. stems, and 209 from 79 n. stems). The Atharvan has in all 53 forms in -*ebhis* against 263 in -*ais*; and of these, in passages peculiar to itself, it has only 43 against 226. The ratio for the Rik is nearly 1 : 1; for the Atharvan, about 1 : 5; that is, the ending -*ebhis* is plainly going out of use in the Vedic period. The later Sanskrit uses the old ending only in one word, the pronoun *ebhis*; and it has been retained here doubtless because the word would otherwise have lost its individuality almost entirely. The two forms often stand side by side, as in i.33.2, *upamēbhīr arkañh*; AV. vii.98.1. Once, in place of the Rik-reading -*ebhis* (x.14.5, *āngirobhīr ā' gahi yajñīyebhīh*), the Atharvan has -*ais* (xviii.1.59, *āngirobhīr yajñīyair ā' gahīhā*). The choice was often determined by the needs of the metre. Compare *ādityēbhīr vāsūbhīr āngirobhīh* (vii.44.4), and *ādityai rudrāir vāsūbhīh sacābhūvā* (viii.35.1); *yātām āçvebhīr āçvinā* (viii.5.7), and *ādityair yātām āçvinā* (viii.35.13).

Bopp (*Vgl. Gr.* § 219) considers both -*ebhis* and -*ais* as two independent developments from -*ābhis*. But besides the two forms cited by him, *asmā'bhis* and *yushmā'bhis*, I know of no other to support this view. Neither of the two seems derivable from the other. The equality of their numbers, at least does not run

counter to Bopp's view. The resolution of *-ais* into two syllables would speak for this theory; but I cannot bring forward a single certain example of such resolution. It has been proposed in the following passages: at the end of octosyllabic *pādas*, viii.92.13 *b* and x.24.2 *a*; but in view of the facts relating to the resolution of *devās* (N.V.p.m.) etc., it may be asked whether even such *pādas* were not sometimes catalectic. In i.129.8 and v.50.2, the metre can be helped by better means than the resolutions *atrāis*, *sacathyaīs* (Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.192): read *upa-īshé* (*tr* forms weak position) and *sacathīais*. In the *trishṭubh* line ii.11.2, read *āva abhinād*, not *ukthāis*. In v.4.7, the syllable before *ukthāis* is syncopated. In viii.90.10, *rājishthāis* is not needed, since *pādas* of eleven syllables are sometimes combined with those of eight. Cf. also Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.189.

Specimen forms are: in *-ebhis*, *ukthēbhis*, 14; *ebhis* and *ebhis*, 20; *tēbhis*, 28; *devēbhis*, 52; *yēbhis* (*yais* not found in RV.), 28; *vājebhis*, 21; *viṣvebhis*, 29; *stōmebhis*, 26:—in *-ais*, *arkāis*, 43; *āṣvais*, 30; *ukthāis*, 35; *devāis*, 31; *yajñāis*, 34; *stōmaīs*, 25.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

The dative plural ends in *-ebhyas* (or *-ebhīas*) and this form does duty also for the ablative. The datives number 131; that is, 79 masculines in *-ebhyas* (from 28 stems), and 51 masculines in *-ebhīas* (from 26 stems), and one neuter.

1. The masculines are as follows: *arbhakēbhyas*, *ādītēbhyas*, *ācinēbhyas*, *ebhyas* 8, *ebhīas* 2, *ubhāyebhyas*, *ēkebhyas*, *etēbhyas*, *grhēbhyas*, *jīvēbhyas*, *tēbhyas* 4, *tāvakēbhyas*, *dāṣayoktrebhyas*, *devēbhyas* 36, *pīṣunebhyas*, *putrēbhyas*, *pūrushebhyas*, *pā'rvebhyas* 4, *mārtiebhyas*, *mā'nebhyas*, *yēbhyas* 3, *rāthebhyas*, *vīprebhyas*, *viṣvebhyas*, *viāṣvebhyas*, *suvidātrīyebhyas*, *stenēbhyas*, *pasprdhānēbhyas*.

Of the neuters my collections show only one single example in the whole Rigveda, and that is *bhūvanebhyas*, viii.85.16. It might be supposed from the grammars that the forms of the paradigms were of about equal use and frequency. But when we compare the occurrences of the N.s.m. (10,071) with those of the D.p.n. (1), the contrast is striking. See Delbrück, *Verbum*, pp. 14, 15; and Curtius, *Verbum*, vol. i., preface, p. v., and p. 5.

2. The ending of the D.p.m.n. is frequently to be pronounced as a dissyllable. The instances number 51. 18 are at the end of a *jagati-pāda* whose cadence would be catalectic without the resolution: *ajārebhīas*, x.94.7; *āmavattarebhyas* and *āṣapastarebhyas*, x.76.5; *ebhīas*, i.146.5: iii.53.16; *jānebhyas*, i.55.5; 58.6; *tēbhyas*, iii.2.6; *dāṣakakshiebhyas* and *dāṣayojanebhyas*, x.94.7; *pārvatebhyas*, iv.54.5; *pīṭukr'ttarebhyas*, x.76.5; *mārtiebhyas*, x.17.2; *mānavēbhyas*, iv.54.1; *mā'nushebhyas*, iv.54.2; *yajñīyebhyas*, i.139.7: iv.54.2; *sōmarabhastarebhyas*, x.76.5. Further, in *pādas* of 11 or 12 syllables, *-bhīas* occupies the third and fourth places seven times: *gārbhebhyas*, i.146.5; *devēbhyas*, i.139.7: iii.34.7: x.70.2; 110.4, 5; *putrēbhyas*, x.15.7;—the sixth and

seventh in x.32.5, *á'mebhīas*, and i.122.8; *pajrēbhīas*;—the ninth and tenth in v.11.1, *bharatēbhīas*, and iv.41.3, *çaçamānēbhīas*. At the end of octosyllabic *pādas*, *-bhīas* occurs 11 times: *ebhīas*, i.131.5; *jānebhīas*, x.156.4; *devēbhīas*, x.85.17; *bādhitēbhīas*, iv.30.4; *mārtiebhīas*, i.90.3: viii.9.16; *yajatēbhīas*, ii.5.8; *yajñy-ebhīas*, i.139.7: v.52.5; *vidāshṭarebhīas*, viii.41.1; *somīēbhīas*, viii.32.5;—and occupies the fifth and sixth places of such *pādas* in 10 instances: *devēbhīas*, i.13.11; 142.6; 188.10: v.5.11: ix.3.9; 28.2; 62.20; 99.7; 103.6; *putrēbhīas*, vii.32.26; finally, in the *dvīpadā virāj*, ix.109.21, we read *devēbhīas tvā*.

ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

My collections show a total of only 36 ablatives plural (masculines 25 and neuters 11). In view of this fact, it is easy to understand how a relation of so infrequent occurrence should have no special form of its own, but depend upon some other case-form for its expression, as here upon the dative.

1. The masculines in *-ebhīas* are: *ugrēbhīas*, ix.66.17; *grhēbhīas*, i.120.8; *devēbhīas*, i.74.9: iii.9.5: vi.44.7: viii.90.16: x.97.1; *pārvatebhīas*, x.68.3; *makhēbhīas*, vi.66.9; *çā'rebhīas*, ix.66.17. (10). The neuters are: *āntrēbhīas*, x.163.3; *padēbhīas*, viii.2.39; *vānebhīas*, ii.1.1; *viçvebhīas*, ii.23.17; *harmīēbhīas*, vii.76.2.

2. Vocalization of the written *y* takes place in 21 instances, as follows: at the end of octosyllabic *pādas*, in *dsurebhīas*, viii.86.1; *ebhīas*, vi.46.9; *jānebhīas*, i.7.10; *pārvatebhīas*, i.191.9: viii.34.13 (all m.); and in the following neuters: (*dvēshobhyo*) *'nyākrtebhīaḥ*, viii.68.3 *b*, which we must read with elision and vocalization; *duritēbhīas*, viii.44.30; *nakhēbhīas*, x.163.5; *pārthivebhīas*, x.158.1;—*-bhīas* occupies the fifth and sixth places of octosyllabic *pādas* in *ātebhīas*, i.49.3: viii.77.5; *jīvēbhīas*, viii.8.23; *devēbhīas*, ix.42.2; 65.2, 3; *vīprebhīas*, x.135.4 (all masculine);—and in one neuter, *mrđhrēbhīas*, viii.44.3. At the end of a *yagatī-pāda* stand the masculines *ebhīas*, x.64.2, and *pārvatebhīas*, vii.104.4; in *bhūvanebhīas* (n.), ii.23.17, *ia* fills the ninth and tenth places:—*çyenēbhīas* (m.), finally, is in the middle of a *trīṣṭubh-pāda*, iv.26.4.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

This case ends in *-ānām*. The oxytone stems in *á* never shift the accent to the endings as do those in *í, ú, r'* (except in the numerals). The series of development, so far as illustrated by actual Vedic forms, would be as follows: *a. devā'm* (for *devāām*), *b. devānām*, *c. devā'nām*, *d. devā'naam*.

a. The forms like *devā'm*, as the organic ones, are *à priori* probable, and are supported by the analogy of the Zend. So *actām*, Vd. vi.29; xv.3, with *ahmarstanām*; *geredhām* Vd. iii.10, 22; *çtaorām* Vd. viii.12, etc. See Justi, *Handbuch*, § 528.4. Geldner (*Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, § 70) reads—as I think, rightly—*daēvām*, Yg. x.6. But I can discover no such form in the Gāthās. Were it not for this probability, however, these forms, of which the comparative philologists make so much, would not seem very well vouched by the Veda. They are given under 3.

b. Forms in *-ānām* with short penultima are written nowhere. A careful search of all the *-ānām*-forms, with scansion of the *pādas* in which they occur, revealed only five instances in which there was even metrical evidence of a short thematic *-a-*: i.44.2 (= viii.11.2), *āgne rathī'r adhvarā'nām*; i.188.11, *purogā' agnīr devā'nām*; x.136.6, *apsarāsām gandharvā'nām*; x.174.5, *yāthāhām eśhām bhātā'nām*. viii.70.7 *b* is trochaic. A short is merely favored in the seventh place of i.124.11 *b*: vii.5.1 *c*: x.2.6 *a*, and elsewhere. These five instances do not weigh much, and evidently belong to later parts of the Rigveda. But this short *a* is well authenticated in Zend, as Yt. x.65, *yō aredranām aredrō* (Skt. *yō radhrā'nām radhrāh*); so *takhmanām*, *vyākhnanām*, *ibid.*; Yt. v.21, *aṣpanām arshnām* (Skt. *āṣvānām vṛ'shnām*), etc.

c. The G.p. in *-ānām* occurs 370 times. The masculines number 333 (from 59 stems); the neuters, 37 (from 17 stems). That the long *ā* before *n* is a lengthening, the forms in *-īnām*, *-ūnām*, *-ṛnām* seem to indicate. It is explained by Joh. Schmidt (*Vocalismus*, i.39) as due to the following nasal. Osthoff (*Forschungen*, ii.17, and in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, iii.3 and 39) explains the *n* as due to a transfer from the *a-* to the *an-* declension.

d. Kuhn (*Beiträge*, iv.180) notices the resolution of the *ā* of the G.p., as in *devā'nām*. This seems to me to be a purely metrical phenomenon, and to shed no light on the genesis of the form. Bezzenberger takes an entirely different view of it (in his *Beiträge*, 1877, ii.130 ff.). Forms of this kind occur 157 times. Of these 144 are m. (from 49 stems); and 13 are n. (from 7 stems). They are distributed as follows: maṇḍala i. has 32; iii., 3; iv., 8; v., 15; vi., 9; vii., 5; viii., 59; ix., 9; x., 14; Vāl., 3. The resolutions at the end of vi.48.12 *c*: vii.32.11 *c*: viii.19.33 *c*: 23.2 *b*: 90.6 *c*: x.23.1 *b*: 103.4 *d*, are such as convert the cadence from *trishṭubh* to *jaḡatī*. A very large majority of the resolutions (106, or two thirds) are at the end of an octosyllabic *pāda* (and 40 of the 106 are in the eighth maṇḍala). This fact suggests again the question whether such *pādas* may not often be regarded as catalectic. There are examples enough of the resolution within the *pāda*, however, to put the validity of this metrical process beyond question.

1. Examples of this case are: *adhvarā'nām*, 10; *ādityā'nām*, 11; *jānānām*, 34; *devā'nām*, 148; *yajñyānām*, 12:—*dhānānām*, 13.

2. The cases which suffer resolution are:

Masculines: *adhvarā'nām* i.1.8; 44.9; 45.4: iii.10.4: iv.7.3: viii.8.18. *amṛ'tānaam* x.33.8; 74.3. *arā'nām* viii.20.14. *āṣvānaam* v.18.5: vi.63.10. *āṣvānaam* viii.25.23. *āśutānaam* viii.53.3. *ādityā'nām* viii.18.2. *-ukshītānaam* v.56.5. *ulū'khalasulānaam* i.28.1, 2, 3, 4. *ūstīrānaam* viii.5.37. *kalāḡānaam* iv.32.19. *kr'tvīnaam* viii.25.23. *gardabhdā'nām* Vāl. 8.3. *jānānaam* with V., vi.45.9. *jānānaam* i.25.14; 75.3, 4; 81.9; 191.4: iv.9.5: v.16.2; 66.4: vii.16.2, 7; 56.24; 74.6: viii.1.4; 5.13; 15.10; 19.33; 24.4; 45.28; 53.3; 92.6; ix.52.4; 64.27; 112.1: Vāl. 6.7. *burā'nām* vi.48.12. *devā'nām* i.43.5; 50.5; 133.7; 187.6: vi.15.13: viii.31.15; 39.6; 58.3; 64.8; 83.8: x.93.3. *nāvānaam* vii.5.37. *nemānaam* vi.16.18. *pārvatānaam* i.39.3; 187.7: v.84.1: viii.18.16; 31.10. *pōshīānaam* iv.48.5. *priyā'nām* viii.92.10. *bhārānaam* viii.40.3. *madānaam* viii.82.31: ix.104.5. *mādānaam* iv.31.2: viii.81.6: ix.23.7. *mārtānaam* i.63.5: iv.2.18: viii.39.6. *mārtānaam*

i.26.9: v.9.6; 74.7: viii.67.6; 90.6: x.33.8. *mahá'naam* i.187.6: viii.52.1; 81.3; 83.8: ix.1.4. *má'nushá'naam* i.84.2; 127.8; 128.7: iv.8.8; 9.5: v.7.3: viii.23.25; 41.1: ix.61.11. *yajñá'naam* vi.16.1: x.26.5. *yá'duánaam* viii.6.46. *ráthánaam* i.48.3: v.52.9; 53.10; 66.3; 74.8; 86.4: vii.32.11: viii.23.2; 57.4; 83.1; 92.10: x.26.5; 78.4; 103.4. *rásánaam* i.187.5. *rudriyánaam* viii.20.3. *vatsá'naam* vi.24.4. *vá'jánaam* viii.24.18; 81.3: ix.31.2: x.26.7, 9. *vájánaam* i.29.2: vi.45.10: viii.81.30. *vipránaam* x.26.4. *vivratánaam* x.23.1. *vr'kánaam* viii.56.14. *vrtraháthánaam* iii.16.1. *vrshabhá'naam* Vâl. 5.1. *çánsiánaam* i.17.5. *çakuná'naam* ix.112.2. *çaphá'naam* v.6.7. *çá'ránaam* vi.68.2. *sutá'naam* viii.32.19; 34.5; 53.3. *sómánaam* i.134.6: viii.82.33. *somá'naam* viii.17.14. *svádhaivánaam* viii.32.20. *hávánaam* viii.26.16. *hváriá'naam* v.9.4:—neuters, *aghá'naam* viii.47.2. *áhánaam* viii.22.13. *dīyánaam* viii.19.37. *bhúvandaanaam* viii.41.5. *rádhánaam* i.30.5: iii.51.10. *vá'riánaam* i.5.2; 24.3: viii.60.11, 13: x.9.5; 24.3. *sojāthánaam* viii.72.7.

3. The instances of a G.p. in *-ām* are not all entirely beyond question. They are as follows: *yáthiām* in Vâl. 8.4, *yáthiām āçvānām*, 'of horses belonging to the herd;' here there is no doubt about the form; but the hymn in which it occurs is very poor stuff. *Caráthām* in i.70.3, *gárbhaç ca sthātá'm gárbhaç caráthām*, 'and child of the things that move not (wood, flint)—child of them that move (clouds, lightning):' Sây. *caranavatān jāngamānām garbhah*. *Hīnsánām* in x.142.1, *áré hīnsánām āpa didyám ā' krāhi*; B.R. take it as G.p.m. of *hīnsa*, but I can find no occurrence of this word elsewhere in the Veda. Grassmann (*Wb.* 1665) makes it a participle (cf. v.64.3, *áhīnsánasya*, and for the accent, viii.43.10, *nīnsánam*), 'das verwundende Geschoss;' but as *didyú* is not feminine, it is quite as easy to consider *hīnsánām* as standing for *hīnsánānām*: 'Of those that would harm us, turn far away the dart.' Here the metre supports the shorter form; but a real instance of haplographia is *gírváhas*, vi.24.6, if Gr. reads aright, with SV. i.68, *gírvavá'dhas*. So too, perhaps the easiest way to dispose of the inferior reading of SV. i.340, *tiráh purá' cid arnavá'm jagamyá'h* (RV. x.10.1, *arṇavám*), is to make it a G.p.m.: 'E'en if o'er many a billowy sea thou fleddest.' In x.46.5, *náyanto gárbham vana'm dhīyam dhuh*, 'Solemnly they led the offspring of the sticks of attrition,' *vaná'm* may stand for *vaná'nām* (accented as in iii.9.2). The stem *ván* is supported only by *vānsu*, found twice, with irregular accent. SV. i.74 has a wretched variant, *vaná'*. I regard *çásá'm* as G.p.m. of *çásá*, 'ruler,' in ii.23.12, *çásá'm ugró mányamānah*, 'deeming himself the mighty one [of the] among the rulers.' See B.R. vii.168, and Gr., *Ueb.* i.570.

In the six cases above, the text has a final *m*; in the following six it has *n* or *ñ*, for which we must read *m* or *m̐*. In vi.47.16, *coṣhákūyáte víça índro manushyā'n*, 'The tribes of men Indra takes to his protection,' I consider *manushyā'n* (read *-ām*) as equivalent to *manushyā'nām*. The only alternative, to regard it as in explanatory apposition to *víças*, is a bad one. In iv.2.3, *antár iyase arushá' yujánó yushmá'ñç ca devá'n víça ā' ca mártān*, we must read *mártām*, and interpret it as G.p.m.: 'Thou goest as a messenger— . . . to you the gods, and hither to the dwellings of (us) mortals.' Sâyana felt the difficulty, and says *shashthiyarthe*

dvitīyā. In iv.2.11, *ōttim ācittim cinavad vī vidvā'n . . . mārātān*, 'The wisdom and folly of mortals let the wise one distinguish,' read *mārātām* as before. TS. v.5.4⁴ is without variant. In i.71.3 and vi.11.3 we have *devā'n jānma* (p. *devā'n*); and in x.64.14, *devā'n jānmanā* (p. *devā'n*). Here we must read in the *Saṃhitā devā'n*, and in the *Pada devā'm*, and interpret, with Grassmann, as G.p. The metre requires a change from *devā'nām* to *devā'n* in vi.51.2. Finally, Bollensen's simple transposition of *devó* and *devā'nām* sets the metre right in i.68.2.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

This case ends in *-eshu*, and its final vowel is regularly uncombined. Of such forms there are 548 masculines (from 123 stems), and 249 neuters (from 92 stems), or 797 in all. In some cases the gender is doubtful, as *vā'reshu*. In all these 797 instances, the final *-u*, as shown by actual scansion, 1. is never changed to *-v* before a dissimilar vowel (one exception); and 2. it never coalesces with a following similar vowel. (Cf. Benfey, *Gram.* p. 51, § 86, end.) When standing, as often (so *adhvarēshu*, *mārtiēshu*), at the end of a *pāda*, it is written *-v* if the next begins with a vowel. Here, as is well known, it is always pronounced with hiatus (so i.27.5: vi.49.2; 64.4: viii.85.19: x.30.8; 95.16; 112.4: i.154.2: iii.23.1; 34.3: viii.9.10; 16.5: x.103.11; before *u*, vi.4.2). Aside from these, there are 179 cases (m. 125; n. 54) where *-u* is followed by a vowel in the same *pāda*, and it is invariably to be read with hiatus: thus, before *u*, i.134.5: iii.57.5: iv.18.4; before the postposition *ā'*, 44 times, as ix.8.6; before *o*, i.59.3; 91.4; 108.11; before *e*, i.64.4; 166.10: ix.102.3: x.28.2; before *r*, iii.10.2: v.44.5: vi.59.4: x.21.7; before *i*, iv.7.1: v.14.2; 22.1: viii.11.1; 49.3: x.21.6; before *ī*, 16 times, ii.11.3*b*, 17: iv.32.11: v.28.4: viii.81.26; 88.2: x.63.9: ii.11.3*a*: iii.41.4: iv.21.4; 22.5; 30.16: vi.46.1: vii.99.6: ix.97.56: x.42.4; before *ā*, 24 times, as v.25.4*b*; and before *a*, (51+24=)75 times. In i.162.16*d*, I propose the reading *abhī* for *ā'*; in i.51.5*d*, we must of course pronounce *prārjīcānam*. The solitary exception to the rule of hiatus is x.121.8, *yó devēshv ādhi devā ēka ā'sit*. This hymn is confessedly a late one, and the *sandhi* an additional proof of its lateness. It is quite possible to read vi.26.2*c* metrically as it stands: *tvā'm vrtrēshv indra sātpatim tārutram*; but our canon shows that we must pronounce (*tuā'm*) *vrtrēshu*, and the word *indra* must accordingly be thrown out as a gloss. Herein I find that Grassmann agrees with me.

The Veda, then, does not support the view that *-sva* was the original ending of the locative. Its combination with the postposition *ā'*, which, if any thing, ought to serve as the point of departure for this theory, is found only 44 times in 797, and never as *svā*. Cf. Bopp, *Vgl. Gr.*³ § 279 note.

Examples of the forms are: masculines, *adhvarēshu*, 27; *devēshu*, 99; *mārtiēshu*, 25; *yajñēshu*, 35; *vājēshu*, 41; *sutēshu*, 16:—neuters, *ukthēshu*, 10; *bhūvaneshu*, 12; *vāneshu*, 20; *vidātheshu*, 33; *sāvaneshu*, 14.

STEMS IN Â.

The following is a synopsis of the terminations of the inflectional forms:

Singular: N., -*ā*, -*aa*?, -*a*?; A., -*ām*, -*aam*, -*ā*?; I., -*ā*, -*ayā*; D., -*āyai*, -*ai*; Ab., -*āyās*, -*āyās*?; G., -*āyās*, -*āyās*?, -*āyai*?; L., -*āyām*; V., -*e*.

Dual: N.A.V., -*e* (*iti*); I.D.Ab., -*ābhyām*; G.L., -*ayos*.

Plural: N.V., -*āsas*, -*ās*, -*ā*?; A., -*ās*, -*aas*, -*āsas*?; I., -*ābhis*; D.Ab., -*ābhyas*, -*ābhias*; G., -*ānām*, -*ānaam*, -*ām*?; L., -*āsu*.

There are no truly declensional peculiarities of accent.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

The case-form is regularly like the stem, and occurs 1053 times (from 424 stems). Examples are: *īdā*, 17; *eshā*, 27; *citrā*, 9; *jāyā*, 17; *dākshinā*, 21; *yā*, 74; *yōshā*, 24; *sā*, 80; *subhāgā*, 13; *sānr'tā*, 10.

Bopp (*Vgl. Gr.*³ § 137) and Schleicher (*Comp.*⁴ § 246) assume for all these stems a N.-ending *s*, which has become lost. This view is controverted by Max Müller, *Chips*, iv. p. 46; and Aufrecht finally (*Rigveda*,² preface, p. v, note) calls it a "dream of the comparative philologists." The Veda does not support it. The *s* of *gnā's*, iv.9.4, proves nothing. Whether it be from *jan* or *jñā*, it was originally dissyllabic, but is treated as a root-word. So *strī* has come to be treated declensionally as a root-word, preserving a trace of its true character (*sūtrī*) only in the N.s., where the *s* is lacking.

The final *ā* often stands before an initial vowel in the text. Its treatment by the *samhitā-pāṭha* is varied. In about 30 instances it stands at the end of *pāda* *a* or *e*, and is always written with *sandhi*; but it is of course always to be pronounced with hiatus: as, *asaū ca yā' na urvārā*: *ā'd* . . . , viii.80.6. The fusion results oftenest in *ā*, as i.114.9*c*; 123.11*a*: ii.27.7*a*: iii.39.1*a*; 58.1*a*; sometimes in *e*, as i.32.9*a*: iii.39.1*c*; or *o*, as iii.58.1*c*: v.80.2*c* (cf. 3*a*), 5*a*: vi.61.13*c*; 64.2*c*, 5*a*: vii.95.4*a*: viii.20.4*a*. The result is *ā* at the end of a pentasyllabic *pāda*, i.66.7*a* and iv.10.5*a*. Fusion resulting in *ai* or *au* is not found (Rik Pr. ii.31). Accordingly we have, i.123.10, *śā' śadānāñ*: *ēshi*. In v.30.14, we have *yā'ñ*: *ṛnam-cayé*, because the individuality of the word (if written *yā*) would be obscured. Of the 74 occurrences of *yā* as N.s.f., only two are before vowels: this is the only one to which Rik Pr. ii.31 (end) applies; the other is vi.64.5. A merely graphic peculiarity is the short *a* in *priyā*: *ṛ'*, i.151.4, and *ṛjuhāsta*: *ṛ-*, v.41.15. The *pāda* of course has *ā*.

In 160 instances the final *ā* stands before a vowel in the interior of a *pāda*. It is always written with fusion, but the scansion shows that the real treatment is determined by the metre. Thus, i.95.1, *anyā'nyā vatsām ūpa dhāpayete*; but i.62.8, *vāpurbhir ā*

carato anyā'-anyā'; cf. iv.52.2, *ācveva citrā' ārushī*. In the great majority of these instances (137), the concurrent vowels are to be read as they are written: thus, vi.59.6, *pā'rvā'gāt*; iii.39.2, *śeyām*; vii.3.9, *pātēva*, and so with *iva* 59 times out of 61 (exceptions are v.45.2 and viii.90.13); iv.2.10, *pritéd hót(a)rā*; i.56.4, *tvā'vrđhotāye* (so *eshō* i.46.1, and *só* i.191.11: x.11.3; 23.4; 63.16); x.62.11, *yātāmānaitu*.

The final *ā* of the dual, it will be remembered (p. 340), always coalesces with a following vowel. Here, however, the metre shows hiatus in 23 instances, as vi.64.5, *sā' ā' vaha yā' ukshābhīr āvātā*: ū-. The list is: i.48.7c (12 syll.); 62.8d; 77.1a, 1b; 104.5a: iv.52.2a: v.45.2, *sthā'nā iva*; 53.9a; 61.5a: vi.25.1, *madhyamā' ind(a)ra*; 64.5a, *bis*; 66.3d: vii.34.1, *prā'cukrā' etu* (*aksharapañkti*): viii.89.11c; 90.13, *citrā' iva*: ix.86.44b: x.61.18c; 93.13b; 95.16a; 121.2c; 145.3a; also i.62.8c, where a syllable is syncopeated between *aktā'* and *ushā'h*. In i.120.1a the metre is hopeless.

Besides the above, there are a number of cases given by the Rik Pr. ii.29, in which hiatus occurs, not only in the spoken, but also in the written text. It is hard to see why the diaskeuasts and Čaunaka have taken account of these and not of the others. Those that concern us are: *ishā'*, viii.5.29; *manīshā'* (as N.s.), i.101.7: v.11.5: vii.70.7: vii.34.1b (at the end of an *aksharapañkti*). At the end of common *pādas* the fusion is written, even with *manīshā'*, iii.33.5c: vi.67.2a.

This comparatively frequent toleration of hiatus suggests to me a remedy for several lame verses: i.173.8, *vicvā te ānu jóshā [a]bhād gāuh* (cf. iv.43.4a, where I read [a]bhād); vii.58.6, *prā sā' [a]vāci sushtutir maghónām* (cf. vii.70.1). On the other hand, since fusion is common, *samhitā*-manuscripts would show no difference between *sarāmā vidad gā'h* and *-mā avid-*, v.45.8; cf. vi.61.10, *stómā bhāt*; 12, *hāvā bhāt*; v.44.8c and x.99.6d. And so I think that such combinations may have been a point of departure for the loss of the augment. See Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 80; and Curtius, *Verbum*, i.132, and especially 133.

In *jā'yamānam* (*asmāt sukīrtih*), i.60.3, there seems to be a clear case of a N.s.f. with shortened final and paragodic *m* before a vowel (cf. *a*-stems, p. 349, top). For *mahī'*, v.41.15: x.77.4, Gr. (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xvi.170) reads the more organic form *mahīā*. I believe he is right, and would add vi.66.3, *vidē hī mātā' mahō* (sc. *gārbhasya*) *mahīā sā'*. The metre seems to require resolution (?) in vii.75.4, *yujānāā*, and x.162.1, 2, *āmēvāa*.

The *pada* reads *ā* in several cases wrongly: for *asurīā*, vii.96.1, and *catutamā'*, vii.19.5, see A.s.f.; for *kanīnakēva*, iv.32.23, see N.d.f.; for *yóshā*, ix.96.24, see N.p.f.; for *sumedhā'* (Gr.), iii.57.5, see *as*-stems, N.s.f.

In x.49.4, *priyā'* may be A.p.n.; and in i.122.1, *ishudhiā'*, I.s.f. For *krānā'*, i.139.1 and v.7.8, see p. 334.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

This case terminates in *-ām*, and occurs 522 times (from 226 stems). Examples are: *āmēvām*, 9; *manīshām*, 21; *jāyām*, 11; *yóshām*, 7; *yóshanām*, 6; *tām*, 29; *imām*, 52.

Resolution seems unavoidable in three *trishṭubh-pādas*: vii.93.3, *kā'shthaam*, and i.173.2, *manāam* (*aa* occupies the sixth and seventh places in both); and i.165.15, *vayā'am* (end); but see *as-stems*, A.s.m.. Gr. proposes *ēkaam*, viii.61.7a, and *mahīyāma-naam*, iv.30.9b, thus making them full *anushtubh-pādas*. They may be catalectic. In x.50.5, Gr. reads *mahīam* (cf. N.s.f.) for *mahī'm*. I prefer *āvamātrām*: text, *ām*-. In ix.12.7, he follows the Sāman (ii.552), and reads *sabardūghām* for *-ah*. Bollensen (*Orient und Occ.*, ii.460) supposes a copyist's error in vii.96.1, the loss of *anusvāra* before a nasal, and amends, with good reason, thus: *asurīā[m] nadī'naam*. For *sumedhā'm*, viii.5.6, *ushā'm* and *ushā's*, see *as-stems*, A.s. and p.f. The A.s.f. of stems in *iā* often coincides with the L.s.f. of those in *i*. Thus *pārviā'm* may be referred to *pārviā* or to *purī*; *satyā'm*, to *satyā* or *sāt*. The accent would distinguish *çamiā'm* (stem *çamiā'*; but cf. *çamiās* iii.33.13) from *çamiām* (stem *çāmī*). Since stems in *ia* form their feminines in *iā* or *i*, it is well to keep this double possibility in view (cf. *ā'ria*, *dā'via*, *svarīa*).

A striking example of elision and crasis is *nivēçane çatātāmā'-viveshīh*, vii.19.5, for *-mā'm av-* (p. *-mā'*). Cf. Sāyana: *çatātāmim puram vyāpnoh*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR FEMININE.

This case is formed in two ways: either the general ending *-ā* is affixed directly to the stem, and the concurrent vowels contracted (as *jīhvā'-ā*, *jīhvā'*); or, a *y* is interposed, and the thematic vowel shortened (as *jīhvāyā*).

The older form occurs 300 times in the RV. (from 95 stems); the younger, in *-ayā*, 356 times (from 113 stems). The older form appears only sporadically or in stereotyped words in the later language.

It happens comparatively seldom that the stem displays both endings (e. g., *gavyā'*, *dhā'rā*, *manishā'*); the reverse was true of *-āsas* and *-ās*. The older formation prevails especially with stems (generally abstracts) in *tā* (20 out of 95), and in *iā* or *yā* (44 out of 95). With the latter, the younger formation would sound badly: thus, *hiranyayāyā* (not found); cf. *hiranyayā'*, vii.66.8. Here, as elsewhere, the choice between the longer and the shorter form was often decided by the exigencies of the metre, or by euphony, or both; cf. ix.98.3, *dhā'rā yā ārdhvō adhvare*, with 101.2, *yō dhā'rayā pāvakāyā*; and i.91.1a, with 94.1b. The longer form fits often in the *anushtubh* or *jagatī* cadence; the shorter in the *trishṭubh*. In viii.6.33, the measure requires, perhaps, *utā brahmanyāyā vayām*: text, *brahmanyā'*. We find the final *ā* coalescing with an initial, e. g., in ix.97.45a, and making hiatus in i.53.8b.

There are no purely declensional irregularities of accent. In the case of *ayā'* (from *ā*), it is something peculiar to that pronoun, and not adverbial (see below, and cf. *kāyā*, as pronoun 11 times, as adv. 3; *tāyā*, 10; *yāyā*, 23; *svāyā*, 3). In *aryayā'*, v.75.7, BR. i.447, see an error for *aryā[s] ā'*, stem *arī*.

The adverbial character of *adatrāyā'* (from *adatrā*), v.49.3, explains the displacement of the accent; so *naktayā'*, iv.11.1, and *svapnayā'*, AV. v.7.8; and perhaps *rtayā'*, RV. ii.11.12; cf. *sarvahrāḍā'*. The adverbial shifting of accent is natural in the homophonous instrumentals, since it differentiates them from the nominatives of the same form; thus *ubhayā'* (stem *ubhāya*), *madhyā* (*mādhya*), *samanā'* (*sāmana*): for *dakshinā'* (*dākshina*), cf. i.100.9, *dakshinē*, oxytone, and see *Indische Studien*, iv.160.

I cannot account for the accent of *pavayā'* in ix.97.53, *utā na enā' pavayā' pavaśva*, and therefore I read *pavā'yā'*, i. e., *pavā' ayā'* (cf. 52, *ayā' pavā' pavaśvainā' vāsāni*).

For *dākshinayā' rāthēna*, i.123.5, see G.s.f.

1. The homophonous instrumentals are as follows: (*agriyā'* iv.34.3?) *abdayā'*, *abrahmatā*, *arhānā* 3, *avī'ratā*, *açvayā'* 2, *īrasyā'*, *īshitatvātā*, *īshudhā'*?, *īrmā'* 5, *upamā'* 2, *ubhayā'*, *urushyā'*, *uśānā* 6, *rjāyā'*, *rtayā'*, *etā'* (x.95.2; Roth would like to take it as A.p.n., adverbially, 'here;') I think it is used with slightly contemptuous tone; so Śāy., scholion to Çat. Br. xi.5.1¹, *etā' etayā' tvadityayā' arthaçānyayā' vācā*), *aidhā'*, *kavyātā*, *gavyā'* viii.46.10: ix.64.4 (vii.18.7?), *gūhā* 53, (*ghrāḍā'*, see p. 335) *jarānā* 2, *jigīshā'* 2, *jihvā'* 3, *tanyatā'* 3, *tātyā'*, *tīrāçatā* 2, *tējishthā*, *tyā'*, *tvāyā'* 3, *tvūyā'* 8, *dañśānā* 7, *dakshinā'* 2, *daçasyā'*, *dīnatā*, *duvoyā'*, *devātā* i.22.5; 55.3; 100.15: vi.4.7. *devayajyā'* 2, *doshā'* 13, *dvitā'* (?) Roth, 'so fort, fortan, von nun an') 29, *dhānyā* and *dhishānā*, v.41.8, *dhā'rá*, *dhishā'* (see Gr.) 2, *pavā'*, *pākiā* 3, *purushātā* 3, *purushatvātā* 2, *bandhātā*, *barhānā* 13, *brahmanyā'* (see above), *bhandānā* 2, *mañhānā* 11, *madhyā'* 4, *mananā'*, 2. *manā'*, *manishā'* 13 (in iii.57.1, Aufrecht² has -ā'm; Müller, -ā'; the scholiast seems to have read -ā'm), *manātā*, *mā'shā*, *mehānā* 4, *yavī'tā* 2, *rathayā'*, (*vakshānā*, v.52.15, Śāy., *vahanena nimittēna*; better N.?) *vacasyā'* 3, *vapushyā'*, *varasyā'*, *varivasyā'*, *vasūtā*, *vasūyā'* 2, *vīpanyā'*, *vīprā* (*matī'* viii.25.24), *vīrayā'* 2, *redātā*, *vedīā'*, *vedhasyā'*, *çāsā* (Śāy., *stutyā*, v.41.18), *çraddhāmanasyā'*, *çravasyā'* 7, *sanātā* 2, *samanā'* 13, *savyā'*, *sasvārtā*, *sukṛtyā'* 2, *sukratīyā'*, *sukshetriyā'*, *sugātīyā'*, *suajātātā*, *sumnayā'*, *suçravasyā'*, *susanītā*, *svadhā'* (see below) 2, *suapasyā'*, *himiā'*, *hiranyayā'*. To these we may add *namasyā'*, ii.33.8 (so A. Weber); *dhēnā*, x.104.10; *çvetīā'*, x.75.6.

The Atharvan has some of these instrumentals in Rik-passages: three in iv.33.2; one in xviii.1.52, and one in xix.12.1; and some in passages peculiar to itself: the stereotyped *gūhā*, 13 times (and twice in Rik-passages); *dakshinā'*, ix.7.20 and xii.2.34 (but *dākshinā* in the Rik-passages, xviii.1.42 and xix.13.9!); *devātā*, iv.1.5; *doshā'*, vi.1.1 and xvi.7.9; *sumnayā'*, vii.55.1; and *vittakāmyā'* (not a Rik-word), xii.3.52. So *kimkāmyā'*, Çat. Br. i.2.5^{2b} and *yatkāmyā'*, iii.9.3⁴.

2. Examples of the common form are: *jihvāyā*, 24; *dhā'rayā*, 53; *māyāyā*, 20; *samāyā*, 9; *hṛdayāyā*, x.151.4.

There are several forms bearing more or less resemblance to an I.s.f. of the pronoun *ā*: *āyā*, x.116.9, p. *āyās*, is N.p. of stem *āya*, 'wanderers; possibly *āyā* (so Aufrecht² and Codex Chambers 60), vi.66.4a, p. *āyā*, is from the same stem, for *āyās*—'as long as the ones now wanderers quit not their birth-place;' in vi.66.5a, text *āyā's*, the cadence requires *āyā's*, i. e., *asyā's* (Gr.), Abs.s.f. of *ā*; *ayā'* occurs as substantive pronoun in ii.6.2 (sc. *samīdhā*), as adjective pronoun with substantive expressed, 18 times (6 with *dhiyā'*), and as adverb iii.12.2: vi.17.15: ix.53.2; 106.14, and, I must add, i.87.4b (cf. Prāt. ii.29: Müller, Translation, p. 148). For *anāyā*, ix.65.12, 27, Gr. reads *ayā'*; but *anēna*, i.93.10: iii.17.2: viii.44.2, warrants us in holding fast to the text.

DATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

This case terminates in *-āyai*. It occurs only 20 times (from 15 stems). The full list is: *agótāyai*, *avī'ratāyai*, *ghōshāyai*,

carā'yai (Delbrück, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xviii.85), *jarā'yai*, *tvāyatāyāi*, *duchānāyāi*, *pātākratāyāi*, *manā'yai*, ii.33.5 (in iv.33.2, Roth takes it as G.s.f., *q. v.*), *viṣpālāyāi* i.116.15 only, *çivā'yai*, *çvetanā'yai*, *sānr'tāyāi* 2, *sāriā'yai* 3, *suā'yai* 2. For *prajā'yai* see below.

In i.54.11, we have *suapatyāi* (stem *suapatyā'*; scholion to T. Br. ii.6.9¹, *çobhanāpatyātvyā*), and in i.113.6, *mahīyāi* (stem *mahīyā'*; see BR. vii.1789). They are not for *suapatyā'yai* and *mahīyā'yai*; but rather relics of the simpler formation, the general ending (here *e*) being added directly to the stem, as with the instrumentals, p. 357, and the infinitives *khyāi*, *daī*, *mai*, *yāi*, *sāi* (Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 221).

In vii.1.19a, we read *mā' no agne avī'rate pārā dāh*; perhaps this form was preferred to *mā'vī'ratāyāi no agne pārā dāh*, which would be metrically correct, because in the latter the *sandhi* would obscure the *a*-privative of *avī'ratāyāi*. In iii.16.5, *mā' no agne āmataye*: *mā'vī'ratāyāi rīradhah*, this obscurity is remedied by the parallel *āmataye* preceding it. The genuine Vedic hymns are as averse to ambiguity as some writers of the later literature are fond of it. We have here a simple transition to the consonant declension; cf. *devātātaye* and *devātāt-e*, *sarvātātaye* and *Zend haurvatāt-em*.

In i.118.8, *prāti jāngām viṣpālāyā adhattam*, p. -ās, 'Ye put on again Viṣpalā's leg (that was cut off),' sense and form (Prāt. ii.9) admit of a dative; 'Ye put on a (new iron) leg for V.,' as in 116.15.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

The ablative and genitive s.f. are coincident in form, and terminate in -āyās. The separation here is based on the exegesis. The clause, x.87.16, *yó aghnyā'yā bhārati kshīrām agne*, is a good example for showing how indistinct the logical border-line between these two cases is. The ablatives are as follows (8): *kanā'yās*, *jihvā'yās*, *dākshināyās*, *durēvāyās*, *durhānāyās*, *daiviāyās*, *nīdāyās*, *suā'yās*; and in AV. iv.40.2, *dākshināyās*; 5, *dhruvā'yās*; 6, *vyadhvā'yās*; 7, *ūrdhvā'yās*. In *ayā's*, RV. vi.66.5a, Gr. sees an Ab. See p. 358, and cf. *dākshināyā[s]*, G.s.f.

GENITIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

The genitives number 54 (from 27 stems) and are as follows: *āghniāyās* 3, *aghnyā'yās*, *īdāyās* 5, *ukhā'yās*, *usrīyāyās* 5, *ā'rmīdāyās* 2, *kanā'yās* 3, *kā'shthāyās*, *jihvā'yās* 2, *dākshināyās* 4, *darçatā'yās*, *dā'rvāyās*, *dhīshānāyās* 2, *dhī'shamānāyās*, *pājrayās* (with voc.), *pāritakmiyās*, *mā'hināyās*, *rasā'yās* 2, *vayā'yās*, *viṣpālāyās* (i.118.8), *çacvattamā'yās*, *çīphāyās*, *çucā'yās*, *subardūghāyās* 2, *sehānā'yās*, *sūrāyās*, *sūriā'yās* and *sūryā'yās* 8.

In i.123.5, *jāyema tām dākshināyā* (p. -ā) *rāthēna*, one is tempted read *dākshināyās* in view of 1a, and to interpret, with Gr., as Gen., the *ā* being due to the metre; but cf. x.26.6a and 107.1d. BR. take *manā'yai* (s.v.) as G. in iv.33.2,

dhī'rāsah pushṭim avahan manā'yai. I find no form in the Veda to support it, although the case is so extremely common in the Brāhmaṇas: Sây., *manāyā rtena*; Gr. 'zum Lohne.' Cf., on the other hand, *viṣpālāyā(s)* as D.s.f. before *a*.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

This case terminates in *-āyām*. It occurs 30 times (from 18 stems). Scherer, *Ges. d. Deutschen Spr.* 283, and Bollensen, *Z. D. M. G.* xxii.618, speak of locative forms in *-ā* from *ā*-stems. I do not think that any such can be proved. Some of the supposed ones are instrumentals (Kuhn, *Zeits.* xviii.365, and note to 367). Benfey (SV. ii.830; *Ueb.* p. 278) sees a L. in *rasā' dadhīta vrshabhām*, RV. viii.61.13; but *dadhīta* is 3 s. opt., and *rasā'* its subject: Gr., 'let the flood receive the steer.'

The forms follow: *āpayā'yām* radical?, *āmā'yām*, *uttānā'yām* 2 and i.164.14, *usriyā'yām* 3, *-gatā'yām* 2, *grīvā'yām*, *jārnā'yām*, *nāvā'yām*, *pāritakmā'yām* 5 and with *ājā'* m., i.116.15, *bhadrā'yām* 2, *yamūnā'yām*, *varatrā'yām*, *ṣiṅṣāpā'yām*, *śirīṇā'yām*, *sūrā'yām*, *sushomā'yām*, *svā'yām* 2, *hariyāpī'yām*.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

The V.s.f. ends in *-e*. It occurs 95 times (from 51 stems). If *e* represents an *ā*, the change is purely phonetic. The Rik shows no trace of a form in *ā*. The "still weaker form in *ā*" (Kuhn, *Zeits.* xviii.369 and Schleicher, *Comp.* p. 574, § 263) is supported by *amba* only, ii.41.16 and x.86.7 *bis*; and it is doubtful whether in the Veda *amba* means 'mother' at all. In x.97.2 it is surely a particle. Like *akka* and *alla*, given in the scholion to Pāṇ. vii.3.107, *amba* is probably a natural cry fitted into a grammatical category; so BR. By the side of this form, as if it were from a real stem *ambā*, arose the word *ambe*, VS. xxiii.18—scholion: *patnyah parasparam vadanti 'he ambe'*.

The forms follow: *aghnīe*, *apue*, *amartie*, *ambitame*, *aṣve*, *aṣvasānrte* 10, *ārjikiye*, *ide*, *ugraputre*, *uttare*, *uttānaparne*, *uruvraje*, *ārmie* 2, *rshve*, *kadhāpriye*, *kāne*, *gaṅge*, *ghore*, *citre*, *citrāmaghe*, *jāye*, *devajāte*, *devitame*, *dhishane*, *nadītame*, *pathie*, *pastie*, *putrakāme*, *purupriye*, *prthujāghane*, *prthushṭuke*, *brahmasaṅṣṭe*, *marudvṛdhe*, *yamune*, *rāke*, *vikate*, *viṣvavāre* 3, *ṣaravye*, *ṣitike*, *ṣubhre* 3, *sadānue*, *sarame* 4, *sīte*, *sujāte* 13, *suputre*, *subhage* 12, *sulābhike*, *susnushe*, *sānrte* 4, *sārie* and *sārye*, *hlādiḱe* (Gr., *Ueb.*; in *Wb.* as L.).

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

These cases are coincident in form, and end in *-e*. They occur, taken together, 321 times (from 136 stems). The termination is of obscure origin. It is *pragrhya* (Prāt. i.28), and the *pada* distinguishes these dual forms from the vocatives singular by an *iti*. Cf. *ubhé (iti) yāt te mahinā' ṣubhre āndhasī*, vii.96.2, with *ṣubhre (iti)*, iii.33.2; i.30.21c with iii.33.1b; and x.14.16d (*yamē*, L.s.m.) with 13.2a.

In ii.3.6, *ushā'sánáktā vayīeva* (p. -ā-iva) *ranvītē*, and iv.32.23, *kanīnakēva* (p. -ā-iva) *vidradhē*, the feminine adjectives require us to read *vayīe va* and *-ké va*. So we may read, with Bollensen, ii.39.6, *nā'se va* (p. -ā-iva), in view of these two instances, although *nā'sā* might be taken as N.d.f. from stem *nās*, "strong" *nā's*.

In i.29.3, *sastām ābudhyamāne*, Gr. reads *-mānāi*. This is hardly to be allowed. The *pāda* is catalectic (see p. 338, top).

Examples are: *ubhē*, 66; *devāputre*, 7; *yamē*; *vīrūpe*, 7; *śīpre*, 5; *sumēke*, 8.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

In x.105.5, *śīprābhyām* seems to be an instrumental. *Nā'sik-ābhyām*, x.163.1, is an Ab. In x.88.15, *tā'bhyām* is I. with distinct locative meaning. Cf. p. 343.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

The genitives are: *ayós* i.185.1; *yāyos* ii.32.1 and iii.54.2; *yamāyos* x.8.4. For *janghāyos*, AV. xix.60.2, see below.

The locatives are: *ayós (sácāyóh, p. āyóh)* iii.54.2; *uttānāyos* i.164.33; *yāyos* iii.44.3. For *svadhāyos*, ix.86.10, see below.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

The N.p.f. has two forms. The almost universal termination, *-ās*, occurs 586 times (from 262 stems), thus coinciding with that of the A.p.f.; and, in general, these two cases are not formally separated in the Veda. But the ending *-āsas* is also found as N.p.f. some twenty times, more or less.

The comparative grammars make much of the feminine forms in *-āsas*, and set up entirely different organic forms for the N.p.f., e. g., **ācvā-sas*, and A.p.f., e. g., **ācvā-ms*. But the evidence upon which this assumption is based, so far as it comes from the Veda, is slight. I would quite as lief consider the feminine forms in *-āsas* an irregular extension of the use of the masculine form to a field where it did not belong. Some of the verses in which these forms occur seem to be of late date, although this can hardly be affirmed of them in general; such are iv.58.7, 8; vi.63.9: x.95.9: and perhaps v.46.7: viii.44.25; 82.23.

The evidence of the kindred tongues, on the other hand, seems, as far as I can judge, to speak for the originality of *-āsas* in the feminine. I can find no N.p.f. in *-āonhō* in the Avesta; but see below, A.p.f., p. 363, and Bopp, *Vgl. Gr.*³ i.460, § 229. The Prākṛit N.p.f. ending in *-āo* represents, I believe, an original *-āsas*, although, to be sure, it is seen also in the A.p.f. (*Prākṛta-prakāṣa*, v.19, 20); thus, *pamadāo*, Çak. 4, stands for *pramadāso*. The Pāli N.p.f., *kaññāyo*, stands probably for *kaññādo*, with euphonic *y* (see Kuhn, *Pāli-Gr.* p. 64), and this for *kanyāso*. The materials for verifying these statements, however, are not at my command.

1. Examples of the common form are: *imā's*, 32; *etā's*, 7; *tā's*, 47; *dhārās*, 16; *bhadrās*, 19; *manishās*, 10; *yā's*, 71; *vayās*, 8. Besides the 586 forms mentioned above, *vicvās*, N. and A.

together, occurs 104 times. *Vayá's*, x.92.3, has been counted under *vayá'*, 'twig.'

Among the 586 forms there may be some vocatives. I have noted only two separately, *viçvaminvá's* and *suhavá's*.

The *pada* has -ás in vi.29.2, where we must read *náriá*: see p. 348.

In vii.61.5, on the other hand, we have to read *ámárá's* (*viçvá's*), p. -á. Sáy. seems to have had MSS. that read *imá'* (*imáni*).

Elision and crasis is seen in ix.96.24, *á te rúcah pávamánasya soma yósheva yanti sudúgháh sudhárá'h*, i. e., *yóshás-iva*, p. -á-iva.

The resolutions, *usráas* viii.64.8, *br'haspátiprasútaas* x.97.15, 19, *sanvidánáas* 14, *púnyagandhaas* vii.55.8, are all at the end of catalectic *pádas* of seven syllables, and unnecessary. See p. 338, top. In x.26.1, pronounce *spárhá' iánti niyúta'h*, not *spárháas* (Gr.). For *vayá's*, vii.40.5, see the end of this page.

2. The following is an enumeration of the N.p.f. forms in -ásas, including at the end some doubtful ones. To show that the native authorities recognized them as feminines, I have added a few excerpts from the scholia.

Á'tandrá'sas, *durmitrá'sas*, *pá'rthivásas*, *pávaká'sas*, *bhejánda'sas*, *vanvánda'sas*, *vaçá'sas* 'cows', *váçrá'sas*, *vidánda'sas*, *vrádhá'sas*, *çághandá'sas*, *smáyamánásas*, *áçushánda'sas*, *pasprádhána'sas*, *hávamánásas*, *áçvásas?*, *jányásas?*; AV. *sámmitásas*, *amr'tásas*, *vaçá'sas*, *mártásas?*.

i.95.2 (T Br. ii.8.7⁴), *átandráso yuvatáyas*. vii.28.4, *durmitrá'so hí kshitáyah pávante*, 'denn die bösen Leute müssen büssen,' Roth. v.46.7, *yá'h pá'rthivásas . . . tá' no devíh çárma yachata*; Sáy., *prthivisambandhinyah*. i.142.6, *pávaká'so dvá'ro deví'h*; Sáy., *çodhayitryah*. x.153.1, *íkháyantír indram úpásate bhejánda'sah*, sc. *índramátarah*, Anukramaní. The SV., i.175, has *vanvánda'sah*. vi.63.9, *çándó [a]jdád dhirañináh smáddishítin, dáça vaçá'so abhishá'ca rshvá'n*, 'Ç. gave horses with golden trappings and well-trained: ten cows (mares?) follow the mighty (steeds).' So Roth; but Sáy., 'vaçá'so' 'nugundán' 'abhishá'ca'h' *çatránám abhíbhávuksán!* viii.44.25, *giro váçrá'sa írate*; Sáy., *váçanaçláh*. i.169.2, *áyujran . . viçvákérshítir vidánda'so nishshídhah*. viii.82.23, *hótra asrkshata indram vrádhá'sah*; SV. i.151, *vrádhántah*. iv.58.7 (VS. xvii.95), *çághandá'sah patayanti ghrtásya dhá'ráh*; Sáy., *áçuganitryah*. iv.58.8, *yósháh smáyamánásah*: Schol. to VS. xvii.96, *ishaddhasantyah*. iv.24.4, *kshitáyo . . áçushánda'sah*. vii.18.3, *imá' u tvá pasprádhána'so átra mandrá' giro devayántír úpa sthuh*, 'And unto thee pressed onward then our emulous, gladsome, godly songs.' v.32.11, *tám me jagrbhra áçaso doshá' vástor hávamánása indram*, 'On him my hopes laid hold, which unto Indra morn and eve do cry.'

The following two are possibly masculine: x.95.9, *áçváso ná krídáyah*: Roth, *Erl. zum Nirukta*, p. 154, note, 'wie lustige Stuten.' ix.49.2, *gá'vo jányásah*; so SV. ii.786.

The Atharvan has several: two in xii.3.27, *utéva prabhv'r utá sámmitása utá çukrá'h çúcayaç camr'tásah*, sc. *á'pah*; and one in iv.24.4, *yásya vaçá'sa rshabhá'sa ukshánah*, 'to whom belong cows, steers, and oxen,' as in Rik vi.16.47. In xviii.3.23, *mártásah cid ur[u]vácir akrpran*, unless we read *mártýásah cid*, the preference is doubtless to be given to the Rik reading, *mártánám cid*, iv.2.18, since *márta* is never an adjective. *Pá'rthivásas*, vii.49.1, TBr. iii.5.12¹, is merely quoted from the Rik, v.46.7.

In the Rik, x.91.14, *avasrshá'sas* agrees with nouns m. and f. In vii.40.5, *vayá'h* has to count as an amphibrach, *vayá'sas*; but Gr., *Ueb.*, proposes *vayáma*. Cf. *as-stems*, A.s.m.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

This case ends in *-ās*. It occurs 393 times (from 163 stems). *Viçvās*, moreover, N. and A. together, occurs 104 times. *Vādmā-jātās*, x.140.3 (Gr., N.p.m.), is included here; see *i*-stems, A.p.f.

1. Examples are: *āmivās*, 7; *imā's*, 25; *usrā's*, 12; *usrīyās*, 10; *enās*, never nominative, 9; if an accented accusative-form is required, *etā's* is used, 5; *tā's*, 17; *dhārās*, 11; *pr'tanās*, 13; *māyā's*, 22; *yā's*, 15; *sānr'tās*, 6.

The *pada* has *-ā* in a number of instances where the reading *-ās* is more or less certain: *ārnā(s) sisarshā*, iii.32.5 (see p. 348); *dhārā(s)*?, ix.7.2: *pathiā(s)*, vii.79.1; *pārvi'r man'shā'(s)*, i.70.1; *viçvāh* should be added to the *pada*-excerpts for x.153.5c, Aufrecht, *Rigveda*?. For *pratishthā'(s) hr'diā(s)*, x.73.6, see stems in *ā* radical, I.s.f. For *çāsā'(s)*, vii.48.3, see stems in *s* radical, I.s.f. For *ushā's*, see *as*-stems, A.p.f. For *gnā's* and *maryādās*, see stems in *ā* radical, below.

As regards resolution—it is not necessary to read *manīshāas*, x.26.1a, nor *usrāas*, viii.46.26a, since both *pādas* may be catalectic. On the other hand, three seem hardly avoidable: *kāas*, vii.60.9b; *kā'sthāas*, i.63.5; *mārās*, iv.26.7.

2. If *-āsas* is to be allowed at all as ending of the A.p.f., it is merely as a solecism. In x.30.14, *nī barhishi dhattana somiāso, apā'm nāptrā saṁvidānā'sa enāh*, 'Set upon the barhis, ye soma-offerers, the (waters) in concord with Apām Napāt,' we cannot make *enāh* subject of a separate clause, since *etā's* is the N.p.f. to which *enās* serves as A.p.f., as in x.19.2, 3; nor can we, taking *saṁvidānā'so* as N.p.m., make *enāh* the object of *nī dhattana*, since it is improbable that an unaccented word would stand alone and separated from its verb by a long parenthesis. It only remains to take *saṁvidānā'sas* as A.p.f. with *enāh*, sc. *apās*, and this is favored by verse 13, *saṁvidānā' āpah*. (So Sây. takes *vaçā'sas*, vi.63.9, as accusative.) But this hymn is so good that I am half tempted to get rid of this unconscionable solecism by reading *etā's* for *enās*, or else *saṁvidānā' apāinās*, i. e., *-nā's apās enās*.

If, however, we let it pass, it is paralleled by AV. xiii.2.33, where the sun is spoken of as 'furnishing ready paths' by its light—*araṅgamā'sah pravāto rārāṇah*. Here there seems to be no question about form or sense.

Ghenāo hufedhris huraodhāōnhō āyēçē, Vispered ii.7, I translate thus: '*gnāh supitṛh surādhāsa āyāce*,' and take *huraodhāōnhō* as A.p.f. from the stem *huraodha*, rather than set up another stem for this one form, as does Justi.

Bopp's two accusatives p.m. in *-āōnhō*, Vd. xviii.65, rest upon misinterpretation; they are N.p.m.; so *mashyāōnhō*, Yç. xxx.11, is V.p.m. See *Vgl. Gr.*³ § 229.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL FEMININE.

The general ending *-bhis* is affixed directly to the stem: as, *ā'bhis*. The form occurs 295 times (from 89 stems). Examples

are: *idābhis*, 6; *citrābhis*, 8; *tābhis*, 50; *dānsānābhis*, 5; *dhā-rābhis*, 7; *māyābhis*, 13; *yābhis*, 50; *viçvābhis*, 23; *vedīābhis*, 5; *çivābhis*, 5; *sūnṛtābhis*, 5; *hōtrābhis*, 7.

In iii.62.17, *drā'ghishthābhis* is used adverbially; cf. *aparibhyas*. Monosyllabic stems suffer no change of accent: thus, *tābhis*, *yābhis*, *svābhis*; but from *ā* we have *ābhis* (4), *ābhīs* (10), *ā'bhis* (3).

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

The general ending, *-bhyas*, is affixed directly to the stem: as, *tābhyas*. It sometimes counts as two syllables. The two cases are of course coincident in form, but I have grouped them here according to the exegesis.

Datives: *aghniābhyas*, v.83.8; *ābhyās*, ii.32.2; *usrīyābhyas*, vi.17.6; *tābhyas*, x.169.2; *yābhyas*, vii.47.4; *vṛtābhyas*, x.30.7:—*ābhis*, vi.30.3; *duchūnābhis*, ii.32.2.

Ablatives: *ābhyas*, x.17.10; *ushnīhābhyas*, *kīkasābhyas*, and *grīvābhyas*, x.163.2; *tābhyas*, x.19.8; *sārvābhyas*, ii.41.12:—*ādharābhis* and *uttarābhis*, x.145.3; *ācābhis*, ii.41.12; *gūdābhis*, x.163.3; *dānsānābhis*, iii.3.11; *dhishānābhis*, iv.36.8; ix.59.2; *yābhis*, vi.47.3; *vakshānābhis*, i.134.4 bis; viii.1.17; *çyāvīābhis*, vi.15.17.

GENITIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

This case is not distinguished in form from the masculine. It occurs 39 times (from 22 stems). The metre requires a short thematic *a* in one instance, i.3.11, *sūnṛtānām* (cf. p. 352). The G.p. of *kanīā*, **kanīānām*, always appears in a contracted form, *kanīnām* (five times).

1. Enumeration: *ākṣharānām*, *āghniānām*, *aniveçandānām*, *ābhayānām*, *āçma-vrajānām*, *urvārānām*, *usrānām*, *usrīyānām* 7, *kā'sthānām*, *jihmānām* 2, *divy-ānām*, *dūghānām*, *devasenānām*, *dhishānānām*, *nāvānām*, *nāvīānām* 2, *pastīānām* 3, *manishānām*, *rāmīānām* 2, *sāmānām*, *sūnṛtānām* (see above) 6, *stīyānām* 2.

2. Gr. proposes resolution in eight instances: in viii.59.12, *dhānānaam*, at the beginning of a *pāda*; in viii.59.1, *pr'tanānaam*, thus converting the cadence from *trishtubh* to *jagati*:—in the other six it is of questionable necessity, at the end of *pādas* of seven or eight syllables: *āghniānaam*, viii.58.2; *āntamānaam*, i.4.3; *idānaam*, ix.108.13; *pastīānaam*, ix.65.23; *vedīānaam*, x.22.14; *sūnṛtānaam*, viii.32.15.

3. There is no certain case of the simple ending *-ām*, without *n*. We find *nāṛikām*, Yt. xxiii.1, and *gadhwām*, Vd. xv.16, 17. If Gr. (*Ueb.*, note to ix.12.7) is right in following the Sāma variant, *dhend'm āntar sabardūghām*, ii.55.2, then the two words must be taken as accusative, and not, with Benfey, *Glossar*, s.v. *āntar*, as genitive.

LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

The general ending *-su* is affixed directly to the stem: thus, *tā'su*. Forms of this kind occur 182 times (from 61 stems).

The final *u* is never combined with a following initial vowel. It

occurs at the end of a *pāda* before a vowel in iii.30.14; 55.9: vi.65.1: x.27.16. It occurs in the interior of a *pāda*: before *a*-, 14 times, as ii.40.2; before *ā*-, iv.2.12; *i*-, i.127.6 *bis*: x.147.2; *ī*-, iv.51.7; *u*-, x.50.3, *ké apsū svā'su urvārāsu patānsie*; *ū*-, vii.49.4b; *ṛ*-, i.166.4; before the word *ā*', i.25.10; 141.5: vi.48.6: viii.39.7: x.49.10. In all these 31 instances the ending is written as if combined, but is to be pronounced with hiatus. The result of this examination corresponds entirely with that above, p. 354.

Enumeration: *aghā'su*, *anyā'su*, *amṛ'tāsu*, *āvarāsu*, *āmā'su* 6, *ā'artanāsu*, *īdāsu* 2, *āsu* 16, *āsū* 9, *ūparāsu* 2, *urvārāsu* 5, *usriyāsu* 2, *ā'rmiāsu*, *kā'su* 4, *katamā'su*, *kanīāsu* 3, *kā'shātāsu* 2, *kṛshnā'su* 3, *jagmānā'su*, *cittāgarbhāsu*, *citrā'su*, *jātā'su*, *tā'su* 2, *tūgrīāsu*, *dūriāsu* 4, *dhishñīāsu*, *dhruvā'su* 2, *nāvāsu*, *pathīāsu*, *pādīyāsu*, *pastīāsu* 3, *pañcājanyāsu*, *purupēcāsu*, *pū'rvāsu* 2, *pr'tanāsu* 35, *pradhaniāsu*, *priyā'su* 2, *mādiāsu*, *madhyamā'su*, *manushīāsu*, *mārtiāsu*, *mahīnāsu*, *yā'su* 12, *yajñīyāsu* 3, *-yatāsu*, *yōshanāsu*, *rā'miāsu*, *ropanā'kāsu*, *vakshānāsu* 6, *viçvāsu* 16, *vṛdhasānā'su*, *vṛddhā'su*, *çayā'su*, *çūshkāsu*, *çyāvā'su*, *çrutā'su*, *sānayāsu*, *saptāçivāsu*, *srā'su*, *svrjānāsu*, *svā'su*, *suā'su*, *hāviāsu*.

STEMS IN *I* AND *Ī*.

The Vedic noun-inflections differ more from those of the later language, and are historically more clearly separated from them, upon the field of the *i* and *ī*-declensions than any where else. The stems ending in *i* and *ī* exhibit also in the Veda itself a greater variety of declensional forms than any others, although the *u* and *ū*-declensions have had a closely parallel development. The reason of this variety is to be sought in the physiological character of the stem-final; this lies on the border-land between vowels and consonants, and is the one or the other according to circumstances. (See Professor Whitney's lucid exposition of this subject in the Journal of the Am. Or. Soc. viii.361,362.) Thus the instrumental ending *-ā* can be affixed directly to a thematic *i* with hiatus, giving the termination *-iā*; or this *i* may take on a consonantal character, so as to result in *-yā*; a very common phonetic change reduces either of these groups to *-ī*; and this may even be shortened to *-i*; or, finally, a *n* may be "inserted" between stem and ending, so as to produce a fifth form *-inā*. In no case, however, except *-i* of the dual, does thematic *i* (*ī*) coalesce with an initial vowel of the ending (as would a thematic *a*); but it sometimes absorbs it. About one half of the case-affixes begin with vowels; and in these cases, according to the rules of Sanskrit writing, the preceding thematic *i* becomes *y*; but the evidence of the metre shows that in the Vedic language this mutation was by no means accomplished. The simplest and most organic form of the I.s.f., for instance, would seem *a priori* to be *-iā*, and this it is also in fact. As in the later language *-yā* is the exclusive form, so in the Veda *-iā* predominates. The same is true, for the most part, of the other case-forms with vocalic endings. But we see a historical movement in progress in the Vedic texts; and the forms in which the thematic vowel has become *y* belong in general to

later hymns. Thus, in the G.L.d.m. of *ī*-stems we have 30 forms in *-ios* and none in *-yos*, and in the L.s.f. we have 37 forms in *-iā* to 13 in *-yā*; but in the secondary forms of the D.s.f. we have 3 in *-iai* to 6 in *-yai*.

A careful study of the mass of forms seems to point to three sets or series of endings:

Series A.	Series B.	Series C.
<i>i s</i>	<i>iā</i>	<i>ī' s</i>
<i>i m</i>	<i>iā am</i>	<i>ī' am</i>
<i>i ā'</i>	<i>iā ā'</i>	<i>ī' ā</i>
<i>e e</i>	<i>iā é</i>	<i>ī' e</i>
<i>e s</i>	<i>iā ās</i>	<i>ī' as</i>
<i>e i</i>	<i>iā ā'm</i>	
<i>e</i>	<i>iā</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>i i</i>	<i>iā i</i>	<i>ī' ā</i>
<i>i bhyām</i>	<i>iā bhyām</i>	<i>ī' bhyām</i>
<i>i ōs</i>	<i>iā ōs</i>	<i>ī' os</i>
<i>e as</i>	<i>iā as</i>	<i>ī' as</i>
<i>ī ns</i>	<i>iā as</i>	<i>ī' as</i>
<i>i bhis</i>	<i>iā bhis</i>	<i>ī' bhis</i>
<i>i bhyas</i>	<i>iā bhyas</i>	<i>ī' bhyas</i>
<i>īn ā'm</i>	<i>iān ā'm</i>	<i>ī'n ām</i>
<i>i shu</i>	<i>iā su</i>	<i>ī' shu</i>

It will be seen that series A and C differ most from each other. Series A is a true vowel-declension; series C, rather a consonant-declension. This is as it should be. A is used with stems ending in a short vowel, which is more readily susceptible to guna than a long one; C is used invariably with stems ending in long *ī*, and that *ī* is always accented and never gunated. For the very reason that it is accented, the individuality of the vowel is more perfectly preserved. It never passes into *y* in the R̥gveda, while the thematic *i* of series A very often does so. Series C never shifts the accent to the ending, while A does this regularly, if the stem is oxytone (exceptions will be noted).

Series B, genetically considered, lies between A and C. Comparative grammar teaches that the *ī* of feminines with which B is chiefly used was developed out of a fuller derivative ending *iā*. Cf. *śarā*, *śārya*, *śāryā*, *śā'rī*; **dā-taryā*, *dātrī*, **δότερυα*, *δότερυα*; *avī(a)rī*; and see Schleicher, *Comp.* p. 382 §217, p. 390 §218, etc. Even with the feminine *ā*-stems we saw some relics of simpler modes of declension: as, in the instrumentals (pp. 357, 358); in *suapatyāi*, *mahīyāi* (359); but here the whole series may be developed phonetically from the combination of *iā* with the endings of C, except N.A.d. Before *-ā*, *-e*, *-as*, and *-ām* of the singular, the thematic *ā* united with the vowel of the ending; elsewhere with the preceding *i* to *ī*. In the A.s., N. and A.d. and p., the resultants suffered further contraction: *-īam* became *-īm*; *-īi*, *-ī*; and *-īas*, *-īs*. The resulting series of terminations was established as follows: *-ī*, *-īm*, *-iā*, *-iai*, *-iās*, *-iām*; *-ī*, *-ibhyām*, *-ios*; *-īs*, *-īs*, *-ibhis*, *-ibhyas*, *-inām*, *-īshu*; and of these terminations, the case-suffixes were apparently —, *m*, *ā*, *ai*, *-ās*, *ām*; —, *bhyām*, *os*; *s*, *s*, *bhis*, *bhyas*, *nām*, *su*.

It is evident that in the case of oxytones the I.s., G.L.d., and G.p. of series B and C would be coincident, were it not for the fact that B shifts the accent regularly to the ending, while C never does so.

A mutual relation exists between the place of the accent in the weak cases singular of oxytone î-stems and the strengthening of the stem, either by vowel-change or by "addition" of a nasal. It is quite analogous to a like one in verb-inflection. Thus, in the I.s., if the stem remains weak, the accent is shifted to the ending: as, *pavy-â'* (cf. *i-más*); so *indrâgniós*; but if the *i* is gunated, it retains the accent: as, *agnâye-e* (cf. *ê-mi*); in like manner, *ârmi-â'*, *ârmin-â*; *ari-âs*, *agnê-s*.

Series A was applied to the stems in short *i*, including many masculines and feminines, and very few neuters (only 322 n. forms occur). It was applied originally to these stems without distinction of gender—except, of course, that the neuters had in the N. and A. no ending in the singular, *-î* in the dual, and *-i* in the plural. At any rate, the distinctions of the grammarians have no existence in the Rîgveda. (Cf. Böhrtlingk, *Die Declination im Sanskrit*, *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, vi^{me} Série, T. vii. p. 164.) Here belong further a few stems which appear to end in a root; they are the compounds of *-dhi* (BR. iii.959) and others: as, *â'dhi*, *sâdhi*, *pradhî*; *pratishtî*; *yayî* from *yâ*; *twigrî*. Lindner, p. 56, supposes that the root has dropped its final and taken the suffix *i*; but has not the final *â* been weakened to *i*? Declensionally, they are treated entirely as stems ending in suffixal *i* (cf. the accent, *nîdhînâ'm*) and are placed here accordingly.

Series B was applied to a large class of stems, almost all feminine, ending originally in *îâ* and contracted to *î*. These stems form feminines to words requiring inflection in more than one gender, and correspond for the most part to masculines of the following groups: many words in *a* (e. g., *devî'*); adjectives in *u* (*ânvi*, *âçivî*, *vâsvî*, and *urvî*, *trshvî*, *pâruî*, *prthvî*, *prabhvî*, *bahvî*, *yahvî*?, *raghvî*, *vibhvi*, *sâdhvî*, and *svâdvî*); participles in *-ant* (*mâdantî*), *-ânt* (*adatî*), or *-at* (*pîpratî*); and *-vañs* (*jagmûshî*); comparatives in *-iyan*s (*nâvîyasi*); words in *-tar* (*avî[t]arî*), in *-vant* (*ânavatî*) and *-mant* (*dhenumâtî*), *-van* (*rtâvarî*), *-an* (compounds of *â'dh[a]n*, *çîrsh[â]n*), and *-in* (*arkînî*); many compounds of *ac* (*arvâcî*); some of *han* (*âpatighnî*), *drç* (*sudr'çî*), and *pâd* (*apâdî*). Some of these have double feminines (*apâd*; *pâpâ'* and *pâpî'*; etc.). Besides the above, there are about 120 Rik-words belonging to this declension, which are of very heterogeneous character, as regards their formation. They are the stems in *î* given by Grassmann, columns 1722 and 1723, excepting those that I give below as belonging to C. To these must be added finally seven stems, designations of males, but declined like the feminines of series B: *Tîraççî*, *Nâmî*, *Pr'thî*, *Mâ'tahî*, and *Sôbhari* (all proper names); *râ'shîrî*, 'ruler,' and *sîrî*, 'weaver.'

Feminines formed with change of accent are declined according to C, if the resulting stem is oxytone. I therefore suspect that the accent of *asiknīā'*, x.75.5 (elsewhere *āsiknī*, *āsita*), is erroneous. It may be that the peculiar accent here differentiates the word as a proper name, for it denotes a river of the Pañjāb (cf. *Cāyamānā'*, vi.27.8; *Cūtra*, viii.21.18; *Didyut*, AV. ii.2.4, an Apsaras; so *hastinī'* 'having a hand;' but *hastinī'* 'female elephant,' AV. vi.70.2): even then we ought to write *asiknīā'*; so for *sādharanyā'* (*sā'dharana*), i.167.4, read *-yā*. *Çaçvatī'*, viii.49.17, and *gomatī'*, twice, are also incorrect.

Barytone feminines, on the other hand, corresponding to oxytone masculines, are declined according to B; they are: *ārushī*, *d'yasī*, *gā'ndharvī*, *tāvishī*, *pārushnī*, *pāliknī*, *māhishī*, *vārātrī*, *çaṅgāyī*, *çyā'vī*, *çyénī*; and *róhinī*, *hārīnī*?

Oxytones of series A and B will be enumerated in full, in cases where the accent is thrown forward to the ending.

Series C belongs to a comparatively small number of words: (1) properly to stems whose final element is a root ending in *ī'* (*grāmanī'*, m., f.) and (2) to monosyllabic substantives (f.) and their adjective compounds (m., f.) in *ī'*. In like manner are declined (3) about fifty oxytone feminine Rik-words in *ī'*, of which all but half a dozen are substantives. Of these (a) 22 correspond to barytones (mostly masculines in *a*), or are derived from them with shift of accent, and all but five designate female animate beings: *atharvī'* (*ātharvan*) 'priestess'; *arāyī'* (*ārāya*) 'demon'; *ashtakarnī'* (*ashtākarna*?) 'cow with an 8 on her ear'; *enī'* (*ēta*) 'doe'; *kālyānī'* (*kalyā'na*) 'fair woman'; *kilāsi'* (*kilā'sa*) 'spotted deer'; *naptī'* (*nāptar*) 'daughter'; *purushī'* (*pūrusha*) 'woman'; *mandāki'* (*mandā'ka*) 'female frog'; *mayārī'* (*mayā'ra*) 'pea-hen'; *yātūdhānī'* (*yātudhā'na*) 'sorceress'; *rathī'* (from *rātha*) 'female charioteer'; *lalāmī'* (*lalā'ma*) 'speckled mare'; *viçvarāpī'* (*viçvárāpa*) 'brindled cow'; *vrkī'* (*vr'ka*) 'she-wolf'; *sumāṅgalī'* (*sumāṅgāla*) 'lucky woman'; *ā-durmaṅgalī'* 'not unlucky'; [add from TS.: *çabālī'* (*çabāla*) 'die Wunderkuh'; *māhishī'* (Rik *māhishī*, *māhishā*) 'buffalo cow;'] further, *aparī'* (*āpara*), pl., 'future days'; *tapānī'* (*tāpana*) 'heat'; *çakatī'* (*çākata*) 'cart'; *sakthī'* (*sākthi*) 'thigh'; *srñī'* (*sr'ni*) 'sickle.' (b) Twelve others denote female animate beings, but do not correspond to barytone masculines: *ambī'* 'mother'; *arunī'* 'Dawn'; *krshnī'* 'Night'; *gandharvī'* 'female Gandharva'; *gaurī'* 'cow of the Bos Gaurus'; *dātī'* 'messenger'; *nishtigri'* 'Indra's mother'; *prapharvī'* 'voluptuous girl'; *meshī'* 'ewe'; *yamī'* 'Yamī'; *sinhī'* 'lioness'; *starī'* 'farrow cow.' (c) Nineteen others, finally, show no shift of accent, nor do they designate animate beings: *atharī'* 'flame'; *onī'* 'breast'; *kshonī'* 'flood'; *khārī'* 'measure'; *cakrī'* 'wheel'; *dehī'* 'dam'; *nadī'* 'stream'; *māhi-nadī'* 'great-stream'; *nādī'* 'pipe'; *nāndī'* 'joy'; *lakshinī'* 'mark'; *vakshī'* 'flame'; *Vibālī'*, a river; *veçī'* 'needle'; *sasarparī'* 'trumpet'; *sārmī'* 'pipe'; *sārnī'* 'flame'; *sphigī'*, 'hip'; *yayī'*, 'quick,' is perhaps a root-word. *Suhāsta* might make its feminine *suhastī'*; but since

suhastias, ix.46.4, is m., it is better to read *suhastîās* with BR. It is a rule for the Rik that oxytone feminines from barytone masculines do not throw the accent forward to the case-ending; and so, in view of *sārmîā*, I think it is wrong to set up a stem *sārmî*. From AV. ii.8.3, *palātiā* (*pālāla*), *tilapīñjiā* (*tilapīñja*), however, it would appear that the Rik-rule does not hold for the Atharvan (so *vilīptîās*, xii.4.44; *hastinîās*, vi.70.2; *hiranyakecîā*, v.7.9); and that Professor Whitney's suspicion, Ath. Pr. iii.61, *kalyānyai* (vi.107.3), is well grounded.

From the Atharvan I add a few words not found in the Rik, which belong to C. To 3a belong: *kūḍî* (*kūṭa*?) 'fetter,' *tandri* (*tāndra*) 'weariness,' *tikshnagrîgi* (*tikshnāgrîga*) 'sharp-horned,' *pippalî* (*pīppala*) 'berry,' *sahasraparnî* (*sahāsrāparṇa*), a plant; *hastinî*, vi.70.2, 'female elephant' (*hastinî*, ix.3.17, 'having a hand'), cf. p. 368; *hiranyakecî* (*hîr*) 'gold-haired.' To 3b belong *aṣvatarî* 'she-mule,' *kumārî* 'maid,' *viastakecî* and *vikecî* 'shaggy hag,' *vilīptî*? 'cow,' *vilādhî* 'female monster,' *vrkshasarpî* 'tree-serpent.' To 3c belong perhaps *karkarî* 'lute,' and *jātrî*? 'genitrix.'

Several words in *ia* have f. stems in *î*, whose declensional forms belong to C: *āpia*, *āpî*; *samudrîya*, *samudrî* (otherwise Gr.); *svarîa*, *svarî*.

About a dozen masculines also belong here: *ahî*, of the same meaning as the barytone *āhi*; *āpathî*; *nadî* 'caller,' *dakshî*?; *prāvî*, *dushprāvî*, *suprāvî*; *yayî*?; *rathî*, *ārathî*; *starî*, *sahāsrastarî*; *hiranyavācî*.

The final radical *î* is sometimes "split" into *iy* before the vocalic endings of C. This occurs regularly (1) in monosyllabic feminine substantives always; (2) in their adjective compounds and (3) those in which the last member is a verbal root, provided the *î* is preceded by a double consonant; and (4) even after a single consonant, if the stem-final is unaccented: thus, (1) *grîyam*, *dhiyê*, but *ādhîe*; *dhiyā'm*, but *dhîndā'm*, *grîndā'm*; (2) *suçrîyam*, but *suādhiām*; (3) *brahmaprîyam*, but *gāthānîām*; (4) *ithā-dhiye*, *dirghā-dhiyas*, *nānādhîyas*, *vātapramîyas*. Several stems other than those included above show the inserted *y*: *yayîyas*, *samudrîyas*, and *strîyas*; cf. *cakrîyau* of the Kāthaka. This seems to me to be a purely graphic peculiarity. As is well known, it has had a noteworthy extension in the TS. See A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.104.

These three series were presumably once quite distinct—and they are so for the most part in the Rîgveda; but even here we see the process of confusion begun. Now it is plain that either a long or a short thematic vowel when standing in the verse before another vowel, the initial of the ending, would generally have the effect of a short: as, *ātîā*, *devîā*; and furthermore, that when it did really become entirely consonantized, the distinction of quantity (as, for instance, between the thematic vowels of *matyā* and *mahyā*) would become lost altogether. The line of separation between A and B once becoming thus indistinct, the way was

open for the transition of the *i*-stems to the *i*-declension. Inasmuch as the words belonging to series B are almost exclusively feminine, this transition was confined for the most part to the feminines in *i*. Moreover the entire coincidence of certain forms of A and B in the Rik would increase this confusion. Thus the N.A. and G.L.d. are alike for A and B; such also is the case with the A.p.f.; and since in B the N.p. is like A.p., the analogy was extended to A, and we have a dozen or more nominatives p.f. from *ī*-stems in *-īs*. So, too, the G.p.f. is alike in each. The later language has differentiated some of these cases, or rather utilized certain differences by extending them to fields where they did not originally belong, and says *devyaṁ* (like C) for *devī*, and *devyās* for *devī*'s, N.—forms utterly unknown to the Rik.

On the other hand, there are a few transitions from the *i* to the *ī*-declension. Thus from *nār* is formed the m. and n. adjective *nāria*; but the feminine is from a stem *nā'riā*, *nā'ri*. The Rik, however, shows forms from a stem *nā'rī* which cannot be justified by the rules of word-formation: they are plain cases of transition from B to A.

This process of transition had already begun in the older Vedic time. It would be an interesting and useful task to trace its development through the Vedic period. Such a study ought to be an eminently historical one, and would, I believe, if carried into detail, furnish some valuable clues for the criticism of Vedic texts. An example will illustrate this roughly. The Ab.s.f. of *ī*-stems ends properly in *-es*, as *ādītes*. Of these forms there are 20 in the RV. (from 11 stems); while only three *ī*-stems have usurped the endings of series B, namely *nā'bhyās*, x.90.14, and *hetyā's*, 87.19—both hymns of very late date—and *bhā'mīds*, i.80.4. In the AV., on the other hand, there are five ablatives s.f. in *-es* (from 5 stems; but I may have overlooked some); while those in *-iās* or *-yās* number 21 (from 12 stems). That is to say, the process of transition of the *ī*-stems from their own to the *i*-declension is much farther advanced in the Atharvan than in the Rik. So, on the other hand, the transition from B to A had not begun with *rā'trī* in the Rik; but the AV. shows a number of A-forms (from *rā'trī*). In the Rik, *nadī* belongs entirely to C (save one dual form, *nadī*, in a certainly late hymn); in this category therefore I have had to place it—and that in the face of the grammarians, who have used it as a paradigm for B, to which in the later language it belongs. In like manner *dātī* belongs in the Veda to C, but later to B (see BR. s.v.).

In the case of *devāhūti*, the transitions in the Rik are confined to vocalic cases; in the Purāṇa we have *devahūtim*. To follow these changes in the post-Vedic writings would lead too far. And because in the Vedic period itself everything is so in flux, I have thought it best to confine myself to the Rik, in order to get clean results. But for convenience of reference I have added some material from other texts. Benfey, *Vedica*, p. 112 *et alibi*, has considered, to be sure *en passant*, the subject of these transitions.

His general induction is that the direction of the movement in Skt. is from the *î* to the *ī* declension, and opposite to that in the Prākṛit, where the *î*-stems are getting the upper hand. (Cf. Kuhn, *Pāli-Gr.* pp. 79, 81.) For the later Sanhitas and the Brāhmanas his statement may be right; but in the Rik the transitions from the *î* to the *ī* declension entirely outweigh the others in importance.

In the following lists I have intended to give with completeness for the Rik every stem which has forms other than those belonging properly to its own declension.

I. TRANSITIONS FROM A.

A to B. Twenty-seven *î*-stems have forms belonging to the *ī*-declension. Only four, however, have *î*-forms in non-vocalic cases: *ākshī*, -*ībhyaṁ* (*ākshī* n. 1); *jāni*, N.s. -*ī*; *bhāmi* (has 15 B-forms), N.s. -*ī*; *svāhākr̥ti*, -*īshu*. The rest are: *ānumati*; *ārāti*, 19; *avāni*; *ājāni*; *ātī*; *turī*; *devāhātī*; *nākti*; *nābhī*; *nīr̥ti*, 3; *nīshkr̥ti*; *pūram̐dhi*, 3; *pushtī*; *pr̥c̐ni*, 4; *bhuḡi*; *bhrtī*, 2; *yuvati*, 2 (see p. 372); *viçvākr̥sh̥ti*; *gr̥ti*, 2; [*gr̥ni*, see N.p.f.] *sāmgati*; *sāyoni*; *heti*. The transition-forms number 69; that is, the phenomenon is confined to exceedingly narrow limits in the Rik, considering that it is a rule of the later language that every feminine in *î* may take the longer B-forms "optionally" in the singular. On account of this rule, we need not give from other texts instances of transition for non-vocalic cases.

For consonantal cases, comment and note to TPr. iii.7 give the following from the TS., where, however, the *pada* has *ī* (cf. *Vedica*, p. 113): from *d'huti*, -*ībhis*, ii.6.9⁴; similarly *vyd'hṛtibhis*, i.6.10²: v.5.5³; *svāhākr̥tibhyas*, vi.3.9³; *hrādūtibhyas*, vii.4.13: VS. xxii.26; *cācibhis*, iv.2.5⁴⁻⁵, p. *cāci-bhis*; if the Rik Pr. made a similar statement, we might take all the Rik-forms of this word from a stem *cāci*; *citibhyaṁ*, v.7.5¹; *gr̥ṇibhyaṁ* and *pr̥sh̥tībhyaṁ*, vii.3.16¹⁻²; *pr̥sh̥tībh̐s*, AV. xii.1.34, and so also the *pada*-MS.

A to C. The instances are few. We have the stem *ambī*, but also from *ambī*, *ambīam*; so *yayī*, but *yayīam*, -*īyas*; *sakthī* (n. 1), but *sakthī* (f.), -*īā*; *sr̥ṇī* (I. *sr̥ṇīā*), but also from *sr̥ṇī*, -*īā*, -*īas*. *Karkarī* of the Rik appears as *karkarī* in the AV. The entirely exceptional *arī* shows the N.s. *arī's* VS. vi.36; so BR. Cat. Br. *sām arī'r vidām* . . . *sām prajā' jānatām*. See *Ž.D.M.G.* xxii.576.

In iv.48.2a, it is unnecessary to pronounce *niryuvāṇō ācāstias* (text -*tis*); it is a *pāda* of seven syllables; so is viii.39.2d, *viçvā aryō ārātis*; so, too, in both cases where Gr. proposes *pūram̐dhiam*, i.134.3d and x.64.7a, the *pādas* are catalectic, and we need not change the text (-*dhim*).

II. TRANSITIONS FROM B.

B to A. About six stems show secondary forms from stems in *ī*. They are: *Sōbhari* m., -e 3, -*im*, -*ayas*, -*īnām*?; *Pr̥thī* m., -*im*; *arānī* f., -*ībhis* 2; *aranyānī*, -*īs* 3, -*im*; *nā'rī*, -*ibhyas* 2, -*ishu*; *ōshadhī*, -e 2, -*is*, -*im* 2, -*ayas* 3.

It is hard to say in which category *ōshadhī* properly belongs. In verses peculiar to the AV. it has the following forms: (A) -e, 42; -*is*, 4; -*im*; -*ayas*, 23 and vi.96.1 (a false variant of Rik x.97.18; we must restore the shorter

grammatical form *-is*, as the metre shows); (B) *-im*, 2; *-iā*; *-is*, N.V. 13; *-is*, A. 24; *-ibhis*, 6; *-ibhyas*, 4; *-inām*, 23 and vi.15.1, variant of Rik x.97.23; *-ishu*, 7.

The same is true of *yuvati*. The root *yu*, *yuvāti*, would form its participle *yuvānt*, feminine *yuvatī*. From this stem one half of the Rik-forms may be regarded as coming: to wit, *yuvatyā's*, *-yā'm*, *-i'*, *-yós*, *-i's* A.p.; but the word has lost its participial character so entirely that I have referred it to A.

The Atharvan has 50 forms from the stem *rā'brī* (like the Rik); further (A) *rā'tris*, xiii.4.30; *rā'trim*, 16 times, as i.16.1; *rā'traye*, viii.2.20. The AV. has 6 forms from stem *arundhati*; but *arundhate*, xix.38.1, which Benfey takes as a transition-vocative s.f. (A), may stand for *-ta* (3 pl.).

The TS. (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.105) has: *pātmayas*, 5 times, as v.2.11², q.v.; *vārātayas*, iv.1.6²: v.1.7²; *-trim*, iv.2.10³; *garbhīṇayas*, ii.1.2⁶; *revātayas*, v.2.11¹; *cākvarayas*, v.4.12².

The Sāman, i.323, has the variant *snī'hitim* for *snīhitis*, Rik viii.85.13; cf. stem *snī'hitī*, i.74.2. Benfey, quoting Siegfried Goldschmidt, adds from the Naigeya-Çākha, vii.2.1, *rōhīṇishu* (probably a false variant of Rik viii.82.13, *-ishu*) and *pārushṇīshu*.

B to C. The only undoubted case of transition from B to C is seen in the stem *stri'* (**sūtariā'*); it forms *striyam*, 3; *-iyas* N.; *-iyas* Acc., 2; *-ibhis*. If we knew that the masculine verbal adjective from *sparṣ* (*spṛçāti*) were accented *prçāna* (?), we should refer *prçanī'* to C; as it is, I have referred it to B on account of the N.s.f. *-i'*, and regarded *-ias* (G.s.f.) as a transition-form (C). The other transition-forms are *prçanīas* N., *yahvīas* Acc., *suparnīas* N., *-ias* Acc. But it is possible that these may be relics of the uncontracted B-forms (p. 366), although in the Rik-sanhita these are contracted with almost entire uniformity. I may accordingly have erred in assigning *khārī'*, *vakshī'*, and several others to C simply on the evidence of a form that may be merely an uncontracted A.s., N. or A.p. It is quite unnecessary to pronounce *āciçvīas* in i.120.8. The *pāda* is catalectic.

III. TRANSITIONS FROM C.

C to A. 1. Root-words: *āhrayas*, ix.54.1 (cf. Çat. Br. xi.3.3⁶, *āhrīs*, N.s.m.); *gaṇaçrībhis*, v.60.8b, is certainly a purely metrical shortening, and so probably is *ṛtanībhyas*, ii.27.12. Benfey, *Vedica*, p. 107 ff., gives *senā-nībhyas*, VS. xvi.26, and *çva-nībhyas*, 27; and *veshaçrīs*, TS. iii.5.2⁶ (see BR.).

2. The other cases are only sporadic. The accent of *onīos* refers *onī'* to C; but in i.61.14 we have *onīm* (A), where, however, the *-im* is *syllaba anceps*. The stem *arunī'* shows a form *arunāyas* in the Purūravas hymn. [Although with some hesitation, I have referred *arunī'* to C on account of the forms *arunī's* N.s., 2; *-ias*, text *-i's*, G.s.; *-ias* N.p.; *-inām*, not *-inām*; *-i'shu*, indifferent. But we have A.p. *-i's* (B) twice.] Unless now we assume that *kshonī'*, like *arunī'* [and possibly *cākvarī* (B), which has *-ayas* (A) as N.p.f., and *-is* (C) as N.s.f.], has forms that belong in all three categories, I would arrange the article *kshonī'* (cf. Gr., *Wb.* 371) as follows:

C-forms: N.s.f. *kshonī's*, viii.3.10; so 13.17, *vīprā īndraṇi kshonī'r avardhayan vayā' īva*, 'The priests made Indra grow mighty, as the flood (N.s.f.) the twigs,' (A.p.f.)—i. e. as the stream makes the twigs grow; i.57.4, *kshonī'r īva prāti no harya tād vācāḥ*, 'Do thou, as doth a flood, (take in) accept our song;' i.54.1, as

collective and subject of *sám árata*; i.173.7, *sajóshasa índram máde* [ná?] *kshoní'h*, '(In order to get thee into the battle to help us,—thee) Indra,—we are united [as] is the crowd (collective) at a feast;' and, finally, as N.s.f., *kshoní'[s]* *sacate*, i.180.5 (cf. *sásmi*[s] *sám*, x.120.2); *kshoní'bhyám*; -í'bhis, 2.

A-forms: *kshoní'*, dual, viii.7.22; 88.6: Vâl. 4.10 (the C-form would be -*níd*); *kshonáyas*, in x.22.9, a verse which is a late interpolation in the midst of an old and beautiful hymn. From the AV., moreover, we have *naptís*, Rik *naptí's*.

C to B. 1. Instead of *bhiyé* we have *bhiyá' i-*, p. *bhiyái*, viii.64.13. The Rik shows only this one instance of a transition which later is so very common with these monosyllabic feminines. In i.151.5, *takvaví's* (Gr., N.p.m.) may be a transition-form (cf. *sirí's*), or a N.s.m. as in x.91.2.

2. The rest are rather doubtful. In i.112.19 and iv.2.16, *aruní's* is A.p.f. In ii.23.14, *tapaní'*, I.s.f., also shows a contraction peculiar to B. The L.s. of *dáti'* ought to be *dátíám*. In vi.58.3, we have *dátid'm* (B). Delbrück, *Chrestomathie*, p. 79, proposes the stem *dátid'*=*dátia*, taking it as accusative. The B-form, *nadí'*, dual, occurs in a late hymn, i.135.9. The un-Vedic form *nadyò* (we need not, with Gr., pronounce -í's) is entirely in keeping with the contents of the very late addition, vii.50.4.

In ix.9.4, pronounce *nadio* 'jinvad *adrúhah*, and not, with Gr., -í's *aj-*. *Gaurí'*, ix.12.3, if it were a dual (Gr., *Wb.*), would belong here as a B-form; but it is a locative; see *Ueb.* ii.510. In iii.30.11, *rathí's* is better taken as N.s.m. with *índras* (Gr., *Wb.*, A.p.f.); in viii.84.1, also, it is just as well to make it a N.s.m.

IV. TRANSITIONS TO THE N-DECLENSION.

It seems certain that the forms which here come in question are made after the analogy of the *in*-stems. Thus we could not know, without other evidence, whether to divide *arcín-á* or *arcí-ná*, *ármín-á* or *ármí-ná* (*ármíá*), *kírín-á* or *kírí-ná*, *khádín-á* or *khádí-ná*, *gvánín-am* or *gvaní-nam*, *surabhín-á* or *surabhí-ná* (cf. *atrín-á*, *átri-ná*, *atithín-á*, *atithi-ná*). But why is the principle of analogy so utterly inert in the G.p.? Here the *i*-stems lengthen the vowel invariably; the *in*-stems, never (*kárín-ám*, *máyin-ám*). Cf. Kuhn, *Páli-Gram.* p. 80.

These transitions, if such they should be called, are confined to series A, except in the G.p., where the "transition" is universal in A, B, and C. In only one single instance, v.44.13, do we have *dhíyá'm* (*dhíná'm* occurs seven times); but v.44.1-13 is an unintelligible mess of stuff of the latest date. It is not denied that *dhíyá'm* is the more organic form (Schleicher, *Comp.*⁴ p. 545 § 253); but for the assertion that the forms with *n* are an "indische neubildung," the forms *nará'm* (16; with *n*, 26), *svásrá'm* (once; *svásrám*, 3), *gávám* (55; *gónám*, 20), and *jóguvám* are hardly sufficient proof. That the *n* is lacking here is surely due to the half-consonantal character of the stem-final.

The *n* is also seen in series A in the I.s.m. (51 forms, 25 stems), and f. (! 2 forms, 2 stems), and in the d.n. (*háríní*) and p. (*-íní*, 14 forms, 4 stems); but for all these cases there are examples of the more organic form without *n*.

The later language excludes this *n* from the *f*., confines it to the instrumental in the *m.s.*, and prescribes it for the neuter throughout the oblique cases of the *s.*, as also for the vocalic cases of the *d.* and *p.* The state of things in the Rik is as contrary to this as it can be. This is especially clear in the *u*-stems, where examples are more numerous. As stated above, the declension of *m.*, *f.*, and *n.* singular of series A was doubtless once the same, the differences being of secondary origin.

Besides the cases just mentioned, transitions to the *n*-declension are only sporadic or doubtful. Here belong perhaps *ārmīnam*, *kirīṇe*?, *khādīnam*, *īnas*?, [*ābhīruṇam*] and *ṣvanīnam*.

The following synopses exhibit the terminations of the inflectional forms of the several series:

SERIES A. MASCULINE.

Singular: N., *-is*, *-ī*, *-es*; A., *-im*, *-ī*?; I., *-iā*, *-yā*, *-ī*?, *-inā*; D., *-ye*, *-aye*; Ab., *-es*; G., *-ias*, *-yas*, *-es*, *-e*?; L., [*-ayi*, *-āy*?] *-ā*, *-au*; V., *-e*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-ī* (*iti*); I.D.Ab., *-ibhyām*; G.L., *-ios*.

Plural: N.V., *-ayas* (*-yas*); A., *-in*, *-īṇr* (*-yas*, *ayas*); I., *-ibhis*; D.Ab., *-ibhyas*; G., *-inām*, *-inaam*; *-ishu*.

FEMININE.

Singular: N., *-is*, *-ī*?; A., *-im*; I., *-iā*, *-yā*, *-ī*, *-ī*, *-inā*; D., *-aye*, *-ī*, *-ī*; Ab.G., *-es*; L., [*-ayi*, *-āy*?] *-ā*, *-au*, *-ī*; V., *-e*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-ī*; I.D.Ab., *-ibhyām*; G.L., *-ios*, *-yos*.

Plural: N.V., *-ayas*; A., *-is* (*-ayas*); I., *-ibhis*, *-ī*; D.Ab., *-ibhyas*; G., *-inām*, *-inaam*; L., *-ishu*.

NEUTER.

Singular: N.A., *-i*; I., *-ī*?; D., *-aye*; G., *-es*; L., *-ā*.

Dual: N.A., *-ī*, *-inī*.

Plural: N.A., *-ī*, *-ī*, *-inī*; L., *-ishu*.

SERIES B. MASCULINE.

Singular: N., *-ī*; A., *īm*; I., *-iā*; G., *-iās*, *-yās*.

Plural: N., *-is*.

FEMININE.

Singular: N., *-ī*; A., *-īm*, (*-iam*); I., *-iā*, *-yā*, *-ī*, *-ī*; D., *-iai*, *-yai*; Ab.G., *-iās*, *-yās*; L., *-iām*, *-yām*, *-ī*; V., *-ī*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-ī* (*iti*); I.D.Ab., *-ibhyām*; G.L., *-ios*, *-yos*.

Plural: N.V., *-is*, *-ias*; A., *-is*; I., *-ibhis*; D.Ab., *-ibhyas*; G., *-inām*, *-inaam*; L., *-ishu*.

SERIES C. MASCULINE.

Singular: N., *-īs*, *-ī*?; A., *-iam*; I., *-iā*; D., *-ie*; G., *-ias*; V., *-i*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-iā*; G., *-ios*.

Plural: N.A., *-ias*; I., *-ibhis*; G., *-inām*, *-inaam*.

FEMININE.

Singular: N., *-īs*; A., *-iam*; I., *-iā*; D., *-ie*; G., *-ias*; V., *-ī*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-iā*; I., *-ibhyām*; G.L., *-ios*.

Plural: N.A., *-ias*; I., *-ibhis*; D., *-ibhyas*; G., *-inām*; L., *-ishu*.

The following peculiarities are seen in the accent of the forms from oxytone stems. It is shifted to the ending, in series A, in the I.s., sometimes in the G.s., in the G.L.d., and as a rule in the G.p.; in series B, in the same cases, and also in the D., Ab.G., and L.s. In C, on the contrary, the accent never leaves the thematic vowel, although it appears in the written text as *kshaipra svarita* (Prât. iii.10). Sporadic exceptions will be noticed as they come up.

Several words have such peculiar irregularities that it has seemed best to treat of them at the end of this section. They are *arí*, *jáni*, *páti*, *sákhi*, and some of their compounds.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The ending *s* is added directly to the stem: as, *ávi-s*. This form occurs 1353 times (from 247 stems). Besides these, *pátis* occurs 72 times; *arís*, 10; *nákis*, 50, and *má'kis*, 13; the last two are indeclinables. Some may be f.: *krtís*, *mush'tís*, *sañtanís*. Frequently occurring forms are: *agnís*, 389; *átithis*, 20; *áhis*, 18; *r'shis*, 32; *kavis*, 90; *dadis*, 15; *br'haspátis*, 52; *bráhmaṇaspátis*, 23; *rayís*, 26; *váhnis*, 28; *vīcarshañis*, 19; *gúcis*, 38; *sátpatis*, 15; *súrís*, 19; *háris*, 58.

Transitions from C: *véshaçris*, TS. iii.5.2^b: iv.4.1^a: v.3.6^a; but Çat. Br. viii.5.3^a (sic), *véshaçris*; *jítatandris*, MBh.; *nistan-drís*, R. Cf. p. 372.

Besides the regular form *vis* (6), the stem *ví* has a form with guna, *vés*, i.173.1: iii.54.6: vi.3.5: ix.72.5: x.33.2. As parallel to this, in Yaçna ii.12, Roth takes *khshnaos* of the Copenhagen Codex 4, as N.s.m. of *khshnu*, with guna and case-ending: *nôit tá im khshnaos*, 'Therefore (is no favorer) favors not . . .' To this I would add *yaos*, N.s.m. of stem *yu*, 'an ally,' from root *yu*, 'unite.' Yaçna xlv.18, *yē mābyā yaos*, *ahmāi* (i. e. *yo mahyām *yos, asmai*), 'Whoso is an ally to me, him etc.' Whoever loves anomalies may translate *bodhi āpēh*, x.83.6, thus: 'Be a friend.'

B. See p. 367. Enumeration: *námī*; *pr'thī*; *mā'talī*; *rā'shtrī*; *sóbhari*, 1 and AV. xviii.3.15. Perhaps we ought to put *svaghñī*, AV. iv.16.5, here; BR. put it under stem *-in*.

C. 1. Root-words. Enumeration: (*áhrís*, Çat. Br. xi.3.3^a) *itthá'-ádhis*; *kshatraçrís*; *grámaní's*, 2; *ghrtaçrís*, 2; *takvaví's*, x.91.2; *darçataçrís*; *dúráyádhis*; *devaví's*, 2; *devávi's*, 6; *patsutah-çrís*; *padaví's*, 6; *parnaví's*; *pranení's*; *madhyamaçrís*; *manyumí's*, 2; *máryaçrís*; *yajñaní's*; *vaçaní's*; *viçvátodhis*; *ví's*; *senání's*, 4; *sionaçrís*, 2; *suádhí's*, 5; (from AV.) *prakrís* and *sadyahkrís*, xi.7.10; *padaní's*, xi.2.13. Forty-five Rik-forms (from 22 stems).

2. Enumeration: *právi's*; *suprávi's*, 4; *rathí's*, 13, and iii.30.11 and viii.84.1 (see p. 373); *árathís*; *starí's*; *sahásrastarís*; *híranvaváçis*.

Transition from A: *arí's*, VS. vi.36. See p. 371.

Elision and crasis is actually written in v.7.8, *prá svádhitíva rí'yate*, p. *-tíh-iva*, fem. (Rik Pr. iv.13); it is probable in x.51.6, *rathí'vá dhvānam ānu á'varivuh*, p. *rathí'-iva*, better *rathí'-r-iva*; it

is certain in x.84.2 *agnī'va*, text *agnīr-iva*; so in the Atharvan, 7 times out of 10 (Prât. ii.56). In v.83.3, on the other hand, where the text has *rathī'va* and the *padakāra* takes it from *rathīn*, we must read without elision and crasis *rathī'r iva kāçayá'çvāñ abhikshipān*, else the cæsura is faulty.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. The form is like the m. It occurs 470 times (from 136 stems). Examples are: *áditis*, 78; *nābhis*, 19; *prámatís*, 11; *bhā'mis*, 12; *matís*, 18; *yuvatis*, 18; *rayís*, i.66.1 : x.19.3; *rátis*, 22; *sumatís*, 22; *jánis*, AV. xx.48.2.

Transitions from B: *aranyānís*, 3; *óshadhis*.

Transition from C: *naptís*, AV. ix.1.3, 10. I know not how to explain *turyá'ma yás ta ádiçám árátis*, vi.4.5, except as a fault of the tradition, for *árátis*.

B. There is no case-ending. The case-form occurs 731 times (from 294 stems). Examples are: *yati'*, 14; *ghrtá'cí*, 9; *jānitri'*, 10; *devi'*, 48; *prthivi'*, 57; *brhati'*, 10; *maghóni'*, 9; *mahi'*, 35; *uchānti'*, 16; *sārasvati'*, 43; *stri'*, v.61.6 : viii.33.19 : x.86.6.

Transitions from A: *jāni'*, iv.52.1; *bhū'mi'*, ix.61.10; *bhū'my á'dade*, p. *bhū'mih*; but cf. Prât. iv.13 and *Orient und Occ.* ii.460.

Transitions from C. I regard *kshonī'* as standing for *kshonī's* before *s*, i.180.5 (see p. 373 top). I am inclined to think that the distinction between B and C is already much effaced in the Atharvan, in words whose final is not a root; accordingly we have *ádurmaṅgalī*, *sumaṅgalī'*; *nadī'*, i.8.1 : ix.7.14 : xii.2.27; *vīlīpti'*, xii.4.46, 47.

Twice Gr. restores *mahīá*, the uncontracted form of *mahi'* (cf. p. 356). In i.167.4, he reads *ná rodasi'* [m] *āpa nudanta ghorá'h* ?.

C. 1. Root-words: *abhiçrī's*, 3; *dhī's*, 10; *bhī's*, 2; *vratani's*; *çrī's*; AV. *prakrī's*, iv.7.6; Vop. iii.80, *avis*.

2. Stems in *i'*, not radical (p. 368). We have here 56 forms in *-i's* (from 31 stems); and of these 33 occur in the Rik (from 19 stems). The examples seem accordingly to be numerous enough to establish the rule (p. 368 top) that the declension depends on the accent. Schleicher, *Comp.*¹ p. 510 § 246, argues from these forms the existence of an ending *-s* in the N.s.f. of *ā*-stems; but is it not the distinguishing characteristic of most of these *i'*-stems that their final *i* is not derived from *iā*? In those whose final certainly comes from *iā* (*siñhiā'*), I should rather consider the *s* as due to false analogy (from root-words) than as organic. See p. 355.

Enumeration: *á-durmaṅgalī's* (*pātnī*), x.85.43 (AV. xiv.2.40, *-li*, see below); *arunī's*, iv.1.16; 14.3; *skalyāni's* (*jāyā'*), iii.53.6; *kṛshnī's*, vii.71.1; *kshonī's* (see p. 372-3), i.54.1; 57.4; 173.7 : viii.3.10; 13.17: *kshonī* [s] *s*, i.180.5, cf. *siñhi' rūpām*, p. *-i'h rū*, TS. vi.2.7¹; *gandharvī's*, x.11.2; *gaurī's*, i.164.41; *dūtī's*, x.108.2,3,4 : TS. ii.5.11^o; *naptī's*, ix.69.3; *nādī's*, x.135.7; *yamī's*, x.10.9 (AV. xviii.1.10); *rathī's*, v.61.17 : x.102.2; *lakshmi's*, x.71.2; AV. vii.115.2 : xi.7.17 : xii.5.6; *lalāmi's*, i.100.16; *vrkī's*, i.117.18; 183.4; *çakati's* (*iva sarjati*), x.146.3, 'squeaks like a

cart' (Gr., *Wb.*, A.p.f.); *sasarpari's*, iii.53.15,16; *sumanḡali's*, i.113.12: x.85.33; [*AV.*, -*li'*, iii.10.2: xiv.1.60; 2.25,26; but not "der Regel gemäss" (*Vedica*, p. 116), since the change of accent requires inflection according to C. These "regularities" of the later Vedic texts are rather an effacement of distinctions which prevail in the Rik almost without exception. In the Rik-passage, xiv.2.28, accordingly, we have -*li's*.] *stari's*, i.122.2: vii.101.3: x.31.10: VS. iii.34: TS.i.5.6⁴: Kāth. vii.1;—from the Atharvan: *jātri's*, xx.48.2 (MSS.; ed. *jānis*); *tandri's*, viii.8.9: xi.8.19; [*MBh.*, *atandris*, *gatatandris*, *jītatandris*; R., *vyapanītatandri*]; *yātudhāni's*, i.28.4;—from the TS. (given by A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.101): *mahishi's*!, i.2.12² (*māhishī*, Rik, from *mahishā*); *viṣvarāpi's*, i.5.6²,8²; *ṣabali's*, iv.3.11⁶; *sinhi's*, i.2.12².

Transitions from A: *ārātis*, see p. 376; in *ānu gyēni sacate vartanī'r aha*, i.140.9, p. -*nih*, we have a purely metrical lengthening; Prāt. iv.13: 'A black path follows along after him.' *Vedica*, p. 116. Gr. as A.p.f.

Transitions from B: *ṣākvaris*, TS. iii.4.4¹, looks to me suspicious (or may it not be N.p.f. ?); still more so is *sahā devī'r arundhati'*, AV. vi.59.2.

Elision and crasis: see p. 375.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. The neuter has no case-ending. *Kīm*, which is gradually supplanting the more antique *kād* even in the Veda, is perhaps a phonetic variation of **ká-m*. It occurs 49 times; and as adv., 31; cf. *nākim* and *mā'kim*. The case-form occurs 256 times in the Rik (from 37 stems); all but 87 of these belong to *bhū'ri*, *māhi*, and *svastī*. The list is: *ākshi*; *ākshiti*, 3; *agavyāti*; *ājāmi*, 3; *añjī*, 5; *apratī*, 2; *abhābhūti*, 3; *abhīmāti*; *āsāmi*, 9; *itāsūti*, 3; *ghōshi*; *codayānmati*; *jā'grvi*; *jāmī*, 4; *tarāni*; *tuviṣhvāni*; *trind'bhī*; *dharnasī*; *nādhruvi*; *pāpuri*; *parogavyāti*, as adv.; *bhurvāni*; *bhū'ri*, 47; *māhi*, 84; vii.30.1 (Gr., *mah-é*); iv.56.5 and x.93.1 (Gr., *māhi*, V.d.f.); *viṣvācarshani*; *vṛ'shni*, 3; *gāntāti*; *gāmi*, viii.45.27, BR.; otherwise Gr.; *ṣuci*, 11; *sākthi*, 2; *sānemi*, 2, and as adv., 6; [*sāsni*: *sām*, x.120.2 (AV. v.2.2); Gr. reads *sāsnis*: *sām*; cf. *kshonī' s*, p. 373] *sānasī*, 2; *surabhī*; *sthū'ri*; [*svāni*, vi.46.14, BR. and Gr., *Ueb.*, take as a verb;] *suabhishī*; *suastī*, 33, and *svastī*, 2; *hār'di*, 9. From the Atharvan: *ākshi*, 3; *āsthi*, 8; *ēkanemi*, 2; *dādhi*; *pr'gnī*, i.11.4; *bhū'ri*, 4 and v.2.3 (Rik, *viṣve*); *māhi*, 6; *vādhi*, iii.9.2; *surabhī*; *sakthi*, xx.136.5 (MSS. *saktum*).

C. The only place in the whole Rik, to my knowledge, where a N.A.s.n. of a stem in *i* radical is needed is Vāl. 2.10, *yāthā gōṣarye āsishāso adriṣvo : māyī gotrām haricriyam* (sc. *sisāsa*): 'As thou wast ready to give to G., so (give) to me a fair tawny herd.' That is, of the form prescribed by the grammarians (as *jalapī*), there is not a single example. We should expect *haricri*; but rather than use so unfamiliar a form, the poet puts a masculine adjective with the neuter *gotrām*. Cf. p. 343 and V.s.m.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The ending *-m* is added directly to the stem. The form occurs 1208 times (from 205 stems). Besides these, *arim* occurs twice; *patim*, 49 times. Examples are: *agnim*, 269; *âtithim*, 25; *âdrim*, 30; *âhim*, 40; *ârmim*, 23; *kavim*, 28; *pûramdhim*, 6 and i.134.3: *x.64.7*; *br'haspâtim*, 25; *yayim*, 2; *yônim*, 61; *rayim*, 180; *hârim*, 24.

Transitions from B: *pr'thim*; *sôbharim*.

Transition from C: *onim*, or f.

Transition to *n*-declension: *khâdînam*?, vi.16.40; *â' yân hâste nâ khâdînam gîcun jâtîm nâ bibhrati*, 'whom they carry as a ring on the hand, as a new-born child' (on the arm); so BR. Here I would put *ârmî-nam* (*ârmînam*: *ârmim*: *ârmînâ*: *ârmîd'*), ix.98.6, and *çûlapâni-nam*, MBh.; but not *abhimâtî-nam*, i.85.3, as does Benfey, *Vedica*, p. 124; for the accent would be wrong, and Lindner, p. 124, gives six similar formations. See stems in *in*.

B. Here belongs *nânim*, vi.20.6.

C. 1. Root-words. (a) *gâthânîam*, viii.81.2; *durâdhiam*; *devâvîam*, 3; *prativîam*, 3; *yajñanîam*; *suâdhiam*. (b) Cf. p. 369. *abhipriyam*; *brahmapriyam*, 2; *ghṛtapriyam*, AV. xii.1.20; *-çriyam* at the end of compounds: *adhvara-*, 2; *kshatra-*; *ghṛta-*; *jana-*; *yajña-*; *su-*, 2; *hari-*, viii.15.4.

2. Stems in *î*, not radical: *rathîam*, 8; *suprâvîam*.

Transitions from A: *yayim*, ii.37.5; it is needless to read, as Gr. proposes twice, *pûramdhiam*, text-*im*. See p. 371.

Transition to *n*-declension. Benfey, *Vedica*, p. 122, sees an instance of this in *çvanî-nam*, VS. xxx.7; this he refers to *çva-nî*; BR., to *çvanin*; Mahîdhara: *çuno netâram*. Cf. Kuhn, *Pâli-Gram.* p. 81.

Elision and crasis: AV. *agnî'va*, text *agnîm-iva*, viii.2.4 (so 3 times out of 5, Prât. ii.56).

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. The form is like that of the masculine. It occurs 607 times (from 156 stems). Examples are: *âditim*, 32; *pûramdhi*, 5; *bhâ'mim*, 19; *matim*, 22; *rayim*, iv.34.2: v.33.6: vi.8.5: x.167.1; *râtîm*, 20; *vṛshtîm*, 26; *sumatîm*, 41; *sushtûlîm*, 35; *sâmṛtîm*, or m.

Transitions from B: *aranyânîm*; *onîm*, or m.; *ôshadhîm*; *snî'hîtim*, SV. i.323.

B. The form occurs 303 times (from 116 stems). Examples are: *urvî'm*, 9; *tâvishîm*, 13; *devî'm*, 18; *pîpyûshîm*, 9; *prthivî'm*, 62; in i.67.5: vii.99.3, pronounce *prthvî'm*; *mahî'm*, 35; for *-îam*, x.50.5, see p. 357. In ii.11.8, is an example of the uncontracted form: *dûrê pârê vâ'nîam vardhâyanta*, text *-im*.

Transition from C: *nadî'm* only, from AV. iv.37.3.

C. 1. Root-words. (a) *devâvîam* (*tvâcam*), ix.74.5. (b) *abhiçriyam*, 2; *dhîyam*, 45; *dhîyamndhiyam*, 2; *bhîyam*; *çriyam*, 14.

Transition from B: *strîyam*, 3; so AV. viii.6.9, 16, 25.

2. We have here 18 Rik-forms (from 16 stems). Enumeration: *atharvām*; *arādyām*; *gaurām*, 2; *naḍām*; *naptām*; *nāndām*; *prapharvām*; *yamām*; *vibālām*; *viçvarāpām*; *vrkām*; *sīṅhām*; *sūrmām*; *stariām*, 2; *sphigām*; *svarām*, x.177.3 (cf. accent of *svarī'nām*). Even in the Atharva the thematic final is rarely, if ever, consonantized: thus, *kumārām*, xiv.1.63; *kūḍām*, v.19.12; *lakshmām*, i.18.1; *lalāmām*, i.18.1, 4; *viliptām*, xii.4.41; *vilidhām*, i.18.4; so *naptām*, i.28.4; *prapharvām*, iii.17.3: v.22.7.

Transition from A: *ambām*.

The only place in the whole Rik—except vii.50.4 (p. 373)—where the final *i'* of a word belonging to series C is consonantized is vii.68.8*d*, *staryām*. We cannot read *stariām* *cic* *chaktyāpvinā* *çacibhik*; see p. 380. The preceding seven stanzas are each of three verses, and the metre shows plainly that the fourth verse here is a later addition; while in verse 9, *d* is the usual refrain. Gr. (*Ueb.*) brackets them both.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The general ending is added directly to the stem: 1. *ūrmīd'* (accent), i.184.2; *pātīd*, x.85.22; *sākhiā*, vi.56.2: viii.48.10: x.6.2; 71.10.

2. *pavyā*, i.88.2: v.52.9: vi.8.5; *rayyā*, x.19.7; *pātyā*, x.85.24, 27, 36; *sākhyā*, i.53.7: vi.21.7: viii.43.14: x.50.2. So in the AV.: *pātyā*, ii.36.1, 4: vi.22.3: x.1.3: xi.1.14: xiv.1.40, 52; 2.32; *rayyā*, iii.14.1: vi.78.2.

3. The termination *-id* is often contracted to *-ī* in the feminine. The only example of this in the masculine is *ghṛ'nī*, ii.33.6, *ghṛ'nīva* *chāyā'm* *arapā* *açiya*, p. *-nī-iva*, 'As by the heat unharmed, to shelter bring me;' but it may be Ab. with elision and crasis (cf. vi.16.38). Otherwise Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.58.

Transition to the *n*-declension. This occurs in 51 forms (from 25 stems): *agnīnā*, 7; *ādrinā*, 2; *asīnā*; *āhinā*, 6; *ūrmīnā*, 7; *kavinā*, 2; *kāçinā*, 2; *kikidivīnā*; *jamādagnīnā*, 4; *devāpīnā*; *dhāsīnā*; *panīnā*, 2; *pātīnā*, iv.57.1; *pāprīnā*; *br'haspātīnā*, 2; *manīnā*; *yayīnā*; *rayīnā*; *raçmīnā*; *vādhrīnā*; *vavīnā*; *vr'shanābhinā*; *vr'shnīnā*; *çucīnā*, ii.5.4; 35.8 (or *n.*); *sāsīnā*. AV. has *-pātīnā*, xvi.6.6 *bis*.

B. Here belongs only *nāmīā*, i.53.7.

C. 1. Root-words: (a) *dādhiā*, ix.53.3; (b) *vāmanena* *kavīpriyā*, Vāmana, Introduction. 2. *rathīā*, iii.36.6: vii.95.1.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. 1. Here belong 37 forms (from 19 stems): (a) with shift of accent, i. e. oxytone stems: *ūtiā*, 4, and viii.18.7, coalescing with *ā*; *pītiā*; *vr'shtiā*, 2; *sukīrtiā*; *sumatiā*; *sushtutiā* [and from the AV., *pushtiā*, xix.31.2, 9, 13; in x.6.27, *kīrtiā* is a palpable error for *-tiā*; cf. C];— (b) barytone stems: *āvartiā*; *ābhātiā*; *jālpīā*; *tvīshīā*; *dhrā'jiā*; *pār'shniā* m. ?; *pūramdhiā*, 9; *bhā'miā*, i.161.14; *rānhīā*, 5; *rūjiā*; *vī'ciā*; *sr'nīā*; *hārshīā*, 2 [and from the AV., *abhiçastiā*, xii.5.58; *ārātiā*, iii.31.1; *tr'ptiā*, ix.5.9; *tvīshīā*, x.6.27; *dhrā'jiā*, iii.1.5; 2.3; *pār'shniā*, vi.42.3: viii.6.17; *bhā'tiā*, x.6.24; *sūbhātiā*, iii.14.1; *rūciā*, xiii.2.30].

2. Here belong 13 forms (from 11 stems): (a) oxytones: *açityā'*; *matyā'*; *mithatyā'*; *vasatyā'*; *sumatyā'*, 3; *sushtutyā'*, making hiatus with *ā'*:— (b) *açányā'*; *ā'kātyā'*; *ishṭyā'*; *devāhātyā'*; *prāmatyā'*. AV. xii.3.33, *svādḥityā'*.

In the Rik the forms in *-iā* are to those in *-yā* about as 3:1; in the Atharva (according to my notes; I fear they are not complete), about as 1:5; that is, the relations are most strikingly reversed. The Atharva variant, *ācittyā céd*, vi.51.3, compared with *ācitti yād* of the Rik, vii.89.5, betrays its later character as well by the case-form as by the word *céd*.

3. The termination *-iā* is contracted to *-ī*. Forms of this kind, where both texts have *-ī*, occur in the Rik 105 times (from 35 stems), and are therefore more than twice as frequent as those in *-iā* and *-yā* put together (50). They stand frequently at the end of a *pāda* (cf. *ūti'*, *matī'*). They were recognized by the native authorities: Schol. to Pān. vii.1.39, *sushtuti'*, *sushtutyā iti loka*.

(a) The *pāda* has always *-ī*. In i.20.4c; 164.8b: iv.4.14b: viii.23.14a; 76.6d: ix.9.2c: Vāl. 3.3c end, the *-ī* stands before *a-* or *ā-*, is written *y*, and is to be pronounced with hiatus; in vii.68.8d, accordingly, we must also pronounce *çaktī'* *aç-* (see p. 379). Only twice is the hiatus written, in vi.5.7 (end of *pāda*!), and x.64.1. It is written as coalescing with a following *i-* or *ī-*, and is so to be pronounced in ii.5.6d; 13.2a: x.20.6b (trochaic); but with hiatus in vii.28.3a. Enumeration: *ācitti*, 2; *āprabhāti*; *avyathī'*; *ā'huti*; *ūti'*, 26 and x.64.1; *ṛjunīti'*; *citti*; *jūṣṭi*; *dī'dhiti*; *dushtuti'*; *dūṣṭuti*; *dhiti'*, i.164.8: v.25.3 with *sumatiā'*; *nīçiti*; *pārivisṭi*; *purōjiti*; *prānīti*, 4 and iii.51.7 (L. ?); *prābhāti*; *prāyati*; *prāyuti*; *matī'*, 15; *vartanī'*; *viṣṭi'*; *vīti'* 3, and ix.61.1 (*ayā'* *vīti'*): vi.16.46; *vṛṣṭi'*, 2; *çakti'*; *çākti*; *çruṣṭi'*, 13; *sadhri'*, ii.13.2, I take as I.s.f. of a stem *sadhri*; or from *sādhri* (Lindner, p. 102) with adverbial shift of accent; 'with an aim,' i. e. intently; *sāhāti*, 2; *sudīti'*; *sūnīti*, 2; *sumati'*, 2; *sūmiti*; *sushtuti'*, 5; *hāstacyuti*. In the AV. we have *dhīti'*, vii.1.1; and several forms in Rik-passages, vii.48.1: ix.9.8: xviii.1.23. In Rik vi.16.46, we may, with Gr., restore the longer grammatical form *vītiā'*, text *vīti'*; but the cæsure is better if we read *vīti'* . . . *mārtio* (text *-to*).

(b) The *pāda* has *-ī*: i.182.5, *supaptanī'*. Prāt. vii.15.

(c) The *samhitā* has *-ī* before *r*, and the *pāda* reads *-ih*: vi.18.10, . . . *indra hetī'*: *rākṣho nī dhakṣhi*, Gr., *Ueb.* i.578, 'Burn up (destroy) the evil one with thy bolt;' BR. suggest *indrahethīh*; i.180.4, *tād vām . . pāçva-isṭi*: *rāthyeva cakrā'* *prāti yanti mādhwah*, 'Therefore (because ye blest Atri, according to his wish, *eshé*) to you, with desire for kine, (swift) as chariot-wheels, our oblations go' (and ye ought to do the same by us). Contrariwise, vi.13.1, *çruṣṭi'* *r*, p. *-ī'*, Gr. reads *-ih* (*Ueb.*)—wrongly, I think.

4. The final *-ī* becomes *-ī*. Cf. *uta tē āfrīnāni āfriti* (Copenhagen 10 *-ti*), 'uta tvām āfrīnāni *āprīti (āprībhī)', Vd. xxii.5; so *āyēcē yēsti*, Yç. ii.1. This happens in all but three instances at

the end of the *pāda*. It occurs 25 times: viz., (a) at the end of *pāda* *b* or of theverse: *ishāni*; *prāyukti*, 2; *vāshatkṛti*; *sadhāstuti*; *surkṛti*, 4; *suçasti*; *suasti*, 4; *havishkṛti*:—(b) at the end of a *pāda* before vowels: *ūpaçruti*, 2; *upābhṛti*; *surkṛti*: *in*, i.61.4c, 16a; *suçasti*: *ūpa*, vi.67.3; here Gr., *Ueb.* i.524, would place *rīti*, ii.39.5, text *rītur a*:—(c) in the interior of a *pāda*: *trivishṭi* (*eti*), iv.6.4; (*adh*) 15.2; *nūtikti* (*yó*), vi.4.5; here I would place *āsmṛti*, ‘(with, i. e.) out of forgetfulness,’ AV. vii.106.1. Gr. puts here *abhishṭi* (*pāsi*), ii.20.2, p. *abhishṭi-pā’ asi jānān*. Weber sees here crasis after elision (as in iv.46.1c), *-pā’h*. See *Ind. Stud.* xiii.58, 104, and Whitney to TPr. x.13.

Transitions to the *n*-declension: *dhāsina*, vi.67.6; *nābhina*, vi.39.4. In AV. vi.141.2, *svādhitinā* is m., although *svādhityā* occurs xii.3.33.

B. 1. Here belong 49 forms (from 27 stems). (a) Oxytones: *asikniā* (? p. 368); *deviā*, 5; *purāniā*; *samāniā*, 5; *sūciā*:—(b) *ānviā*, 3; *āçvāvatīā*; *kundṛnāciā*; *ghṛtāciā*; *citāntiā*; *citāyantīā*; *tmāniā*; *devāciā*; *dāvidyutatiā*; *nāvyaśiā*; *pātniā*, 2; *rōhiniā*; *vāsviā*; *viçvāciā*; *viçviā*, adv.; *çāciā*, 11; *çāmiā*, 2; *çarmayāntiā*; *çāmiā*; *satrāciā*; *stōbhantiā*; *hāriṇiā*. Add from AV.: *açvābhidhāniā*, iv.36.10: v.14.6; *āsikniā*, v.13.8; *vāsiā*, x.6.3; *çautrāmaniā*, iii.3.2.

2. There are 22 forms (from 12 stems). (a) Oxytones: *prthivīyā*, 8; *mahīyā*; *sādhāranyā* (? p. 368):—(b) *āçvāvatīyā*; *gātumatīyā*; *tmānyā*; *nāvyaśyā*; *mādhumatīyā*; *vājavatīyā*; *çācyā*, iv.35.5 *ter* (once with hiatus and once with fusion before *a*); *sōmarvatīyā*; *hiranyāyā* (for *hiranyāyyā*), viii.1.32; 67.2. From AV.: *annādyā*, xv.14.4, 5; *dāivyā*, viii.1.3; *viçvābheshajīā*, vi.136.3; *sārasvatīyā*, 2. TS. and VS. have *urvyā*; but Rik, *urviyā*, 23. See BR.

3. *Çāmī*, i.110.4: iv.22.8: ix.74.7: and probably x.92.12, text *çāmīnahushī*; *suçāmī*, vii.16.2: x.28.12.

4. (a) At the end of a *pāda*: *çāmi*, ii.31.6: viii.45.27: x.40.1; *suçāmī*, v.87.9a; Gr. would convert the cadence from *trishṭubh* to *jagatī* by restoring the longer grammatical form *suçāmīā*. (c) In the interior of a *pāda*: *çāmī* *r’*-, i.87.5; *çāmi ā*-, iii.55.3. Here we may put *urvi*- of the compound *urvi-ūtiḥ*, vi.24.2. We have *suçāmī*, VS. i.15: TS. i.1.5³: TBr. iii.6.6⁴.

C. 1. Root-words: (a) *ādhiā*, AV. vi.132.1–5, accent! (b) *dhiyā*, 75; *çriyā*, 15; *bhiyā*, 14; *avadyabhiyā*, x.107.3, ‘through fear of blame:’ it is accented as though the first member of the *tatpurusha* were an independent word. The hymn is very late.

2. (a) *mandākīā*; *veçīā*; *sūrmīā*, vii.1.3; *sphigīā*. *Sṛniā*, x.106.6, is dual. (b) *cakriyā*, ii.34.14 (cf. N.A.d.f., C). For the accent of *tilapīñjīā* and *palāliā*, AV. ii.8.3, and of *sahasraparīniā*, vi.139.1, see p. 369. In x.6.27, MSS. and ed. have *kīrtiā*, which must be an error for *kīrtiā’*.

Tapani’, ii.23.14, if it stands for *tapaniā*, belongs here; otherwise, under B.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. B. C. There is no certain example. In ii.35.8, *śucinā* may be masculine; for in iv.2.16, *śuci* is rather adverb (Gr., *Ueb.*) than substantive. In v.42.18, Gr. takes *suprāṇīti* as adj. with *āvasā*; BR., as fem. substantive.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. 1. The direct combination of simple stem and ending is seen only in *pātye* (8) and *sākhye* (10). In no case does the metre show *-ie*.

2. The usual form is made by gunating the stem-final and adding the general ending *-e*: thus, *agnē-e*, *agnāye*. This form occurs 148 times (from 44 stems). In *kshétrasya pātaye*, AV. ii.8.5, and *bhātāsya pātaye*, iii.10.9,10, the second word is declined as if it were part of a compound. This it is virtually; cf. *bhātāpātis*, ii.14.4. In *brhādrāye*, Rik i.57.1, we have, I think, a clear case of metrical shortening of the penultimate of a *jagati-pāda*. It stands for *brhādrāye*. It is precisely so with *rdhādrāyas*, viii.46.23; the *ā* is penultimate of a *gāyatrī-pāda*. In each case we should set up the stem *-rai*, not *-ri* or *-rī*.

Datives s.m. in *-aye* are found from the following stems: *agnī*, 48; *ātri*, 12; *āditi*; *arati*; *ari*; *āpvasishti*; *āhi*, 3; *āpi*, 3; *r'shi*, 3; *kavi*, 8; *kīri*, 2; *kukshi*; *krandādishti*; *gāvishti*, 3; *ghr'shvi*, 6; *cākri*; *jāgmī*, 2; *jāsuri*, 2; *jāmī*; *tūji*; *tuvgri*; *tuṛvīti*, 3; *tū'rvi*; *dabhīti*, 5; *dāṇi*; *dūdhi*; *prābhūti*; *br'haspāti*; *bhandādishti*; *bhā'rni*, 2; *yāti*; *vāhni*; *śuci*; *sanī*, 12; *saptāvadhrī*, 2; *sā'rathī*, 2; *sukhādī*; *sudtī*; *sumājāni*; *sūshvi*, 4; *sūri*, 2; *syū'maraṣmi*; *hāri*; *havyādātī*.

C. 1. Root-words: (a) *jihmaṣie*; *durādhiē*; *dādhiē*:— (b) *īthā'dhiye*, 2; *yajñapriye*; and VS. xxii.30, *gaṇaṣriye*. Cf. *kiye*-in *kiyedhā's* with *mā'-kī-m*.

2. Here belong *rathīe*, viii.44.27, and *suprāvie*, x.125.2. In the Atharvan variant of the latter verse, we read *suprāvīd*, iv.30.6! See note to Ath. Prāt. iv.11.

DATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. 1. In no instance is the ending combined with the simple stem.

2. The usual form is like the m. It occurs 507 times (from 50 stems). The average number of occurrences of each stem is here very unusually large. It is used with especial frequency as an infinitive: thus, *ishāye*, *pītāye*.

Enumeration. Datives s.f. in *-aye* are found from the stems: *ājiti*; *āditi*; *āditi*, 5; *abhimāti*; *abhīṣati*, 3; *abhishti*, 16; *āmāti*, 2; *arishatātāti*, 4; *āhati*; *ābhogī*; *ishī*; *ishī*, 20; *ātī*, 88; *gāvishti*; *gūrti*; *grbhītātāti*; *tūji*; *durbhrīti*; *devātāti*, 10; *devāvatī*, 22; *dhīti*; *nṛ'pīti*; *pakti*, 67; *pūramdhi*; *pūrvacitī*, 8; *pūrvāpīti*, 4; *prātīti*; *prātārti*; *prāṣati*, 9; *bhakti*; *bhārahātī*, 2; *maghātī*, 6; *mitrādāhiti*; *medhāsātī*, 5; *rāti*; *vāsutī*, 2; *vāsyāishti*, 4; *vā'jasātī*, 34; *vīti*, 31; *ṛushīti*; *sārvatātī*, 4; *sātī*, 34; *siktī*; *sukshīti*; *sumatī*, 2; *sōmapīti*, 49; *suasti*, 45; *svasti*; *havyādātī*, 6.

3. Several stems appear to have a dative in *-ī*. It is of unclear origin. They are: *ānātī*, vi.29.6; *ūtī'*, i.100.1-15; 178.1: iv.23.2; 25.2; 34.9: vi.24.9; 29.6: vii.25.1; 59.9 (AV. vii.77.1), 10;

viii.21.7; 57.4; 86.7; 88.7: ix.97.38: x.15.4 (AV. xviii.1.51); 35.13; 104.4; *vīti'*, ix.91.2; 97.49; *vṛshṭī'*, v.53.5, may be I.s.f. (p. 380); and so *prānīti*, vii.28.3 (*Orient und Occ.* ii.466).

4. In v.51.12, we have *suastāye* thrice and *suastī*, evidently in the same construction, once; the same is true in verse 13. In viii.31.11, *suastī* occurs within *pāda b* before *s-*, and in *c* we have *suastāye*. In v.42.15 it occurs at the end of *c* before *ú-*, and at the end of *d* in i.174.9 = vi.20.12: iv.11.6: v.4.11.

B. The general ending *-e* was added to the stem: thus, *deviā-e*, *deviai*, *devyai*. To the apprehension of the speaker eventually, the parts were doubtless *devy-ai*. There are 21 forms (from 13 stems): 1. *viṣpātniai*:— 2. (a) *devyai*; *prthivyai*, 6; *brhatyai*; *mahyai*, 4; *sinīvālyai*; (b) *āviatyai*; *vyatyai*; *jā'ryantyai*; *jyāyasyai*; *dhenumātyai*; *paṣumātyai*; *vājavatyai*. From the AV. I have noted 21 forms (from 14 stems), not counting two in vii.46.2. Under 1. fall *hīranyakeḥiai*, v.7.9, and *striyai*, v.30.3; *parjānyapatniai*, xii.1.42, and *sahāpatniai*, xiv.1.58; the rest, under 2. In vi.107.3, *kalyānyai* is doubtless an error; read *-yai* (p. 369).

Transitions from A: 1. *devāhūtai*, viii.39.4; *grūtai*, ii.2.7: x.111.3:— 2. in the tenth maṇḍala, *pushtyai*, 105.5; *turyai*, *pushtyai*, and *bhrūyai*, 106.4; *nīrṛtyai*, 164.1; *bhrtyai*, 29.4. From the Atharvan I have noted at least 13 transition-forms in *-yai* (from 11 stems). In vi.41.1b, the metre requires us to restore the secondary and shorter grammatical form, *d'kūtyai* (*utā cittaye*); text *d'kūtayē*.

Transition from C: *bhiyai*, viii.64.13.

C. 1. Root-words: (a) *ādhiē*, x.95.13:—(b) *dhiyē*, 6; *criyē*, 34.

2. Here belong *nāndīe* (with *mudē*), i.145.4; *meshīe* (with *meshā'ya*), i.43.6; *vṛkīe*, i.116.16; 117.17: vi.51.6.

DATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A.B.C. The only example known to me is *śūcaye* (*padā'ya*), vii.41.6 (AV. iii.16.6).

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. 1. Of a form in *-as* there is no example.

2. Of the usual form there are 14 occurrences (from 8 stems): *ādes*, 2; *āhes*; *udadhēs*; *girēs*, 5; *ghṛ'nes*, vi.16.38 (cf. p. 379); *yōnes*, 2; *śatāmātes*; *sāmṛtes*. From the AV.: *tirāccirājes*, vii.56.1; *parṇadhēs*, iv.6.5; *plācēs*, ii.33.4. For *girāyas* (Ab. ?), see N. p. m. There are no examples for B and C.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. 1. At the end of the catalectic *pādas* i.128.7 *f* and *g*, of 11 and 7 syllables respectively, Gr. proposes to read *dhūrtās*; but the metre is good as it stands (*dhūrtēs*).

2. Here belong 20 forms (from 11 stems). They are: *ādites*; *āpites*; *abhīcastes*, 8; *abhībrutes*; *āmātes*; *ārātes*; *dhāsēs*; *dhūrtēs*, 2; *pārishūtes*; *vasatēs*, 2; *śrutēs*. From AV. *abhīcastes*,

vii.53.1; *â'hutes*, iii.22.4; *nr̥tēs* ?, vi.18.3; *bhā'mes*, xiii.4.35; *vasatēs*, vi.83.1.

B. 1. Here belong *pr̥thiviā's*, ix.8.8; 31.2; 57.4, and *jī'vantīās*, v.78.9. In every instance the word occupies places 3-6 in a *pāda* of 8, and is followed by *ādhi*.

2. *Pr̥thivyā's*, 18; *mahyā's*; *urvācyās*; *pātantyās*. The AV. has *pr̥thivyā's*, 19; *br̥hatyā's*, viii.9.4; *avadyāvatyās*, vii.103.1.

Transitions from A: *bhā'miās*, i.80.4; *hetyā's*, x.87.19; *nā'bhyās*, 90.14.

From the Atharvan we have: *hetīā's*, iv.10.5; *ābhātīās*, vii.100.1; *ārātīās*, x.3.7; xiii.4.47; *ācastīās*, xii.2.12; *â'hutiās*, xii.1.13; *nā'bhiās*, ii.33.4; ix.8.12; *bhā'miās*, ii.30.1;—*kr̥shyā's*, ii.4.5; *devahetyā's*, viii.1.12; *çr̥shaktyā's*, i.12.3; *bhā'myās*, iv.19.6; x.1.13; xii.3.26; xix.16.2; 28.4; *rā'tryās*, xiii.4.30. In vi.121.4, we have elision and crasis: *yōnyeva prācyuto gārbhah*, text, -*yā ūva*.

C. There is no example of an Abs.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A.B.C. For the neuter there is no example.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. 1. Here belongs *ari-ās*, in vii.8.1; but not necessarily in iv.48.1*b* and vi.14.3*b*; furthermore, *aryās*, ii.23.15 and 34 times (in x.27.8 *bis*, it is N.p.f.); *avyās*, 17 times and ix.108.5. The resolution *sādhriās*, at the end of v.44.10*b*, makes the *pāda* one of 12 (text, -*es*, 11) syllables.

2. The form in -*es* occurs 162 times (from 42 stems).

Enumeration: *agnēs*, 55; *ātres*, 4; *ādites*, vii.82.10; *ādres*, 10; *āsushves*; *āhes*, 3; *ājēs*, 2; *āpēs*, 3; *ishudhēs*; *ārmēs*; *r'shes*, 2; *kalēs*; *kavēs*, 4; *k̥rēs*, i.31.13; ii.12.6; x.41.2; *gīrēs*, i.56.3; *gauriv̥tēs*; *ghr'shves*, 3; *jīvres*; *dadr̥çānāpaves*; *dabh̥tēs*; *dūdhes*; *dr̥tēs*; *dhāsēs*, 4; *nāmuces*, 4; *panēs*, 8; *pātes*, ix.35.6; *plūtēs*; *br̥haspātes*, 6; *brāhmaṇaspātes*, 2; *bhā'res*, 4; *mitrātithes*; *mēdhīātithes*; *yayā'tēs*; *vav̥rēs*, 2; *vāhnes*; *vēs*, 14; *v̥rshā'kapes*, 2; *sāptēs*; *sā'var̥nes*; *sūshves*; *sārēs*, 5; *hāres*.

B. Here belong *Tiraçciā's*, *Pr̥thyās*, and *Sōbharyās*.

C. 1. Root-words: (a) *gāthānīās*, i.190.1; *dādhiās*, 2; *manyu-miās*; *sudhiās*:—(b) *ganac̥riyas*.

2. Here belong *ukhiās*, x.144.4, and *suprāvīās*.

Transition from B: The stem of *ahighnyās* (*ārvatas*), AV. x.4.7, must be *ahighnī'* (properly a feminine formation like *āpatighnī*); but I know of no better place than this in which to put it. The accent is peculiar to the Atharvan (p. 369 top).

As mentioned on p. 382, the *ā* of *rādhādr̥ayas*, viii.46.23, is purely metrical. Otherwise we must assume that the fuller ending -*as* has been added to the gunated form, -*re*, of stem -*rī* (BR.). If any similar instances—other than *citrōtayas*, x.140.3 (A.p.f., Roth), *vāyas*, i.104.1 (A.p.m.), and *çūcayās*, AV. v.1.3 (A.p.f.)—can be found, they are merely sporadic. See stems in -*ai*, G.s.m.

GENITIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. 2. Of the usual form there are 44 occurrences (from 11 stems). Enumeration: *ādites*, 23; *abhīçastes*; *āmates*, 2; *ish̥tēs*; *kr̥sh̥tēs*; *devāvites*; *nīr̥rtes*, 6; *pusht̥ēs*, iv.41.10; v.41.20 (m. ?); *pr̥ç̥nes*, 4; *v̥rsh̥tēs*, ix.41.3; 74.3; *vrat̥ites*. I have noted 16 forms (from 8 stems) in verses peculiar to the AV.

B. Of the 99 Rik-forms (from 19 stems) only 15 end in *-iās*; the rest, 84, in *-yās*. Enumeration: 1. *yatiā's*; *urviā's*; *deviā's*; *prthiviā's*, 7; *yātiā's*; *stri-y-ā's*; — *uḡinārāniās*; *rā'triās*; *sū'shyantiās*.— 2. *prthivyā's*, 68; *mahatyā's*; *vadhṛimatyā's*, 5;—*añcumātyās*, 2; *ārjāyantyās*; *tāvishyās*; *dā'numatyās*; *mānspācanyās*; *rā'tryās*; *vivāsvatyās*; *śāmyās*; *śōḡucatyās*.

From the Atharvan I have noted: *ṣuṇyā'c ca caturakshīā's*, iv.20.7; *deviā's*, xiv.1.63; *piśāciā's*, i.16.3; *prthiviā's*, vi.86.1.2; xviii.2.20; *veçantiā's*, i.3.7; *ratharviā's*, x.4.5; *stri-y-ā's*, v.17.8; xii.2.39; *hastiniā's*, vi.70.2;—*āmucyās*, xvi.6.10; *grhāpatniās*, iii.24.6; *pātniās*, ix.3.5;—and, besides, 64 forms (some Ab.) in *-yās* (from 18 stems).

Transitions from A: 1. *ārātiās*, ix.79.3 *bis*; *bhū'miās*, p. -ā, x.75.3, with elision and crasis, *bhū'miōpāri*.— 2. *yuvatyā's*; *ānumatyās*; *nārtyās*, x.165.1, a late hymn—'The Death-dove'; *pr'ṣnyās*, 4; *bhū'myās*, 8. Total 17. From the AV. my notes show 53 forms (from 16 stems): as, *jāmiā's*, ii.7.2; cf. xvi.5.3-5; 8.3-5. Some of the forms are ablatives: as, *kṛshyā's*, x.5.34.

Transitions from C: the Rik shows none; but the AV. has *viliptiā's*, xii.4.44.

C. 1. The only example is *dhiyās* (7 times).

2. Here belong: *atharīās*, iv.6.8; *nadiās*, 2; *nishtigriās*; *prçaniās*, i.71.5; *meshiās*, 2; *srñiās*, x.101.3; *āpiās* (masc. stem, *āpia*), vi.67.9. In i.121.3, *nākskhād dhāvam aruṇī'h pārviām rā't*, we seem to have a contracted form, *aruṇī's*, for *-iās*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. The only example is *bhū'res* (16 times).

C. There is one example: (*vāyāsas*) *suādhiās*, viii.48.1.

THE LOCATIVE SINGULAR.

The principal terminations of the L.s.m.f.n. of series A are *-ā* and *-au*: *-ā* occurs 126 times; *-au*, 272.

I. The ending *-ā* is used:

1. before consonants (109 times);
2. before an initial vowel with which it is fused (3 times).
3. It is never used before vowels (except *u*-, *ū*-) with hiatus.

II. The ending *-au* is used:

1. before vowels without hiatus, in the form *-āv* (50 times);
2. at the end of a *pāda* (156 times).

The existence of these forms in *-ā* has often been noticed; but it is rather surprising to find that they are almost half as frequent as those in *-au*. The first general distinction in their use is like that in the dual (p. 340), and is illustrated by ix.62.15, *vīr yōnā vasatā'v īva*.

I. Of the 126 forms in *ā*:

1. 109 stand before consonants, in the interior of a *pāda*. 18 stand before *v*-, and 30 before other labials; 12 before *y*-, and 49 before other consonants.

2. 3 coalesce with a following vowel, in the interior of a *pāda*: viii.80.1, *sōmam āpi srutā'vidat*; vi.12.2b; x.101.11b.

3. In 9 cases the *samhitā*, following doubtless the oral tradition,

has -ā u- (ā-). The *padakāra* treats these as he does apparently similar cases (Prāt. ii.9), and writes -au u- (ā-). The references are: i.27.6*b*; 36.17*d*; 124.1*ab*: iv.6.4*ab*; 39.3*b*: v.1.6*b*: vi.26.1*cd*: x.41.1*d*; 117.3*cd*.

4. We find -ā five times exceptionally at the end of a *pāda*, but—be it observed—only in the case of two words, *devātātā* (vi.4.1*a*, before *y*:- vii.2.5*b*) and *sarvātātā* (i.94.15*b*: iii.54.19*b*: coalescing graphically with *ī*:-, v.69.3*c*). *Devātāt-ā*, as instr., makes perfectly good sense in the first two passages; in the last three, a dative is so appropriate, that Gr. has already on this account suggested the reading *sarvātāt-e*, Wb. 1490. In i.65.4*c*, *yónā* (*g*:-) is, to be sure, at the end of a *pāda*; but it is *aksharapañkti*: so *kukshā* (*n*:-), ix.109.18*b*.

II. Of the 272 forms in -au:

1. 50 appear as -āv (35 in the interior of a *pāda*, and 15 at the end of *a* or *c*). An *a*- follows in 30 instances; an *i*-, i.104.7; 176.5: vi.27.1,2; 47.20: vii.18.3; 48.2; an *iva*, in ii.16.1: viii.92.3: ix.62.15: x.64.6; 97.6; an *ī*-, in vi.15.2; an *r*-, in iii.55.3; 62.18: vii.38.2: ix.13.9; 39.6: Vāl. 4.2; an *e*-, in ii.28.7.

2. 156 are at the end of a *pāda* (mostly *pādas b* and *d*; or *a* and *c* before consonants). If we add the 15 at the end of *a* or *c* before vowels, we have a total of 171 at the end of a *pāda*. E. g., see iv.16.9; the occurrences of *ājau*, 14 out of 18; *gābhastau*, 6; *abhishtau*, 10; *gāvishtau*, 6 out of 7; *vājasātau*, 12 out of 16; *vīushtau*, 12 out of 16; *śārasātau*, 7; *sātāu*, 12 out of 17.

3. There remain 66 cases in which -au is used before a consonant in the interior of a *pāda* (before *v*-, 6 times; other labials, 14; *y*-, 7; other consonants, 39). This happens oftenest with certain frequent words: *prāsītau*, 4; *yónau*, 10; *sumatāu*, 12. It is safe to say in general that many of these occurrences belong to younger parts of the Rik-text: thus, 21 (nearly one-third) are in the tenth māṇḍala. The passages are as follows: i.31.15*c*; 48.6*d*; 70.4*a* (Aufrecht calls it "Plunder," in the German sense): 98.1*a*; 144.2*b*,7*d*; 162.9*b* (the horse-sacrifice; late—see Gr., *Ueb.* ii.452): ii.13.9*b* (unclear and mystical); 30.5*c*: iii.1.7*b*,21*c*; 59.3*d*,5*d*: iv.16.10*c*; 25.1*d*: v.30.13*d* (12–15 are a later addition); 32.7*c*; 34.6*a*; 42.16*d*; 43.15*d* (these two are refrains); 87.6*c* (*evayā'marut* hymn): vi.1.10*d*; 16.41*c*; 24.9*d*; 26.1*b*; 40.3*a*; 46.8*a*; 47.13*a* (the contents of these two and their place in the māṇḍala betoken later date); 64.5*d*; 73.2*b*: vii.1.20*c* (19–20 are a separate fragment); 20.8*c*; 36.8*d*; 41.4*d*; 46.4*b*; 60.11*b*; 50.3*a*; 104.13*d* (these two are real Atharvan hymns): viii.3.2*a*; 48.12*d*; 52.12*b* (later addition); Vāl. 3.1, *nīpātithau*: ix.72.7*b*; 84.1*d*; 97.19*d*: x.8.3*d*; 10.7*b*; 14.6*c*; 25.9*d*; 29.2*b*; 34.14*d* (gambler's song, end); 38.1*a*; 44.9*d* (a late verse, according to its contents and bad grammar); 46.6*b*; 64.11*a*; 85.24*c* (Sūryā's wedding); 88.7*c*; 101.3*b*; 102.1*c* (does not belong to the hymn); 131.7*a* (late); 160.4*c*,5*c*; 123.6*d*; 165.4*b*; 178.2*d*, *bis*; the contents of the last three hymns (Gandharva, Death-dove, Tārکشya) show that they are late.

The termination -au of the L.s. of ī-stems has been a *crux* to the comparative grammarians. They say that it is a simple transition to the *u*-declension—a formation after the analogy of the *u*-stems; but since the locatives s. of ī-stems are eight times as frequent as those from *u*-stems, this theory will hardly pass muster. A complete examination of the forms of the L. in the Rik is so suggestive that I cannot forbear saying something about the historical relations of the different forms to each other, and the genesis of the same. But since this lies beyond the scope of this

article, I would expressly disclaim any tone of categorical assertion in the matter.

The L.s. of the word *sá'nu* stands in the text in five different forms. The stem is "strengthened" by *n* and the ending is added: as, *sá'nu-n-i*, i.155.1; or, it is strengthened by vowel-increment and the ending is added: as, *vārshishthe ádhi sá'nav-i*, ix.31.5 (17 forms from 8 stems support this); [or, from this form the ending is simply dropped before a vowel, to avoid a cacophonous combination (cf. p. 357 and Prāt. ii.35): as, *vr'shā pavītre ádhi sá'nav-y avyáye*, text *sá'no*, ix.86.3;] or, the ending is dropped and the preceding diphthong receives in compensation a second increment (cf. Kuhn, in his *Zeitsch.* xviii.361): as, *sá'náv ádhi*, x.123.2,3; with this, finally, the usual form is identical: as, *ádhi sá'navi nī jighnate*, i.80.6. For the dropping of the ending there are abundant analogies. There are 133 L.s.n. forms in *-man*, to 67 in *-man-i*. Cf. *camú-i*, *camū'*; *tanú-i*, *tanū'*.

The facts from the Veda seem to point to a closer parallelism of development between the *i*- and the *u*-stems in regard to the forms of the L.s. than has yet been claimed for them. The analogy of the *u*-stems, as well as of the dative-locative in Latin (*ovei*, from **avay-i*, *avey-i*) and Greek (*πόλει*, from *πολέυ-ι*), makes it probable that the original form of the L. of *i*-stems was made in the same way, with *guna* and ending: thus, *agnáy-i*. With the dropping of the ending took place compensatory lengthening: as, *agná'y*. Here the lines of development diverge slightly. In *sá'nav-i* the palatal vowel of the case-ending, *i* is clearly distinguished from the preceding labial *v*. In *agnáy-i*, on the other hand, case-ending and thematic final are homogeneous, and (as the word becomes to the apprehension of the speaker *agná-yi*) both are lost together, so that we have *agná'*.

Now as touching the relation of *agná'* to *agnáu*—there are three possibilities. Each may be a development independent of the other; this in view of the facts few will wish to maintain. Secondly, *agná'* may come from *agnáu*; so Benfey, *Gram.* p. 41 end, and Kuhn in *Zeitsch.* xviii.366. Thirdly, *agnáu* may come from *agná'*. When we consider the *-au* of the dual and perfect (*deváu*, *papraú*), which, beyond all peradventure, is a mere phonetic outcome of *-á*, it is hard to assume here a phonetic change exactly the reverse, without reason. But not only the analogy of the dual and perfect aided in this change; the frequently following labial initials would impart their own coloring to the preceding *-á* (cf. Rik vi.46.1, *sátá' vá'jasya*, with the SV. and VS. variants, *sátá'u v.*, p. 388); and the analogy of the locatives of *u*-stems (though rare in the Rik—about 50), when standing beside those from *i*-stems, as in i.162.9, *svárau svádhitau*, would help to fix the form in *-au*. Although the results were the same, the processes were quite different. I would therefore set up the series thus:

<i>agnáy-i</i>	<i>sá'nav-i</i>
<i>agná'(y)</i>	<i>sá'náv</i>
<i>agnáu</i>	<i>sá'navu</i>

Our last form and last but one (*agnáu* and *agná'*) are abundantly exemplified. Perhaps there is some evidence of forms like *agná'y* and *agnáyi*. Why may we not recognize an instance of elision and crasis in *yóneva*, for *yónáy iva*, x.101.11, as well as in *agnéva* for *agnér iva*, AV. vi.20.1a? Again, at the end of i.104.7d, *má' no ákrte puruhāta yónáv | índra . . .*, it is far from unlikely that the oral tradition was *yónáy índra* or *yóná índra*. The sandhi is merely graphic here, as it is invariably at the end of a *páda*. The diaskeuasts almost always wrote the sandhi just where it ought not to be (end of *a* and *c*)—with perverse uniformity. Cf. vi.27.1ab.2ab. It is likely enough that the syncopated *páda*, vi.44.9d, once sounded thus: *dhánasya sátá'y o asmá'n aviddhi*. Before the pause, the *y*-sound was lost, as regularly in the later language in hiatus (Benfey, *Gram.* p. 53, *Bem.* 1). Now it is confessedly a piece of arbitrariness on the part of the *padakāra* to write *-au* in the dual before *u* (p. 341); for the oral tradition unquestionably had *-á*. Was it not equally arbitrary on the part of the diaskeuasts that they filled out the hiatus with a *v* (*yónáv*, *sátá'v*) rather than a *y*? And so, one may ask, is it due to anything more than the following of mechanical rules (such as are properly applied in *yá urá'v antáriksha á'*, v.52.7) that *úrmaú* has been put in the *pada*-text of i.27.6, rather than *úrmaí*? for it may once have been spoken *sínthor úrmá'y upákáy á'*. Cf. Delbrück, *Verbum* § 204. These are mere suggestions.

Forms like *agnāyi* seem less doubtful. Gr. proposed ekeing out *ājau* to a dactyl, *ājavi*, in x.75.9b and i.112.10. In x.75.9, *b* may be catalectic—and *a*, *c*, and *d*, full *jagatis*; so in x.63.14a (*vā'jasātayi*?). In i.112.10, a dactyl is certainly needed; but I would read it thus: *sahasramūḍha ājāyi ājinvatam*. In like manner. x.46.6, *pārivīto yōnāyi sīdāt antah*, text -au. In vi.33.4c, syncopation is not in place (as it is in vi.26.1a, owing to the pause in the sense). I am therefore inclined to pronounce *sūarshātayi yād dhvāyāmāsi tvā* (text -tā). In x.150.4, we have *agnīm mahā dhānasātāv ahām huve | mṛḍikām dhānasātaye*. In every other verse of the hymn, *pāda d* repeats part of *c* (as so often happens in *pāda c* of *atyashti*, i.134, etc.). We should, then, expect a locative in *d*; and besides, it would be unnatural to find the same relation ('to favor,' 'to the getting of good') differently expressed—now by the acc., and now by the dat.—in two consecutive words. Does not -*taye* stand in place of an original *dhānasātayi*? Cf. viii.3.5a and i.4.9c.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. 1. Here belong possibly *ājāyi*, i.112.10; *yōnāyi*, x.46.6. See above.

2. There are 40 m. forms (from 7 stems): *agnā'*, 11; *ājā'*, 6; *ārmā'*, 5; *kukshā'*, 2; *ghṛ'nā*, vi.3.7; *yōnā'*, 13, and ix.86.6 (Sāman variant, ii.237, -au), and once in AV. (a Rik-passage), ix.10.10; *surabhā'*, v.1.6. Cf. *gara*, Yç. x.4, 'giraú.'

3. There are 101 forms in -au (from 27 stems): *agnāu*, 20; *ādrau*, 3; *aratau*; *aratnau*; *ājau*, 18; *ānau*; *ārmau*, 3; *gābhastau*, 6; *giraú*; *gópatau*; *jīraú*, or f.; *ṛkshau*; *dhvasānu*; *nāmucāu*; *nī'pātithau*; *panau*; *pṛtsutau*; *mēdhātithau*; *yajñāpatau*; *yōnau*, 29; *rāthavitau*; *vānaspātau*, 2; *śalmalau*; *sānitau*; *sā'mvarānu*; *syā'maraçman*; *svādhītau*. From the Atharvan I have 42 forms (from 18 stems). In v.31.5, we see the later style of sandhi, *pūrvāgnā'v utā*, for which the Rik would have -*nā' utā*. In iii.18.3, the uncompounded *pātau* is merely a false variant of the Rik *jāne*, x.145.4.

B. C. There are no examples.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. 1. Here belong possibly *sūarshātayi*, vi.33.4, and *dhānasātayi*, x.150.4. See above.

2. There are 85 f. forms in -ā (from 22 stems): *avānā*; *ājā'*, i.116.15; *ūdītā*, 10; *kshētrasātā*; *gōshātā*, 2; *tokāsātā*, vi.18.6; *devātātā*, 10; *dyumnāsātā*; *nā'bhā*, 20; *nṛ'shātā*; *nemādhitā*, 4; *pītā*; *prābhṛtā*; *medhāsātā*, 3; *yā'mahātā*, x.117.3; *vīushtā*, x.41.1; *śā'rasātā*, 5; *sāmṛtā*, 2; *sarvātātā*, 6; *sātā'*, 5 and vi.46.1 (SV. i.234 and VS. xxvii.37, -au); *srutā'*; *sūarshātā*, 6. AV. has *nā'bhā*, vii.62.1; and the Sāman variant of Rik viii.18.7 has *gāntātā*, i.102. In Yç. xxxi.18, we find *dusitā*, 'dūshtau.'

3. There are 171 forms in -au (from 49 stems): *ācha-uktau*, 2; *āpushtau*; *ādhītau*; *abhīshtau*, 10; *arkā-sātau*, 3; *ārnasātau*, 3; *ā'gatau*; *ishtau*, 6; *ūpastutau*; *ūpetau*; *urukshītau*; *ētau*; *ēshtau*; *gāvīshtau*, 7; *tokāsātau*, x.25.9; *durmatāu*, 2; *devāvītau*, 6; *devāhātāu*, 2; *dyumnāhātāu*, 2; *dhānasātau*; *nāvīshtau*; *nā'bhaui*, 2; *nṛtau*; *nṛ'pītau*; *pārīshtau*; *pāretau*; *pītau*, 2; *pushtāu*, 2; *pūrvāhātāu*, 5; *prāṇītau*, 3; *prābhātāu*; *prābhṛtau*, 2; *prāsītau*, 4; *bhārahātāu*; *medhāsātau*, 3; *rātāu*, 5;

vasatáu, 2; *vá'jasātau*, 16; *vúushtau*, 16; *gúptau*; *gá'rasātau*, 7; *grushtáu*; *sám̐dr̥sh̐tau*, 3; *sám̐itau*; *sám̐rtau*, or m., 3; *sātáu*, 17; *sumatáu*, 14; *sú'gishtau*; *suastáu*. My notes show 19 true AV. forms (from 7 stems). For *úditá* of the Rik, vii.41.4, the AV. (but not the VS., xxxiv.37) has the later form *úditau*, iii.16.4.

4. I am not sure but that the following are transition-forms from A to B, especially as *véd̐i* becomes *ved̐i* in the post-Vedic literature. In this case they should be added on p. 371. They are: *véd̐i*, vi.1.10; *véd̐y asyá'm*, p. *véd̐i iti*, ii.3.4; cf. Prât. i.28: ii.35. In iii.51.7, *prán̐it̐i* might be a locative.

B. 1. Here belong 13 forms (from 7 stems): (a) *deviá'm*; *pr̥thivíá'm*, 5 [and from the AV., *naráciá'm*, v.31.4; *striyá'm*, vi.11.2; 70.1-3]:— (b) *ásikniám*, 2 (and AV. xii.2.20); *jahná-viám*; *párus̥hniám*; *uchántiám*, 2; *gáciám* [and *varand'vatiám*, AV. iv.7.1].

2. Here belong 34 forms (from 9 stems): (a) *aranyányá'm*; *áshtryá'm*; *catvāriṅcyá'm*; *pr̥thivyá'm*, 26 [AV., *ásandýá'm*, xiv.2.65; *gáyatryá'm*, xiii.3.20; *jyaishthaghnyá'm*, vi.110.2; *devyá'm*, vi.136.1; *pr̥thivyá'm*, 40]:— (b) *dr̥shádvatyám*; *yavyá'vatyám*; *rá'tryám*; *vasá'vyám* (stem -*v̐*; cf. *jahná'v̐i-m*); *sárasvatyám* [and from AV., 14 forms, from 5 stems].

Transitions from A: 1. *púram̐dhiám*; *bhā'miám*, 2 [and from the AV., *pr̥sh̐tíá'm*, vi.102.2; *bhā'tiám*, xii.1.63; 4.44, 46; *bhā'miám*, 15 times: as, ii.9.4; *yóniám*, v.25.8; *véd̐iám*, xii.3.23]:— 2. *bhr̥tyá'm*; *yuvatyá'm*; *sám̐gatyám* [and from the AV., *á'kátyám*, *cútyám*, and *deváhátyám*, each 17 times, v.24.1-17; *ávyám*, 3; *bhā'myám*, 4; *véd̐yám*, xi.1.24: xix.33.3; *sám̐ityám*, 2].

Transitions from C: *dātiá'm*, see p. 373; *griyá'm*, AV. xii.1.63. 3. The ending is dropped: *gaurí'*, ix.12.3; *sarasi'*, vii.103.2. See Prât. i.28: *sáptamikaú ca párvau* (i. e. *ikárokárau*, *pragr̥hyau*). Cf. *véd̐i*, *prán̐it̐i*, A 4. The commentator to Ath. Prât. i.74, q.v., cites *áshtri'*, vi.27.3 (Rik x.165.3, *áshtryá'm*); *urvi'*, xviii.1.32; *mahí'*, xviii.1.39 (a queer variant of Rik x.31.9). To these the editor adds *ábhihrut̐i*, vi.3.3.

C. There is no example.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. The only example is *apratá'*, viii.32.16. The AV. has *sap-táraçmau*, ix.5.15; Brh. ár. up. iv.2.3, *akshini*.

B. C. There is no example.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The stem-final always shows an increment. Schleicher's Vedic vocatives without increment are transition-forms to B. Thus, the voc. *darvi* is from stem *darv̐i'*, Rik *dárvi*. The form occurs 1105 times (from 72 stems). Examples are: *agne*, 524; *ágne*, 275; *sum*, 799; *ághr̥ne*, 13; *kave*, 26; *pate*, 35; with *br̥has*, 32; *brahmanas*, 17; *vanas*, 14; *sat*, 13; *vīcarshane*, 11; *sakhe*, 11. In ix.80.1, we have *br̥haspáte*. With *mahe-mate* cf. *mahe-nad̐i*.

Transition from B: *sobhare*, 3.

Transition from the *is*-declension is seen in the vocative s. of the compounds of *çocis*: *pāvakaçoce*, 2; *bhadraçoce*, 4; *gukraçoce*; cf. *sahasracaksho*, *u*-stems, V.s.m. This is doubtless done by the poet in order to avoid an unfamiliar, or otherwise never occurring form. Cf. p. 377 end. The prescribed form is *sújyotis*.

B. There is no example.

C. In i.141.8, we have *dakshi*, p. *dhakshi* (Prât. iv.41). Otherwise BR.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. Here belong 27 forms (from 11 stems). They are: *adite*, 15; *anumate*; *asunîte*, 2; *ishite*, 2; *upamâte*; *rjîte*; *bhâme*; *mate*; *yuvate*; *satyatâte*; *suañgure*. The AV. has *darve*, iii.10.7 (cf. x.4.13); VS., *darvi*.

Transition from B: *oshadhe*, 2.

B. There are 117 forms (from 38 stems). They are: *aranyâni*; *arushi*; *arjuni*, 2; *ayvâjani*; *ayvâvati*; *indrâni*; *urâci*; *rtâvari*; *gomati*; *devi*, 23; *navyasi*; *nâri*; *parushni*, 2; *prthivi*, 11; see V.d.f.; *pravatvati*; *bhârati*; *maghoni*, 9; *mahi*, 6; *mahini*; *mânushi*; *râtri*; *revati*, 2; *vananvati*; *vâjini*, 2; *vâjînîvati*, 8; *vicârini*; *vibhâvari*, 8; *vṛshâkapâyi*; *çitîkâvati*; *çutudri*; *çârâpatni*; *sarasvati*, 16; *sahasvati*; *sinîvâlî*, 2; *sânari*; *sânrtâvati*; *sânrtâvari*; *hlâ'dîkâvati*.

C. 1. No example. 2. *arâyi*; *mahenadi*; *yami*. AV. vii.115.1, *lakshmi*.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. B. C. There is no example.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. The analysis of these forms is doubtful. Schleicher sets *-î* and *-â* = *-yâ* and *-vâ*; but there are no traces of this origin. For lack of something better I have put *-î* = *-i-i*, p. 366. Friedrich Müller, *Sitzungsberichte d. kais. Ak. d. Wiss.* (Vienna, 1860) xxxv.55, compares the duals *devâ*, *kavî*, *bhânâ* with the singulars *devâ*, *kavî*, *bhânâ*, and recognizes therein a reduplication of the end of the word, symbolical of its dual meaning. The same explanation applies unfortunately to the plurals neuter *bhuvanâ*, *çuci* and *trî*, and *purâ*, as compared with the singulars in *-â*, *-î*, *-â*.

There are 340 forms (from 72 stems). Disregarding accent, examples are: *indrâgnî*, 78; *patî*, 33; *çubhaspatî*, 21; *harî*, 78. For *pâçva-ishî*, see p. 380.

The final is short in *sakshâni*, x.32.1 (cf. viii.22.15). So we have *asurâ*, etc., *paûrâ*, *vîrâ*, p. 342; and *jîgatvâ*, vii.65.1; and others below, p. 391, B, and 392 top.

B. The formation of the stem of *mâdhvî*—it occurs 7 times, as epithet of the Agyins—is uncertain; but *mâ'dhviibhyâm*, VS. vii.11, leads us to class it with *Nâmî*, *râ'shîrî*, etc. (p. 367 end), as a B-form.

C. 1. Root-words: *mananî'â*; *sadhanîâ*. 2. *rathîâ*, 3; *rathîâ*, 8.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

A. The form occurs 23 times (from 15 stems). They are: *itásatī*; *ūtī*; *r'jīti*; *jānī*, 2; *dārvī*; *dyā'vābhūmī*, 2; voc., 3; *dhārayātkavi*; *pūramdhi*; *bhujī*; *yuvati*, 3; *vāsudhīti*, 2; *śūci*; *sāyonī*; *suprātūrtī*; *srutī*.

B. Series B and C are here distinctly separated from each other in the Rik. The Sanskrit form *-yaū*, or even its Vedic equivalent, *-iā* or *-iā*, is utterly unknown to the Rik (p. 370). It is really no B-form, but a transition to C, which at last became universal, and whose beginnings we see in the Atharvan (cf. C 2).

There are 368 forms (from 76 stems). Examples are (vocatives included): *urvī*, 20; *devī*, 13; *dyā'vāprthivī*, 65; voc., 15; *prthivī*, 20; *prthivī*, 5; *brhatī*, 10; *māhī*, 27; *yahvī*, 6 and x.93.1; *ródasī*, 87; *samīci*, 11. In i.162.21, *hāri te yūnjā pr'shatī abhātām*, we cannot interpret *pr'shatī*—with Gr., *Ueb.*—as 'the two spotted gazelles' of the Maruts, for their team consists of many. We must assume non-agreement in form between *hāri* (masc.—*vr'shanā*, iii.35.5 etc.) and *pr'shatī* (fem.), and take them together: 'The two spotted bays (of Indra) are become thy companions.' But *pr'shat-i* may be N.d.n. See stems in *ant*, and cf. *sujānman-i dhīshāne*, i.160.1. The form *akshī*, furthermore, occurs six times. It is perhaps best referred to B on account of *akshī'bhīām* (x.163.1), *akshīōs* (AV. vi.127.3), and *-yōs* (24.2). Line 13, p. 371, should be corrected accordingly.

Transitions from C: *kshonī*, viii.7.22; 88.6: Vāl. 4.10; *nadī*, i.135.9; for *gaurī*, cf. p. 373, 389.

The final appears to be metrically shortened in the seventh place of ii.31.5c (*stushē yād vām prthivī*), and of iii.54.4d. In x.93.1, *māhī dyāvāprthivī*, and in iv.56.5, *prā vām māhī dyāvī abhī*, perhaps the double consonant made a written *-i* needless. In view of the numerous analogies (p. 390, A), it is better to take them as real duals in *-ī*, rather than to assume a false reading (p. 377) or the like.

C. 1. Root-words: *abhiçriyā*, 2; *ghṛtaçriyā*; AV. viii.2.14, *abhiçriyau*.

2. Here belong: *nadīā*; *naptīā*; *yamīā*, 2; *sakthīā*, 2; *srñīā*, x.106.6; from *cakrī*, *cakrīyā*, i.185.1: ii.34.9: v.30.8: x.89.4 (the Sāman variant, *cakrīyau*, i.339, shows that this is dual and not 1s.; cf. *Wb.* 429, 1761). The Kāthaka has *cakrīyau*, xxix.7; the AV., *sakthīau*, vi.9.1; and *nādyau*, vi.138.4.

Transitions from B. These are the rule in Sanskrit. The Rik has not a single instance of it. The Atharvan has the following: *āndīau*, vi.138.2; *phālgunīau*, xix.7.3; and, finally, *akshīau*, i.27.1: iv.3.3: v.23.3; 29.4: vi.9.1b, 1c (ed. -*ā!*): vii.36.1: xix.50.1. The AV. has no example of *-iā*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A. 1. (a) Here belongs *śūci* (*cakrē*), x.85.12; possibly, *śūci*, iv.56.5; and from the AV., *tigmāhetī* (*çr'ñge*), viii.3.25. (b) In

RV. ix.97.54, *máhi* (*vádhatre*) appears with shortened final; and so, perhaps, in iv.56.5.

2. BR. and Gr. put *hárinī* (*gr'íge*), ix.70.7, under *hárīta*. I would rather refer it to *hári*. The AV. has *ákshinī*, x.9.14 and xi.3.2.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. Instrumentals: *indrāgnībhyām*, x.128.9; *hāribhyām*, 22 times, and iv.15.7, and AV. ii.5.1; *dāmpatibhyām*, AV. xii.3.27. Datives: *indrāgnībhyām*, 4, and v.86.6a, *evā indrāgnībhyām*; *hāribhyām*, 2. Ablatives: *kukshībhyām*, AV. ii.33.4, and *pānībhyām*, verse 6. In no case is *-bhiām* needed.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

A. Instrumental: *vartanībhyām*. Ablatives: *pārshnībhyām* and *crónībhyām*, x.163.4; *crónībhyām*, AV. ix.8.21.

B. *Ródasībhyām*, D.d.f., i.136.6; *akshī'bhyām*, Ab.d.f., x.163.1; I.d.f., AV. xi.3.34 *bis*.

C. In ii.16.3, *kshonī'bhyām* is I.d.f.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A.B.C. In AV. x.10.21, *sákthibhyām* is I.d.n.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. Genitives: *indrāgniós*, 2; *háriós*, 2. Locatives: *kukshiós*, 2; *gábhastíos*, or f., 21; *háriós*, 2. In ix.58.3, *purushántíos* does the duty of an ablative; cf. p. 344.

C. In x.88.17, *yajñaníos* is genitive.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

A. Genitive: *yuvatyós*, 2. Locatives: *jāmiós*, v.19.4; *gavīniós*, AV. i.3.6: v.25.10–13; *pārshníos*, vi.24.2.

B. Genitives: 1. *akshiós*, AV. v.4.10 (MSS. and ed., *akshós*); *parinr'tyantíos*, AV. x.7.43; *ródasíos*, RV., 13 times; and in the sense of an ablative (p. 344), vi.24.3; from *ninī*—m. *ninīá*, oxytone—we have *ninīós*, x.5.1 (cf. p. 369): or, it may stand for *ninīáyos*, like *pastíos*, etc., p. 344:— 2. *divasprthivyós*, 4; *ródasyós*, 2. Locatives: 1. *aráníos*, iii.29.2; *pátantíos*, x.24.5; *ródasíos*, 3; *akshiós*, AV. vi.127.3:— 2. *samīcyós*, x.24.5; *arányos*, vii.1.1; *árjunyos*, x.85.13; *akshyós*, AV. vi.24.2.

C. Genitives: *oníos*, ix.65.11 (cf. Ath. Pr. iii.61); *cakríos*, 2. Locatives: *oníos*, ix.16.1; 101.14; *naptíos*.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A.B.C. There is no example.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. The exceptional *ary-ás* (16) is the sole example of its kind. The stem-final is regularly gunated and the ending added. This form occurs 523 times (from 109 stems). Examples are: *agnáyas*,

27; *ádrayas*, 26; *arcáyas*, 14; *úrmáyas*, 15; *r'shayas*, 26; *kaváyas*, 45; *pátayas*, 16; *raçmáyas*, 16; *váhnayas*, 15; *váyas*, 38; *çúcayās*, 18; *súráyas*, 36; *hárayas*, 31. In vi.66.11, *giráyas* is possibly an Ab.s.m.; cf. p. 383, 384 end. Gr. proposes *giribhyas*.

Transition from B: *Sóbharayas*.

Transition from C: *áhrayas* (p. 372).

Transition to the *n*-declension (?). In ii.34.2a, 'rings' (*khádī-n-as* = *khádáyas*) would be more appropriate than 'wearing rings' (*khádīn-as*); but this equation is hardly to be allowed.

B. Sole example: *sirī's*.

Transition from C: *takvavī's*, i.151.5 (p. 373).

C. 1. Root-words: (a) *durádhīas*, 2; *dūdīas*; *devdvīas*, 2; *padavīas*; *sadhañīas*; *sudhīas*, 4; *suádhīas*, 15; *grāmanīas*, AV. iii.5.7. (b) *agnicrīyas*; *adhvaracrīyas*, 3; *abhiprīyas*; for *dirghādhīyas* and *nā'nādhīyas*, cf. p. 369; *pariprīyas*; *sucrīyas*, 2; *kadhāpriyas*, 2; *ganacrīyas*, i.64.9.

2. Here belong: *ahīas*; *āpathī'as* (cf. *ā'pathayas*); *rathias*, 3; *rathias*, 13; for *suhastias*, ix.46.4, see pp. 368–9.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. We have *aryás*, f., i.71.3; 122.14: x.27.8*bis*; and of the usual form, 290 occurrences (from 66 stems). Examples are: *árátayas*, 18; *útáyas*, 42; *krshṭáyas*, 17; *kshítáyas*, 13; *jánayas*, 12; *dhítáyas*, 21; *matáyas*, 20; *rátáyas*, 18; *vṛshṭáyas*, 12.

Transitions from B: *óshadhayas*, 3; see others on p. 372.

Transitions from C: *ambáyas*; *arunáyas*, x.95.6; *kshonáyas*.

B. 1. The uncontracted form is perhaps seen in *vā'nīas*, Vāl. 11.3*b*, text, -*īs*; but the verse may consist of 12, 11, 12, 12.

2. The regular form of the later language (*devyās*) is almost entirely unknown in the Rik. Instead of that, we have *devī's*. Forms of this kind occur 423 times (from 166 stems). Examples are: *ā'ris* (*vīças*), 1.77.3; 96.3 (Gr., A.p.f.): cf. *ā'riās*; *ṛtā'varīs*, 3; *óshadhīs*, 27; *devayāntīs*, 6; *devī's*, 43; *pātnīs*, 11; *pārvī's*, 36; *bhātī's*, 8; *mahī's*, 11; *yahvī's*, 7; *vāsvīs*, 6; *vā'nīs*, 12; *sīncatī's* and *sīncāntīs*; for *āçicvīs*, i.120.8, see p. 372 med.

Transitions from A: *avānīs*; *ājā'nīs*; *ūtī's*; *nāktīs*; *nīrṛtīs*; *nishkrṭīs*; *pūramādhīs*, i.123.6: v.41.6; *bhū'mīs*, 2; *viçvā-krshṭīs*; for *çrénīs*, v.59.7, Gr. proposed *çráyinis*—better *çrénayas*; *sáyoni's*; from the Atharvan: *āngūlīs*, x.2.1; *rshtī's*, iv.37.8,9; *dhamānīs*, vii.35.2; *nā'bhīs*, xix.53.2; *pārshnīs*, viii.6.15; *prshṭī's*, x.9.20: xi.8.14; *bhū'mīs* (read -*mayas*?), xi.7.14. See p. 370 top.

Transitions from C. There appear to be none in the Rik: for *rathī's*, viii.84.1, see p. 373 med.; for *kshonī's*, i.54.1, see p. 372 end. In the Atharvan we have *nadī's* (but also *nadīas*), iii.24.3, and *lakshmi's* (but also -*mīas*), vii.115.4.

C. 1. Root-words: (a) *ādīas*, i.105.7; 105.8=x.33.3; *pranīas*; from AV., *viādhīas*, vii.114.2; in the Rik it would be written *viādhīyas* (p. 369):—(b) *abhicrīyas*, 3; *dhīyas*, 19; *vā'tapramīyas* (p. 369); *çrīyas*, 6; *āpriyas*, AV. xi.7.19.

2. Here belong: (a) *arunîas*, i.140.13; *enîas*, 2; *kalyânîas*; *gaurîas*; *nadîas*, 15; *mayârias*; *rathîas*, vii.21.3; *vakshîas*; *starias*; from the AV., *arâyîas*, i.28.4: ii.14.3; *tikshnacṛṅgîas*, viii.7.9; *nadîas*, vi.24.3: xix.1.1; *nâdîas*, x.7.15; *mayûrias*, vii.56.7; *yâdudhânîas*, i.28.4: ii.14.3: xix.47.7; *lakshnîas*, vii.115.3; *viķeḡîas*, i.28.4: xi.2.11; 9.14; *viastakeḡîas*, viii.1.19; *sahasraparnîas*, viii.7.13:—(b) *samudriyas*, Rik x.65.13.

3. The stem-final is consonantized in the Rik only in *staryâm*, vii.68.8d, and *nadyò*, vii.50.4. See p. 379 top, and p. 373 med. The Atharvan has: *açvataryàs*, viii.8.22; *nadyàs*, iii.13.1: xi.6.10: xiv.2.7; *naptyàs*, vii.82.6; *nâdyàs*, x.7.16; *pippalyàs*, vi.109.2; *vrkshasarpýàs*, ix.2.22.

Transitions from *Ā*: *yayîyas*, x.78.7; *çubhriyas*, AV. xx.48.2; *karkaryàs* (ed. -yàs), iv.37.4.

Transition from *B*. This has become universal in the later language. There is only one certain instance of it in the Rik (*strî-y-as*, vii.55.8). Even in the Atharvan we see only the beginnings of the movement, and the N.p.f. of series B ends almost always in -is; thus, *devî's* occurs 19 times as N., and 5 times as A. We have as N.p.f. *urvîas*, xi.7.18, and elsewhere *urvî's* (9 times). The longer form is preferred on account of the metre; and perhaps this gave the first impulse to the movement. Here belong: (from RV.) *prçunîas*, x.61.8, and *suparnîas*, 88.19:—(from AV.) *strîyas*, iv.5.2: vi.138.5; *urvîas*, xi.7.18; *rudatyàs*, 9.14. Cf. p. 372.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. There is no example of a vocative. The N. and A. have a series of forms entirely parallel with those of the stems in *a*, in *u*, and in *man*.

1. Here belong: *krúdhmî* (*mánânsî*), vii.56.8; *çûci* (*havyâ'*), 56.12; and the numeral *tri'*, 21 times. In vi.44.14 and vii.23.3, (*vr̥trâ'nî*) *apratî'*, the *pada* has -î.

2. Both texts have -î: (*vr̥trâ'nî*) *apratî*, i.53.6: ix.23.7; *asthûri* (*gârhapatyâni*), vi.15.19; *jâmi* (*brâhmâni*), vii.72.3; (*â'yudhâni*) x.8.7; *bhâ'ri* (*ânnâ*, *tânayâni*, *nâ'ma*, etc.), 15 times, and x.120.5,6; *çâmi* (*pûrviâ'nî*, BR.), iii.55.3; *surabhî* (*mûkhâ*), iv.39.6; and from the AV., *apratî*, vii.50.1bis; 93.1; 110.1; *bhâ'ri*, v.2.6 (Rik, v. 1.); 11.7: vi.1.3; *mâhi* (*vârcânsî*), iv.22.3.

3. The Rik has: *apratî'nî*, 5; *bhâ'rîni*, 5 times, and i.165.7c (*bhâ'ri* in *a*); *çûcîni*; *surabhî'nî*, (*havyâ'*, -yâ'nî), 2. The AV. has: *âkshîni*, iv.5.5 (Rik, *akshâ'nî*); *âsthîni*, ix.5.23: xi.8.12: xii.5.70. In Rik i.149.4, the metre demands the longer grammatical form, *tri'nî*—text, *tri'*.

B.C. There is no example. Paradigm: *jalapî'nî*.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. We find *ary-âs* 7 times (in 602.7, it is N.s.m.). The usual *pada*-form -in occurs 84 times (from 31 stems). It appears in the *samhitâ* as -inç in i.173.8, and as -îñr, 41 times. That is, in one-

half of all the instances, we have the direct representative of the organic form *-ins* (p. 346). 1. The form *-ñr* appears only in the interior of a *pāda*. It occurs (a) before a vowel: viz., before *a*-, 26 times: as, ix.107.19*d*; before *i**va*, in i.52.5; 141.11: iii.45.3: iv.30.15: viii.35.21; before *i*-, i.109.3: iii.38.1; before *u*-, viii. 26.10: x.69.12; before *o*-, v.41.8; 42.16; furthermore, (b) before *y*-, iv.35.7; before *v*-, i.127.7 and vi.39.2; before *h*-, i.184.2. For the last four cases the Prāt., iv.29, makes special provision. 2. In 28 of the other 42 cases, the form appears as *-in* at the end of a *pāda*: as, *giri'n* | *úd*, x.138.2; and in the interior of a *pāda*, as *-in*, 10 times—before *p*- (5 times), *k*-, *t*-, *n*-, *y*-, *v*-; as *-in* or *-int* before *s*-, i.144.3: iii.4.1: vii.57.7; and once as *-iñ* before *j*-, vii.3.8.

Accusatives p.m. are found from the stems: *agní*, 2; *ájami*, 2; *añjé*; *átithi*; *ádabdhadhiti*; *apídhí*; *ásushvī*, 2; *áji*; *ápi*; *ishudhí*; *udadhí*; *úrmí*; *r'shí*; *kavi*, 2; *giri*, 4; *jámí*; *nídhí*, 3; *paní*, 9; *parídhí*, 4; *pradhí*; *raçmí*, 6; *vádhrí*; *vánaspátí*, 11; *vijámí*; *viáti*, 2; *súkhi*, 5; *sátpati*; *saptarshí*; *sári*, 14; *stí*, 2; *smáddishí*.

In *vimúcyá váyo avasá'ya áçvān*, i.104.1, the stem *ví* is irregularly gunated before the ending is added. See p. 384, and *giráyas*, p. 383.

C. 1. (a) *durádhias*; *dádhias*, 6; *sadhanías*. (b) *suçríyas*, viii.8.17. 2. *ahias*; *dushpráviás*; *rathías*, 2. As a transition-form—from A—cf. *avántyas*, AV. Pariç., quoted by BR.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. We find *ary-ás* 4 times. The usual form in *-is* occurs 122 times (from 42 stems). In i.140.9, I take *vartanī'r* as N.s.f.—p. 377. For *árātis*, N.s.f., vi.4.5, see p. 376. For supposed forms in *-ias*—text *-is*—see p. 371 *ad fin*.

The stems are: *ánānubhāti*; *abhímati*, 5; *abhiçasti*; *abhi'ti*; *árāti*, 16; *aváni*, 6; *avyathí*; *áçasti*, 5; *ishí*; *úti*, 3; *rshí*; *krshí*, 16; *krshnáyoní*; *kshí*, 8; *gavyúti*; *carshaní*, 7; *jáni*, 3; *tvishí*; *durmati*, 2; *paktí*, 3; *pañkti*; *púramādhí*, 7; *pushí*; *prtsutí*, 2; *prshí*; *bhū'mí*, 3; *matí*, 4; *mārici*; *yuvati*; *vāñkri*; *vartaní*, iv.19.2; *vasatí*; *çaktí*, 2; *sāmítí*; *sáyoní*; *sátí*; *sukshí*, 3; *sumatí*, 2; *sushutí*, 2; *stutí*; *sraktí*; *hetí*.

The A.p.m., *váyas*, would seem to support *citrótayas*, x.140.3, as A.p.f. To this we may add *çúcayas* (*ānu svā'h*), AV. v.1.3. Cf. p. 384.

B. The form coincides with that of the nom., and with that of the acc. of A. It occurs 310 times (from 106 stems). Examples are: *ádevís*, 10; *óshadhís*, 24; *dā'sis*, 9; *pátnis*, 7; *pūrvís*, 40; *pr'shatís*, 7; *br'hātís*, 12; *mahís*, 18. In viii.50.16, *d* is catalectic; we need not assume the uncontracted form *ádeviás*—text, *-is*.

Transitions from C: *aruní's*, i.112.19: iv.2.16; *yātudhānī's*, AV. iv.18.7*c* (the metre would allow the reading *-ias*). For *nadío*, ix.9.4—Gr., *nadī's*—see p. 373. I take *kshonī's*, i.57.4, as N.s.f.; so also *çakatí's*, x.146.3; and as N.s.m., *rathí's*, iii.30.11.

C. 1. (a) *ádhiás*, AV. vi.131.1. (b) *dhíyas*, RV. 46 (and AV. ix. 2.25); *çríyas*, 12; *bhíyas*, AV. iv.31.7 (Rik *bhíyam*).

2. (a) *ashtakarnîas*; *kilâsîas*; *khârîas*; *dehîas*, 2; *nadîas*, 9; *naptîas*; *meshîas*; *yamîas*; *yâtudhânîas*, 2; *starias*. From the AV., *arâyas*, iv.17.5; 18.7,8; *nadîas*, vi.12.3: vii.38.5; *naptîas*, ii.14.1; *yâtudhânîas*, i.28.2: iv.9.9; 20.6: xix.36.2; 39.1,5,8; *sambâdhatandriâs*, x.2.9. (b) *samudriyas*, RV. i.25.7; 55.2.

Transitions from B: *yahvîas* and *suparnîas* (but see p. 372); *strî-y-as*.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. The ending is added directly to the stem: as, *agnî-bhis*. The form occurs 258 times (from 40 stems).

The stems are: *agnî*, 10; *âjâmi*; *añjî*, 10; *âdri*, 43; *arcî*, 2; *âvi*, 4; *avyathî*; *âghâtî*, or f.; *upaddî*, 2; *ârmî*, 5; *riâdhîti*; *r'shî*, 10; *kavî*, 7; *jâmi*, 3; *dravâtpânî*; *nûdhî*; *panî*; *pathî*, 28; *pavî*, 2; *pînî*; *prâshîti*; *bhû'ri*, 3; *rayî*; *racmî*, 36; *vânâspâtî*; *vâhmî*, 5; *vî*, 9; *vidupavî*, 2; *vidupânî*; *çuci*, 2; *sâkhi*, 15; *sâpîti*; *sâpi*; *sâ'dhadishîti*; *sudîti*, 5; *sûrî*, 14; *svâyukti*; *svêdânjî*; *hârî*, 23; *hîranyapânî*.

C. Here belong only three words: *suâdhî'bhis*, 2; *ganâçrî'bhis* (p. 372); and *hîranyavâçibhis*.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL FEMININE.

A. The form is like that of the m.: as, *jâni-bhis*. It occurs 365 times (from 48 stems).

The stems are: *âcitti*; *âcha-ukti*, 3; *abhîshîti*, 7; *arishtâtîti*; *avyathî*; *açâmi*; *âsâmi*; *ishîti*, 2; *âtî*, 100; *r'jîti*; *r'shîti*, 6; *kr'shîti*; *gûrtî*; *citti*, 5; *cittî*; *jâni*, 5; *jâmi*, 4; *dî'dhîti*; *devâvîti*; *devâhûti*, 4; *dyumnâhûti*; *dhîti*, 27; *nâma-ukti*; *pârîbhîti*; *prânîti*; *prâçasti*, 8; *matî*, 37; *yuvathî*, 2; *râtî*, 3; *vâ'jasâtî*; *vishtî*; *vr'shîti*, 4; *çâktî*, 2; *çatâdbhujî*; *çâmtâtî*; *çastî*; *çrenî*; *sâhûti*, 2; *sunîti*, 2; *sumatî*, 6; *suwrkîti*, 18; *suçastî*, 6; *sushtutî*, 2; *svâyukti*; *svâvrkîti*; *suastî*, 7, and in the refrain of the Vasishtha-hymns, 75 times; *suâpi*; *havyâdâtî*, 4.

Transition from B: *arâñibhis*, 2.

In nine instances, the word *ûti'* is shown not only by the sense, but also by the forms of the adjectives in concord with it, to be I.p.f. as, *vâ'd'bhîr ûti'*, ii.20.2; and in iv.29.1, it is parallel with *vâ'jebhis*.

B. The form is distinguished from that of A only by the stem-final: as, *âñvî-bhis*. It occurs 113 times (from 32 stems).

The stems are: *âñvî*; *ârushî*; *ârvalî*; *açmanmâyî*; *ashtâ'padî*; *âtmanvâtî*; *â'yasî*, 2; *ôshadhî*, 6; *jâratî*; *jâvinî*; *tâvishî*, 13; *dvayî*; *dhauntîri*; *nâvyasî*, 4; *pâtîni*; *pârvi*, 4; *pr'shatî*, 5; *pravâtvatî*; *bṛhatî'*; *bhârâtî*; *mahî'*, 4; *yahvî'*; *râ'trî*; *vamrî'*; *vârâtṛi*; *vâsvî*; *vâ'nî*; *vâ'çî*, 3; *çâçî*, 36; *çatîni*, 4; *çâmî*, 8; *sahasrîni*, 4.

C. 1. *dhîbhîs*, 37 (and AV. v.20.8); *çrîbhîs*. 2. *kalyânî'bhis*; *kshonî'bhis*, 2; *nadî'bhis*; *naptî'bhis*.

Transition from B. The word *strî-bhis* I would put here rather than directly under B, on account of the accent. Herein it follows the general rule for monosyllables of series C.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL NEUTER.

A.B.C. There is no example.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

The general ending, *-bhyas*, is affixed directly to the stem : as, *vī-bhyas*. The two cases are coincident in form, but are grouped here according to the exegesis.

A. Datives. There are 44 forms (from 9 stems). The stems are: *r'shī*, x.14.15; *rshībhyas*, Vāl. 11.6 (the accent is perhaps a mere blunder of the tradition); *dācāvani*; *pāti*, 3; *yāti*; *vī*; *çūci*; *sākhi*, 21, and iii.31.15; *sanī*, 4; *sūri*, 9.

Ablatives. There are 17 forms (from 12 stems). The stems are: *agnī*; *ātri*; *kavāri*; *giri*, 3 (Gr. proposes *girībhyas*, vi.66.11; see N.p.m.); *panī*; *pavī*; *plāci*; *vānaspāti*; *vī*; *sākhi*, 4; *sanī*; *sthivī*.

C. The only example in the Rik is the dative, *rta-nī-bhyas*, ii.27.12, with shortened *ī*. Cf. *senānībhyas* and *çvanībhyas*, p. 372.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. Datives: *kshitībhyas*; *carshanībhyas*, 6.

Transition from B: *nāribhyas*, viii.46.8; *-bhias*, i.43.6.

Ablatives: *añhatībhyas*; *kshitībhyas*, 2; *carshanībhyas*; *jānībhyas*, x.183.3; *añgūlībhyas* and *dhamānībhyas*, AV. ii.33.6.

B. Datives: (a) *tāvishībhyas*; from AV., *gandharvāpatnībhyas*, ii.2.5; *çacvatībhyas* (sic), v.8.8: vi.75.2,3:—(b) at the end of catalectic *pādas* (Gr., *-bhias*): *ōshadhībhyas*, ix.11.3; *vṛshan-yāntībhyas*, 19.5; *ghoshinībhyas*, AV. xi.2.31a; *keçinībhyas*, b.

Ablatives: (a) *ōshadhībhyas*, vii.50.3:—(b) *ōshadhībhyas*, ii.1.1; *bṛhatībhyas*, viii.3.19; add *padvātībhyas*, vi.59.6.

C. Dative: *aparībhyas*, i.32.13.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A.B.C. The Rik has no example. In AV. ii.33.6, BR. suggest *asthībhyas* for *asthībhyas* (*āsthī*), Abl.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

The oxytone stems of series A and B accent the case-ending in the m. and f. (and n.) of the genitive plural. This seems anomalous, since it happens although the stem and ending are separated by the consonant *n*. Cf. *ūrmi-d'*, *ūrmi-n-ā* (p. 367).

A. I. Oxytones. There are 80 forms (from 11 stems). 1. *kavīnā'm*, 12; *girīnā'm*, 3; *carshanīnā'm*, vi.22.1; *panīnā'm*, 3; *pathīnā'm*, v.1.11; *mathīnā'm*?, Vāl. 5.8; *rayīnā'm*, 31 times, and in vi.1.8; *sanīnā'm*. Besides these the AV. has: *kavīnā'm*, vi.47.3: vii.22.1: xiv.1.53; *girīnā'm*, x.4.14; *devajāmīnā'm*, vi.46.2: xvi.5.6; 8.6; *pathīnā'm*, ix.5.19; *mañīnā'm*, xix.31.11; *rayīnā'm*, iii.10.5: vi.62.2: vii.40.2; 79.4; 80.3 (cf. Rik); 109.6: x.9.27: xi.1.34: xvi.3.1; 4.1; *vapīnā'm*, MSS. xix.24.6. Compare the numerals, *trīnā'm*, *tiṣṭnā'm*, *caturṇā'm*, *saptānā'm*, *navānā'm*, *daçānā'm*, *saptatīnā'm*, and *navatīnā'm*.

2. The word stands at the end of a catalectic *pāda* of 7 syllables, where Gr. reads *-aam*: *kavīnā'm*, ix.67.13; *girīnā'm*, 2; *carshanīnā'm*, 8, and see feminines; *nīdhīnā'm*; *panīnā'm*, 3; *rayīnā'm*, 7.

3. Resolution seems necessary in *agnîndām*, x.78.3; *kavîndām*, ix.64.10; *rayîndām*, vi.45.19; *vîndām*, i.25.7.

II. Barytones. There are 48 forms (from 17 stems). 1. *âtrîndām*, 2; *âvinâm*; *âhîndām*, 2; *r'shîndām*, 10 times, and i.84.2; *gandhârîndām*; *gûcîndām*; *sâkhîndām*; *havîrmâthîndām*.

2. The word stands at the end of a catalectic *pāda* of seven syllables, where Gr. reads -aam: *âvinâm*, 2; *r'shîndām*, v.66.5; *twîshvânîndām* (*prâ adhvaré* is a refrain-like *pāda*); *dhîmîndām*, 2; *mahîshvânîndām*; *vânaspâtîndām*; *vîmahîndām*; *viâtîndām*; *gûcîndām*; *sâkhîndām*, i.30.11: iv.31.3: vii.32.25; *hârîndām*, iv.48.5; and viii.24.17; 33.12; 46.1. In viii.24.23, *carîndām* is at the end of a catalectic *jagatî* (i. e. *trîstubh*) *pāda*.

3. Resolution seems necessary in *r'shînaam*, v.65.6: x.22.1; *mânînaam*, viii.17.14; *sâkhînaam*, v.64.5; *hârînaam*, v.33.2: viii.24.14; 25.23: x.23.1; and ix.105.5.

B. In viii.20.8, we may pronounce *sôbharînaam*, or -âm.

C. Here belong *ahî'ndām*, x.139.6; *rathî'ndām* (Gr., -aam), i.11.1: viii.45.7; *nadî'naam*, v.74.2. The accent of *atasî'ndām*, viii.3.13, would seem to refer it to a C-stem, *atasî'*?

GENITIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. I. Oxytones. There are 91 forms (from 13 stems). 1. *krshîndām*, 9 times, and vii.26.5; *kshîndām*, 8; *carshanîndām*, 12 (m. in 463, 1); *jâminâm*; *durmatîndām*, i.129.8b, 11b; *dhautîndām*; *matîndām*, 14 times, and iii.49.3; *rayîndām*, i.68.7 (usually m.); *sumatîndām*. I add from AV., *grshîndām*, ii.13.3: xix.24.5; *carshanîndām*, xiii.1.38: *matîndām*, xiii.1.33; 3.19: xviii.3.63.

2. The word stands at the end of a catalectic *pāda* of 7 syllables, where Gr. reads -aam: *kavîndām*, x.22.10; *kshîndām*, 5; *carshanîndām*, 14, and see masculines: in x.126.6, *âti dvîshah* is a refrain; *durmatîndām*, i.129.8c, 11c: viii.46.19; *matîndām*, 7; *sukshîndām*; *sumatîndām*, 3; *sushtutîndām*, 2.

3. Resolution seems necessary in *krshîndām*, vi.45.16: (not in 542,5:) viii.57.7; *pushtîndām*, x.26.7; *matîndām*, x.26.4 (and not in 283, 3).

II. Barytones. There are 7 forms (from 5 stems). 1. *jânîndām*, 3; *mâricîndām*. 2. At the end of a catalectic *pāda* of seven syllables, where Gr. reads -aam: *ûpastutîndām*; *nîrîndām*; *gûcîndām*.

B. It seems to be the rule for the Rik that even the oxytone stems ending in long î shift the accent to the case-suffix in the G.p.

I. Oxytones. There are 11 forms (from 6 stems). 1. *yatîndām*, i.113.8 bis; 124.2; *bahvîndām*, i.95.4: vi.75.5; *bhanjâtîndām*, x.103.8; *bhâtîndām*, i.113.15: iv.13.1; *bhuñjâtîndām*, x.89.17; *mahîndām*, viii.19.31 (SV. ii.1173, *mahî'ndām*—but not “richtiger,” as Gr. says). We need not refer *strîndām*, AV. vii.13.1: viii.6.13, to C, as a transition-form, since its accent is regular for B.

Exceptions. There is no genuine exception for which the Rik does not show a counter-example with accented case-ending. (1.) In iii.1.12, *mahî'ndām* occurs with unconformable accent; the first part of the hymn, 1-14, is of mystical character.

The AV. has *nārācaṁśi'nām*, xv.6.4, and *rāthajīteyī'nām*, vi.130.1. (2.) The word stands at the end of a catalectic *pāda*, where Gr. reads -*aam*. *Yatī'nām* occurs in i.158.6; but verse 6, the last, belongs to the preceding five neither in sense nor metre. Gr. thinks it may owe its origin to a gloss. *Mahī'nām* occurs in x.134.1—a hymn whose style marks it as late—and in ix.102.1. *Pāda b* of i.36.1 reads *viçā'n devayati'nām*. I suspect that this is a mere metrical substitute for *devayāntīnām*. The law with regard to the place of the accent, p. 367 top, holds good in the formation of feminine participles, so that the stem must be either *devayati'* or *devayāntī*. It should, like all other feminine participles of denominatives, be the latter (*devayāntīnām*: cf. i.77.3); but since the metre requires a short syllable in the fifth place, the *n* is dropped and the accent shifted accordingly. For *kanī'nām*, see p. 364. (3.) Resolution seems necessary in *mahī'naam*, v.45.3.

II. Barytones. There are 62 forms (from 28 stems). 1. *ātish-thantīnām*; *āruṣhīnām*; *vyūṣhīnām*, 3; *ōshadhīnām*, 6; *gōmatīnām*; *jāyanti'nām*; *trīarushīnām*; *daivī'nām*, 2; *nāvyaśīnām* (*marūtām*!); *padvātīnām*; *mā'nushīnām*, 6; *revātīnām*; *vatsīnīnām*; *gācinām*; *gācvatīnām*, 7; *sr'tvarīnām*.

2. The word stands at the end of a catalectic *pāda* of 7 syllables, where Gr. reads -*aam*: *acmarmāyīnām*; *ōdatīnām*, viii.58.2; *ūr'nāvati'nām*; *ōshadhīnām*, 3; *nāvyaśīnām* (m.); *pr'shatīnām*, 2; *mā'nushīnām*, 2; *yātumātīnām*, 2; *yōyuvati'nām*, viii.58.2; *rōpūshīnām*; *vihātmatīnām*; *vavarjūshīnām*; *gācinām*, 3; *gācvatīnām*, 3; and viii.17.14, at end of *trishṭubh*; *çiprīnīnām*; *sani-shyātīnām*.

3. Resolution seems necessary in *çyā'vīnaam*, viii.46.22.

C. 1. Root-words: (b) *dhīyā'm*, v.44.13:—(c) *dhīnā'm*, 7; *çrīnā'm*; *hīranyavī'nām*, viii.54.10. 2. (c) *arunī'nām*; *nadī'nām*, 14: -*ām*, Gr. -*aam*, 5; *puruṣhī'nām*, Gr. -*aam*; *svarī'nām*, x.68.7, see p. 369. *Krīmī'nām*—AV. v.23.13, *sārveshām* ca *krīmīnām*, *sārvāśām* ca *krīmī'nām*—should be added on p. 369.

GENITIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A.B.C. There is no example.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. There are 37 forms (from 16 stems). These are: *ākavi*; *agnī*, 3; *añjī*, 2; *āsamāti*; *āji*, 8; *āpi*; *r'shi*; *khādī*; *giri*; *nidhī*; *pathī*; *pavī*; *yonī*, 5; *raçmī*; *çubhrī*; *sūri*, 8. Example: *agnīshu*. For B and C there is no example.

LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. There are 60 forms (from 21 stems—all but 3 in -*tī*): as, *ūtīshu*. The stems are: *abhīmati*; *īshī*; *ūtī*; *r'shī*; *kr'shī*, 6; *k'shī*, 3; *gāvishī*, 6; *divishī*, 11; *devāhātī*; *pāriṣhī*; *puṣhī*; *prānī*, 2; *prātārī*; *prāyukī*; *yā'mahātī*, 2; *rātī*, 3; *vīuṣhī*, 13 times, and i.171.5; *sātī*; further, *avyathī*; *jāmī*; *çubhrī*, v.34.8.

Transition from B: *nā'rīshu*, x.86.11a. The *ī* is metrically favored as penultimate in a *pāda* of 8 syllables.

B. There are 64 forms (from 30 stems): as, *yatī'shu*. The stems are: *āpnasvati*; *āmānushī*; *ārūnī*; *yatī*; *ōshadhī*, 19, and x.1.2; *garbhīnī*; *gōmatī*; *citrīnī*; *jāgatī*, 2; *tārūnī*; *tāvishī*, 2; *nāvyaśī*;

nā'hushī, 3; *pārushnī*; *pārvi'*; *pr'shātī*; *prajā'vatī*; *mā'nushī*, 8; *mṛkshīnī*; *yahvī'*, 2; *rōhinī*, 2; *vā'nī*; *vā'cī*; *vṛjanī'*; *cākvari*, 2; *śāc'vatī* : -*tī'*, p. 368; *sishāsantī*; *snī'hīti*; *hārinī*; *jāhatī*.

Transition from A: *svā'hākrīshu*, i.188.11 (*i* metrical ?).

C. 1. *dhīshū*, 4. 2. *aparī'shu*, 3; *arunī'shu*; *nadī'shu*, 9.

Transition from B: *strīshū*, AV. vi.11.1 : vii.90.3 : xii.1.25.

LOCATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A.B.C. The only example is *bhā'ri-shu* (*ā'gaḥsu*), viii.45.34.

DECLENSION OF *arī'*, *jāni*, *pāti*, *sākhi*, ETC.

The stem *arī* is declined thus: N.s., *arīs*, 10; in i.4.6, Bollensen suggests *arī's* = *ary-ās* (*viças*); A., *arīm*, 2; *aryām*, viii.33.14 (G.p. -*yā'm* ?); D., *arāye*; G., *ariās*, 3; *aryās*, 35—p. 384; N.p.m., *aryās*, 16; A., 7; N.p.f., 2, and x.27.8 *bis*; A., 4. All the forms (except the N., A., and D.s.) are irregular, especially in the accent, and coincide with the N. or A.s.m. of the stem *aryā*. See *Wb.* 115.

The stem *jāni*, f., has the following forms: N.s., *jānī* (transition to B); G., *jānyus*; N.p., *jānayas*, 12; A., *jāntis*, 2, and viii.17.7; -*ibhis*, 5; -*ibhyas*, x.183.3; -*īnām*, 3.

Pāti is declined regularly in the sense of 'lord,' and in composition; when uncompounded and meaning 'husband,' it has the forms *pātye*, 8; *pātyus*; *pātyau*, 2 (cf. p. 388). The regular forms are: *pate*, 35; *pātis*, 72; -*im*, 49; *pātīd*; -*yā*, 2; (for *pātīnā*, *pātaye*, *pātes*, cf. p. 382;) *pātī*, 33; -*ayas*, 16; -*ibhyas*, 3.

From the stem *sākhiy* come the forms: *sākhā*, 76; -*āyam*, 27; -*āyā*, 6; -*āyau*; -*āyas*, 65. The others come from *sākhi*: *sakhe*, 11; *sākhīd*, 5; -*yā*, 3; -*ye*, 10; -*yus*, Ab.; -*yus*, 7; -*ius*, 2; -*īn*, 5; -*ibhis*, 15; -*ibhyas*, D., 22; -*ibhyas*, 4; *īnām*, 4; -*īnām*, v.64.5.

In like manner are declined most of the compounds of *sākhi*. The following are found in the N.s.m.: *asmāt*; *īndra*-; *kāṇva*-; *gō-shakhā*; *nṛvāt*-; *māt*-; *marūt*-, 4 (and as fem., vii.96.2 : x.86.9); *sushakhā'*, 2. Besides these, are found: *gōsakhāyam*; *sushakhā'yas*, 2. Four compounds show transition to the *a*-declension: *drāvayāt-sakha-m*, x.39.10c; *yāvayāt-sakhā-s*, x.26.5d; *patayāt* (sc. -*sakham*) *mandayāt-sakha-m*, i.4.7c. For the omission, cf. the German *Ein- und Ausgang*. I suspect the metre has something to do with these transitions; and perhaps the tradition once had *crāyavātsakhas* at the end of viii.46.12a, where our text has -*khā*.

The peculiar form in -*yus* is common to *jāni*, *pāti*, and *sākhi*. Bopp, *Vgl. Gr.*³ §198, considers *pāty-au* and *sākhy-au* as organic forms. I should regard them rather as due to false analogy, -*au* being apprehended as a case-ending.

In the AV., x.8.39, we have the N.s.m., *ēkapatnī-s*. This form, like *hīraṇyavācī-s*, RV. vii.97.7, belongs to a category that I have not distinctly set up, namely, the masculine compounds of feminine stems in *ī*.

STEMS IN *u* AND *ū*.

The declensional system of the *u* and *ū*-stems is closely analogous to that of the stems in *i* and *ī* (p. 365). There is, however, one important difference. The forms of the *i* and *ī*-stems show that there were three distinct methods of declension, by means of three series of endings, A, B, and C. The forms of the stems in *u* and *ū* show that in the Vedic period their declensional resources were confined entirely to the series A and C. The few sporadic instances of B-forms from *u*-stems only confirm this statement. The forms which are even preferred by the later

grammar—as, *dhenvái*, *dhenvâ's*, *dhenvâ'm*—are in reality transitions to the *i*-declension, and do not belong to the *u*-declension at all. As stated at the end of p. 366, the apparent case-suffixes of the *i*-stems were -â, -ai, -âs, -âm, etc.; and after this analogy the forms *dhenvái*, etc., were made. The originality of such a form as *hânv-âs* (Schleicher, *Comp.*⁴ p. 538 §252) must be denied.

The two series, *mutatis mutandis*, are as follows :

Series A.			Series C.		
<i>u s</i>	<i>o as</i>		<i>û' s</i>	<i>û' as</i>	
<i>u m</i>	<i>û ns</i>		<i>û' am</i>	<i>û' as</i>	
<i>u â'</i>	<i>u bhis</i>		<i>û' â</i>	<i>û' bhis</i>	
<i>o e</i>	<i>u bhyas</i>		<i>û' e</i>	<i>û' bhyas</i>	
<i>o s</i>	<i>ân â'm</i>		<i>û' as</i>	<i>û'nâm</i>	
<i>o i</i>	<i>u shu</i>		<i>û' i</i>	<i>û' shu</i>	
<i>o</i>			<i>u</i>		
	<i>u u</i>			<i>û' â</i>	
	<i>u bhyâm</i>			<i>û' bhyâm</i>	
	<i>u ôs</i>			<i>û' os</i>	

Series A was applied to the stems in short *u*, including many masculines, but few neuters, and very few feminines. It was applied without distinction of gender, save that the neuters of course had in the N. and A., no ending in the *s*., -î in the d., and -i in the p. The later grammar has rules confining the "inserted *n*" to the neuter in certain cases; but in the Veda we have neuters without *n* (as, *vîdâû*, *mâdhau*) and masculines with *n* (as, *cârunas*). Here belong, moreover, a number of stems in *û*, the character of whose final is not always entirely clear, but which are treated declensionally as if the *u* were suffixal.

In some, etymological evidence shows that the *u* is not radical. Such are: *abhi-jñû*, *mitâ-jñu*, *drû*, *su-drû*, *pâtû-dru*, *snû*, *ghṛtâ-snu* (cf. *jâ'nu*, *dâ'ru*, *sâ'nu*); *kharâ-jru* (root *2jar*); *â-gru* (*gir*); *puru-kshû*, *kshû* (*ghas*); *â-psu* (*bhâs*); *-psu* (*bhâs*), with *arunâ-*, *âhruta-*, *ṛta-*, *prushitâ-*, *viçvâ-*, *viçvâ'-*, *vṛ'sha-*; *sishṇu* (*san*); *pîpru* (*par*). *Gu*, in the compounds of *-gu* with *â-*, *pûshti-*, *pr'çni-*, *bhû'ri-*, *saptâ-*, and in *su-gû*, is a peculiar modification of *gô*, 'cow.' We might see its parallel in *ṛdhâd-ri*, p. 384, if the metre did not make the assumption of a stem *-ri* doubtful. In other cases, the final *â* (or *u* + nasal) of a root is dropped and replaced by the suffix *u*: thus, *yû* (genitive, *yôs*), *sva-yû*, *çubham-yû* (cf. *çubham-yâ'*); *anu-shthû*, *su-shthû* (*sthâ*; but cf. *sthû-râ*, *sthâv-ira*); *âdhri-gu*, *vunar-gû*, *çâci-gu* (*gam*); *â-khû* (*khan*, *khâ-tâ*).

Some words whose final element is a root ending in a short vowel are declined entirely as if the *u* were a suffix. Such are: *dyû*, *âdyu*, *abhidyû*, *dâcadyu*; *didyû*; *âprâyu* (*yu*, *yuyôti*); *âsmṛta-dhru* (cf. *varuṇa-dhrû-t*); *prthu-shṭu* (*stu*, 'conglobare'); *su-shṭû* (*stâti*). In *mitâ-dru*, the root is used substantively as part of a *bâhuvrîhi*; and so possibly in *sâ-dru*, AV. xv.7.1. In *hari-dru*, Rik x.94.12, the accent is probably wrong; read *haridrâvas*.

The compounds of *bhû* ought to be declined according to C; but even in the Veda there are many forms from stems in short *u*. In the enumerations, I have entered them as transition-forms (C to A); but perhaps the general statement, p. 403, would have sufficed.

Series C was applied to oxytone stems in long *û'*, and their sometimes barytone compounds. Here belong

1. Stems whose final element is a root: as, *nabho-jû'*, *vîra-sû'*; monosyllabic substantives and their adjective compounds: as, *jû'*,

sā', m.; *dā'*, *bhā'*, *bhrā'*, *srā'*, f.; *subhā'*, m.f. Two words whose final element is a root ending (according to the dictionaries) in *ā* are declined as if the final were *ū*. For such forms we ought probably to set up stems in long *ū* as follows: *raghu-drā'* (*drānānū*, iv.4.1); *ghṛta-snā'* (cf. *ghṛta-snā'*, *prā-snautu*, *naū-s*). *Snā': snā': dā': dā'*. See Gr. 623, and cf. *gā* and *jōgā*. To these we may perhaps add *mitra-krā'*; cf. *krā-rā*. The *snu* of *vṛdhasnū* is a suffix—Lindner, p. 112.

2. A few oxytone f. substantives (*a*) corresponding to barytone masculines: *agrā'* (*ágru*), 'maid'; *kadrā'* (*kádru*), 'soma-vessel'; *guggulā'* (*gúggulu*), an Apsaras; *jatā'* (*jātu*, n.), 'bat'; *dhanā'* (*dhānu*), 'sand-bank'; *prākā'* (*pr'dāku*), 'serpent'; *svagrā'* (*svágura*), 'mother-in-law'; likewise the adjective *madhā'* (*mádhu*), 'sweet.' (*b*) To several others there is no corresponding m.: *kuhā'*, 'new-moon'; *camā'*, 'bowl'; *juhā'*, 'tongue'; *juhā'*, 'sacificial ladle'; *tanā'*, 'body'; *prajānā'*; *vadhā'*, 'bride'; *viçā'*?, 'nest.'

3. The feminine of a large number of stems of very varied character (p. 367) is formed by long *ī*, and the largest part of the stems in *ī* are feminines of this description. Long *ū* is not used in forming the feminine, except that of *ū*-stems. And of these, many remain unchanged in the f. (cf. *subāhūs*, m., viii.17.8; f., ii.32.7), while others take long *ī*. The stem *tanū* forms its f. in all three ways: *tanā'*, *tanū*, and *tanvī*. (Cf. the double feminines *prabhā'*, *prabhvī'*; *madhā'*, *mādhvī'*; *vibhā'*, *vibhvī'*; *bībhatsū*, *-sū'*.) For the Veda, it seems necessary to set up the following feminine stems in *ū* (from the Rik and Atharvan), corresponding to oxytone masculines in *ā*: *ānhoyā'*; *asitajñā'*; *tanā'*, adj.; *durhanāyā'*; *patayātā'*; *pārayishnā'*; *prācāyā'*; *mandrayā'*; *mahīyā'*; *mumukshā'*; *sanāyā'*; *sādayitnā'* (of these the m. does not actually occur in the Rik); *aghāyā'*; *apasyā'*; *abhidīpsā'*; *avasyā'*; *āyā'*; *udanyā'*; *caranyā'*; *carishnā'*; *jīghatsā'*; *dīdhishā'*; *duvasyā'*; *dravītnā'*; *panasyā'*; *pṛtanāyā'*; *babhrā'*; *bībhatsā'*; *makhasyā'*; *vacasyā'*; *vipanyā'*; *gundhyā'*; *sudrā'*; further, *nabhanā'*; *nṛtā'*; *Guṇgā'*; *Saranyā'*; *Kama-dyā'*. The last five are substantives. The *ū* of *kama-dyā'* is rather characteristic of the f. than radical; but a m. *kama-dyū* does not occur. In like manner *mitra-krā'* might be taken as f. of *mitra-krā*. The AV. has *kiā'mbā*, corresponding to *kiyā'mbā*, n., of the Rik.

Finally, several masculines (other than those included under 1.) belong to C: *prāçū'*; *makshā'*; *kr̥kadāçū'*; *ātaptatanū*; *sūrvatanū*.

The final thematic *ū* is sometimes "split" into *uv* before the vocalic endings of C. This occurs regularly (1) in monosyllabic substantives always: as, *jūvas*, *bhuvā'*; (2) in compounds whose last member is a verbal root: as, *nabho-jūvas*, *mayo-bhūvas*; (3) in feminine adjectives in *ā'* preceded by *y*, to avoid the combination *yv*: as, *apasyūvas*; and so with *agrā'*, *kadrā'*, *bībhatsū'*. The forms of compounds of verbal roots in *ī* are written with *iy* only when a double consonant precedes (*brahma-prīyam*, *gāthā-nīam*,

p. 369). This restriction does not hold for the stems in radical *ū*. The Rik has *uv* very often after a single consonant: as, *vasū-jūvam*. This happens in the great majority of instances at the end of a *pāda*, and possibly the syllable *uv* was written in order to fill out the metre for the eye. Of course, *vibhūvam* has just as many syllables as *ābhūvam*. The stems whose forms are written as we should expect—with *u* rather than *uv*—are in fact the exceptions, and are: *ghṛta-pā'*, *vishnū-pā'*; *vi-bhū'*, *su-bhū'*; *surā-ṣū'*; *ā-sū*, *nava-sū'*, *pra-sū'*, *viṣva-sū'*. The TS. appears to have no fixed rule with regard to the use of *uv*. Cf. *tanūvam*, i.5.5⁴; *indravāyuvōs*, iii.1.6²; *bāhuvōs*, i.7.13²; *āruvōs*, v.5.9²; *sūvar*, always; but *svastī*. See *Ind. Stud.* xiii.105, 106.

In the Rik, the distinctions between the *u* and *ū*-declensions (A and C) are for the most part strictly maintained, except in the compounds of *bhū*. The transitions to B are merely sporadic.

I. TRANSITIONS FROM A.

A to B. The Rik has only three forms that fall under this category: *ishvai*, vi.75.15; *ishvās*, x.18.14; *svā'stvās*, viii.19.37. All these are plainly verses of late date. The AV. has *uvāruā's*.

A to C. In viii.46.6, we have (*īndram*) *ābhīruam*. In x.28.8, perhaps *sudrūam* is to be taken as f. Although a root-word, *āprāyu* is properly declined according to A (p. 401); but in i.89.1, we have *āprāyuvās*. The masculines *madhyāyūvas*, *mitrāyūvas*, *gramayūvas* (N.p.), and *madhāyuvā* (V.d.) are hardly to be accounted for, except as transition-forms. We need not try to explain the grammatical monstrosity *paṣvā* (N.d.m., accent!), x.106.3. The character of the hymn is such that none of its anomalies can surprise us. The TS. has *hānūbhyām*.

II. TRANSITIONS FROM C.

C to A. This is the most important category, even in the Veda. It becomes still more so in the later language, where stems ending originally in long *ū* are replaced by others in short *ū*. Cf. BR., s.v. *prabhū*. In the Rik, about ten stems ending originally in *ū* show secondary forms (about 35) from stems in *ū*. In ix.86.1, we have *dhī-jāvas* (*dhī-jā'*). Gr. derives *subar-dhū-m* (*dhenūm*), x.61.17, from *dhū*; cf. *dhū-noti* and *dhū-noti*. The compounds of *bhū* pass into the *ū*-declension with especial frequency. Thus we have: *āprabhū*, -us; *ābhū* (from *ā-bhū'*?), -ūm 2; *purubhū*, -ū, V.d.m.; *prabhū* (AV. xiii.4.47, *prabhū-s*), -ūs 4, -ūm, -ōs; *mayobhū*, -ūs 4, *ūnā*, -ū' (N.p.n.), -ā'n; *vibhū*, -ūs 8, -ūm, -āvas (for *Vibhūbhis*, see N.p.m.); *gambhū*, -ūs 2, -ā (V.d.m.), -ā' (A.d.m.). Perhaps the short *ū* of (*vikshū*) *āyāshu*, i.58.3, is due to the metre, since it is the penultimate of a *jagati-pāda*. For *bībhatsū's* (*mātā'*), see p. 402 med.

The Atharvan has: *ābhūhū'm*, x.6.29; *purubhū'*, iv.25.1, where there is good reason for restoring the true C-form, *-bhūvā* (see N.d.m.); *supū'nā*, xii.2.11 (cf. *pavitrena su-pū'-ā*, from *su-pū'*, VS.i.3); for *duṣṭano*, see V.s.m. The VS. has from *udbhū'*, (*cārman*) *udbhū'*, xv.1.

C to B. The only instances in the Rik are *çvaçruā'm*, x.85.46 (a late verse), *suā'm* (? see L.s.f.), and *dravitnu-ā'* (*dhiyā'*). The last I regard as a transition-form on account of its accent: the C-form would be *-nū-ā*. On the other hand, it is better to refer *mehatnu-ā'* to a stem *-nū'* (not *-nū'*). *Tanū'* as a dual (x.183.2) would be unparalleled; see L.s.f.

The Atharvan shows a good beginning in this direction, and contains the following B-forms: *kuhū'm*, *tanū'm*, *vadhū'm*; *vadhvai*, *çvaçruai*; *punarbhūvas*; *prāḍakū's*, *çvaçruā's*; *tanūām*!; *agruvai* and *rājivām*. The VS. has *a-sū'm*, for *a-sū'-am*.

III. TRANSITIONS TO THE N-DECLENSION.

In explaining the case-forms with internal *n* from *i*-stems (p. 373) it was natural to point to the analogy of the frequent *in*-stems; but since there is no class of stems ending in *un*, grave exception may be taken against the term "*n*-declension." I have used it, however, for the sake of convenience and brevity.

As with the *i* and *i*-stems, this "transition" is universal in the G.p. of A and C, the only exception being *jóguvām*. The *n* is also seen in series A in the I.s.m. (108 forms, 31 stems), in the G.s.m. (*cā'runas* and *drūnas*), in the I.s.n. (39 forms, 15 stems), D. (*mādhune*), Ab. (*mādhunas*, *sā'nunas*), G. (27 forms, 4 stems), L. (*ā'yuni*, *sā'nuni*), and in the N.A.p. (127 forms, 14 stems).

Here Benfey puts *abhīrū-nam*, despite the accent (*Vedica*, p. 123—but see 131), VS. vi.17 (= AV. vii.89.3, *abhī'runam*). In ix.65.30, *ā' rayīm ā' sucetūnam* (*vṛnīmahe*), one must see a stem *sucetūna* = *sucetanā*, or change the reading to *sucetūnā* (adv.), or take the form as A.s.m. of *sucetū*.

The following synopses exhibit the terminations of the inflectional forms:

SERIES A. MASCULINE.

Singular: N., *-us*, *-ū'*; A., *-um*; I., *-uā*, *-vā*, *-unā*; D., *-ue*, *-ve*, *-ave*; Ab., *-vas*, *-os*; G., *-uas?*, *-vas*, *-unas*, *-os*, *-av-as?*; L., *-av-i*, *-au*, *-ā?*; V., *-o*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-ā* (*itī*), *-ū*; I.D.Ab., *-ubhyām*; G.L., *-uos*.

Plural: N.V., *-avas*, *-uas*, *-vas*, *-āvas?*; A., *-ān*, *-ānç*, *-āñr*, *-vas*; I., *-ubhis*; D.Ab., *-ubhyas*; G., *-ānām*, *-ānaam*; L., *-ushu*.

FEMININE.

Singular: N., *-us*; A., *-um*; I., *-uā*, (*-u-y-ā'*, adv.) *-vā*; D., *-ave*; Ab.G., *-os*; L., *-au*; V., *-o*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-ā* (*itī*); L., *-uos*.

Plural: N.V., *-avas*, *-vas*; A., *-ās*, *-vas*; I., *-ubhis*; Ab., *-ubhyas*; G., *-ānām*, *-ānaam*; L., *-ushu*.

NEUTER.

Singular: N.A., *-u*, *-ū*; I., *-vā*, *-ū?*, *-unā*; D., *-ve*, *-une*, *-ave*; Ab.G., *-uas*, *-vas*, *-unas*, *-os*; L., *-un-i*, *-av-i*, *-o*, *-au*; V., *-u*.

Dual: N.A., *-vī* (*itī*).

Plural: N.A., -ā, -ū, -āni; I., -ubhis; G., -ānām, -ānaam; L., -ushu.

SERIES C. MASCULINE.

Singular: N., -ūs; A., -uam; I., -uā; D., -ue; G., -uas.

Dual: N.A.V., -uā.

Plural: N.V., -uas; A., -uas, -ūs; I., -ūbhis; G., -uām, -ūnām; L., -ūshu.

FEMININE.

Singular: N., -ūs; A., -uam, -vam?; I., -uā, -ā?; D., -ue; Ab.G., -uas; L., -uī, -uī, -ā (īī); V., -u.

Dual: N.A., -uā; G.L., -uos, -vos?.

Plural: N., -uas, -ūs, -vas; A., -uas, -vas, -ūs?; I., -ūbhis; D., -ūbhyas; G., -ūnām, -ūnaam; L., -ūshu.

NEUTER.

Singular: N.A., -u; I., -uā.

Oxytone stems, when not strengthened by vowel-change or nasal, shift the accent to the ending in series A, in the I.s., in the Ab.G.s., in the G.L.d., and always in the G.p. In C, on the contrary, the accent never leaves the thematic vowel, except in monosyllabic stems. Sporadic exceptions will be noticed as they come up.

Several A-stems have forms analogous to those of *arí*; i. e., the vocalic endings are affixed directly to the "unstrengthened" stem: as, *paçv-ús* (= *paçá'n*). These stems are: *paçú*; *pitú*; *kr'tu*; *krátu*, *çatákratu*; *mādhv*; *vāsu*; *Vibhū'*; *çīçu*; *sahásvabāhu*.

By way of illustrating the wealth of declensional resources in the Veda, a few equivalent forms may be cited: *krátuā*, -vā, -unā; *krátve*, -ave; *krátvas*, -os; *cá'rūnas*, *cá'ros*; *drūnas*, *drós*; *druhyāvi*, *druhyāú*; *paçvā'*, *paçvūnā* (accent, p. 367 top); *paçvās*, *paçvā'n*; *çīçve*, *çīçave*; *çīçvas*, *çīços*; *tanūam*, *tanū'm*; *vadhūam*, *vadh-ā'm*; *camūi*, *camūi*, *camū'*; *urū*, *urā'*; *purū*, *purā'*; *mādhvas*, -vas, -unas, -os; *vāsvas*, -unas, -os; *sā'nunas*, -os; *sā'navi*, *sā'no*, *sā'nuni*, *sā'nau*; *abhihūvam*, -bhū'm; *mayobhū's*, -bhū's; -bhūvā, -bhū'nā; -bhūvas, -bhū'n; *vibhūam*, -bhūm; *vibhūas*, *vibhāvas*; *vibhūas*, *vibhvī's*; *çambhū's*, *çambhū's*; etc., etc.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The ending -s is affixed directly to the stem. The form occurs 886 times (from 250 stems). Examples are: *ançús*, 13; *asmayús*, 16; *īndus*, 64; *ṛbhūs*, 21; *ketús*, 23; *krátus*, 14; *cá'rus*, 16; *devayús*, 15; *mānus*, 15; *vāsus*, 25; *vāyús*, 20; *viçvā'yus*, 18; *vishnus*, 34; *sinūdhus*, 17; *sukrátus*, 32; *sānús*, 18; so *ādhrigus*, 3; *kharājrus*; *purukschús*, 5; *mitādrus*, 2; *yús*, viii.18.13—BR., *dvayús*; *svayús*, 2. In viii.66.7, *ishus* is m.

Transitions from C: *áprabhus*; *prabhús*, 4; *mayobhús*, 4; *vibhús*, 8; *çambhús*, 2.

In vii.86.3, *prché tād éno varuna didr'kshu'po*, p. -shu | *upo*, we have elision and crasis. Sây., *chāndasah sulopah*: *drashtum ichann aham*; but since desiderative adjectives are oxytone (Lindner, p. 62), perhaps *didr'kshu* is an adverb with recessive

accent. So in ix.96.15, *urv iva gâtûh suyâmo ná vâdhâ*: Sây., *supdm suhug iti sor luk*. Gr., *urûr vâ*.

In vii.60.3, *visarga* seems wrongly added before *s* in *dhâ'mâni mitrâvarunâ yuvâ'kuh | sâm*. BR. suggest *yuvâ'ku*, as p.n. with *dhâ'mâni*. Cf. *sâsni | sâm*, p. 377 ad fin.

C. 1. Here belong 24 forms (from 9 stems): *-bhâ's* with *abhî*-, 6; *pari*-, 9; *puro*-, 3; *sacâ*-, 3; *svayam*-, 3; *ekadyâ's* (root *1div*, *dyâ-tâ*); *sâ's*, i.146.5; *viçvâçambhâ's*; and from the Atharvan, *udapî's*, *madhupî's*, *vâtapî's*, xviii.3.37; *prabhâ's*, xiii.4.47; *vîbhâ's*, vii.21.1: xiii.4.47: xv.15.6; *çambhâ's*, xix.46.6; *subhâ's*, xiii.4.52.

2. *Prâçâ's*, i.40.1 (BR., *prâçûs*); *âtaptatanûs*; *sârvatanûs*, AV. v.6.11-14: xi.3.32-49 *bis*: Çat. Br. iv.6.1¹: xi.1.8⁶.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. There are 73 forms (from 31 stems).

Enumeration: *arunâpsus*, 2; *ahamîyûs*; *âbharâdvâsus*; *îshus*, 2; *kîrmus*; *gâtûs*, 2; *caranyûs*; *cârûs*, 2; *jâsus*; *jivâ'tus*, 2; *tridhâ'tus*; *1dâ'nus*; *2dâ'nus*; *dhiyâ'-vasus*; *dhenûs*, 22; *pârçus*; *bîbhatsûs*, see p. 402 med.; *bhujîyûs*; *râjjus*; *rûçat-paçus*; *vasûyûs*, 3; *vâstus*; *cârûs*, 4; *çravasyûs*; *saptâdhâtus*; *sarâyus*, 2; *sîndhus*, 11; *subâhûs*; *sumâdañçus*; *suçrôtus*; *suabhîçus*.

In i.186.4 and vii.2.6, *visarga* seems wrongly written; for *su-dûgheva dhenûh*, Gr. proposes *-e va dhenâ*.

C. Here belong: 1. *bhâ's*, 2; *punarbhâ's*; *mayobhâ's*; *sâ's*, i.32.9; *yamasâ's*; *rahasâ's*; *vîrasâ's*; *sushâ's*; from the AV., *abhîbhâ's*, ii.27.1; *prabhâ's*, ix.4.2; *çambhâ's*, xiv.2.26; *prasâ's*, iii.23.4.

2. *Tanâ's*, 8 (AV., 7: as, ii.13.4); *vadhâ's*, 4 (AV., 5: as, i.14.2); *çvacrâ's*; from the AV., *kuhâ's*, vii.47.2; *guggulû's*, iv.37.3; *juhâ's*, xviii.4.5; *dhanâ's*, i.17.4; *prâdâkâ's*, v.18.3,15; *madhâ's*, vii.56.2; from the VS., *jatâ's*, xxiv.25,36.

3. *Guñgû's*; *nrtû's*; *çundhyû's*; *saranyû's*; from the AV., *kîdâ'mbâs*, xviii.3.6 (cf. Rik x.16.13); *asîta-jñâ's*, xii.1.21; *pata-yâlû's*, vii.115.2.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. 1. The form has no case-ending. It occurs 413 times (from 68 stems). Examples are: *urû*, 51: and iv.43.5, as adv.; *cârû*, 27; *tridhâ'tu*, 13; *pâçû*, iii.53.23; VS. xxiii.30; *purû*, 13; *prthû*, 15; *mâdhû*, 76; *vâsû*, 77; *sâ'nu*, 18; further, *abhîjñû*, 5; *kshû*; *viçvâpsu*; *sushthû*; *âprâyû*.

For *diçrî'kshu*, vii.86.3, and *urû*, ix.96.15, see m. In iii.49.2, the metre requires *â'yu*, text *â'yus*. In AV. viii.2.28, the sense requires *pârâyishnû*—text *-ûs* (*-û' r*); in iii.19.1, *jîshnû*—MSS. *-ûs*; in xx.135.12, *bahû*—MSS., *-ûh*; and in xix.30.1, *jarâ'mrtyu*—MSS. and ed. *-uh ç*.

2. The final *-u* suffers metrical protraction in several words: *urâ*, vi.47.14; *purâ*, 12 times, given by Gr.: as, x.94.5; *mîthâ*, 2. The *paða* has in every instance *-û*. Cf. Prât. vii.31: vii.9,19: ix.3.

C. Since the forms for A and C are coincident, it is sometimes doubtful whether a word is to be referred to a stem in *-ā*, or to a transition-stem in *-ā̃*. Here may be put : *ābhū*; *prabhū*, 2, see BR.; *mayobhū*, 4; *vibhū*, 4; *ṣambhū*, 2 (the foregoing have other *ā̃*-forms); *subhū* (*ānnam*), ii.35.7; from the AV., (*gārma*) *udbhū*, ix.2.16; *vibhū*, *prabhū*, xx.135.9; *ṣambhū*, x.1.9; and also *raghadrū* (*cakrām*), Rik x.61.16, since the only other forms of this word require a stem *-drū'* (p. 402 top).

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The form terminates in *-um* and occurs 736 times (from 179 stems). Examples are : *añgum*, 17; *āgum*, 20; *īndum*, 27; *urum*, 18; *ketum*, 34; *krātum*, 55; *igātum*, 33; *cārum*, 14; *tāntum*, 15; *dāsyum*, 15; *paśum*, 15; *bhānūm*, 15; *bhujyūm*, 15; *manyūm*, 18; *vāyūm*, 18; *gātrum*, 15; *śigum*, 26; *sīndhum*, 22; *sānūm*, 17; further, *ādyum*; *ādhrī-gum*, 4; *abhidyum*; *ā-khūm*; *dācadyum*, 2; *didyūm*, 6; *pīprum*, 7; *purukshūm*, 7; *pr'ṣṇigum*; *prushitāpsum*; *viśvāpsum*; *saptāgum*.

Transitions from C: *ābhūm*, 2; *prabhūm*; *vibhūm*; *abhibhūm*, AV. x.6.29.

C. Here belong : 1. (a) *vibhūam*, 4; *viśvā-pūam*, 3; *subhūam*. (b) *ābhūam*, 2; *kaśojūam*; *manojūam*, 2; *mayobhūam*, 5; *vasūjūam*; *viśvāṣambhūam*; *ṣambhūam*, 2; *sacābhūam*, 2; *sudbhūam*, 2 (these nine words are in every case at the end of a *pāda* of 8 or of 12 syllables, except *manojūam*, x.81.7); *abhibhūam*, AV. ix.5.36; *ṣambhūam*, x.6.15,17.

2. *Kṛkaddācūam* may be taken as m. with *sārvam*, i.29.7.

Transitions from A: *ābhīruam*, viii.46.6; and perhaps *sudrūam*, x.28.8 (or f.).

Transition to the *n*-declension: *sucetūnam* (?). See p. 408 med.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. The form occurs 50 times (from 15 stems).

Enumeration: *ādhenum*; *aruṇāpsum*; *īshum*, 2; *krūnum*; *cārum*, 2; *jāsum*; *jigatnūm*; *jīrādānum*; *jivātum*, 3; *dhānum*; *dhenūm*, 27; *bhujyūm*; *vasūyūm*; *cārum*, 3; *sīndhum*, 4.

Transition from C: *sabar-dhū-m*, x.61.17; cf. p. 403 ad fin.

C. Here belong : 1. (a) *u-sūam*, 2; *sakṛt-sūam*; for *su-ām*, v.58.7, see L.s.f.; from the AV., *asūam*, vii.35.3; *viśvasūam*, xii.1.17. (b) *viśvajūam*; *sacābhūam*; from Çat. Br., *bhrūvam*, iii.2.1²⁹.

2. *Prdākūam*, AV. x.4.17 (MSS. and ed. *-vām* !); RV., *jūhūam*, 2; *tanūam*, 45; *vadhūam*; in true Atharvan verses, *tanūam*, 16 times; *tanvām*, xix.37.2.

3. (a) *Carishnūam* (*pūram*), viii.1.28; *sudrūam*, vii.32.20 (SV. i.238, *-ūvam*): possibly, x.28.8; *jighatsūam*, AV. ii.14.1. (b) *avasyūam*; *durhanāyūam*; *makhasyūam*; *vacasyūam*; *gundhyūam*, 2; *kamadyūam*. (c) *tanvām* ?, as an adjective, viii.65.12c.

In only about four passages of the Rik does long thematic *û* become *v*. They are: x.51.2*b*, 1*c*: ix.96.21*c*: i.162.20*b*. The fourth passage is a late one. In ix.96.21*c*, possibly the shorter grammatical form has been ousted by the longer: read *krî'dañ camûor â' viça punânâ* (text *camvôr . . pûyâmâna*)?. Perhaps, too, we ought to accept Grassmann's suggestion and read *indrâya tanûam mame*, viii.65.12, text *indrât pâri*. Cf. p. 379 top.

Transitions to B. The case-ending of *devî'-m* was apparently *m* (p. 366 end). After this analogy were formed: *kuhû'm*, AV. vii.47.1; *vadhû'm*, ix.3.24: x.1.1; *tanû'm*, xviii.1.13,14 (the Rik, x.10.12, has the older form, *tanûam*); *asû'm*, VS. xxx.14. The Rik has no such forms in *-û'm*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The general ending is added directly to the stem: 1. *krátuâ*, iv.28.3: vii.21.6.

2. The stem-final becomes *v*: in the oxytones *paraçvâ'*, i.130.4, and *paçvâ'*, twice; in *krátvâ*, 57; and in *çivâ*.

Transition to the *n*-declension. This occurs in 108 forms (from 31 stems): as, *krátunâ*.

The stems are: *ançû*; *aktû*, 2; *anâçû*; *abandhû*; *indu*; *urû*; *rjû*; *rtû*, 8; *ketû*, 9; *krátu*, 12; *çetû*; *jishnû*; *tridhâ'tu*; *drû*, 5; *dhûmaketu*; *dhṛshnû*; *paçû*; *bhânû*, 24; *mānu*; *manyû*, 4; *ripû*; *vagnû*, 2; *vahatû*; *vâçû*, 7; *vibhîndû*; *vishnu*, 4; *vṛ'shapsu*; *sâdhû*, 2; *sucetû*, 7; *stanayitnû*; *snû*, or *n*, 4.

Since *snû* and *drû* are apparently monosyllables, we might expect the accentuation *snunâ'*, *snubhîs*, *snushû*, *drunâ'* (cf. *dhî-nâ'm*); but in reality these words are accented as if from the dissyllabic stems *sâ'nu*, *dâ'ru*, of which they are the shortened forms. Compare *tmân-â* (p. 341 end), *tmâne*, *tmâni* (for *âtmanâ*, or *ât*, etc.); *yâ'ne*, *yâ'nas* (for *yâvane*, -as); *çûn-as* (for *çûân-as*); *sâ'r-as* (for *sûar-as*); but *strî-bhîs*.

If *sucetûnam â'*, ix.65.30, stands for *sucetunâ â'* (the *m* being introduced to avoid hiatus, Gr. 1531), the case is parallel to that in vii.7.2 (p. 348 end). But cf. p. 404 med.

Transition from C: *mayobhûnâ*, iii.16.6.

C. Here belong: *vibhûâ*; *manôjûvâ*; *senâjûvâ*; *suâbhûvâ*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. Here belong: 1. *mehatnuâ'* (stem *-nû'*, on account of accent); *âdhenûâ*; *çârûâ*, 5; *susârtuâ*; *hânûâ*; *ishûâ*, AV. v.5.4; *hânûâ*, vi.56.3. 2. *panvâ'* (stem *-nû'*); *cikîtvâ*, AV. vii.52.2; *mâdhvâ*, RV., 2; *ishvâ*, AV. x.1.27.

Transition to B: (from C) *dravitnuâ'*, viii.81.15 (stem *-nû'*, x.49.9). See p. 404 top.

Six oxytone stems in *û* have instrumentals in *-u-y-â'*, with adverbial displacement of accent: *anushthuyâ'*; *amuyâ'*, 7; *âçuyâ'*, 2; *dhṛshnuyâ'*, 15; *raghuyâ'*; *sâdhuyâ'*, 6; similarly *mîthuyâ'* from *mîthu*. Cf. p. 358 top.

C. Here belong: 1. *bhuvâ'*, 2; *punarbhûvâ*, AV. ix.5.28. 2. *ljuhûâ*, 6; *2juhûâ*, 4; *tanûâ*, adj.; *tanûâ*, subst., 27; *vadhûâ*; in true Atharvan verses, *tanûâ*, 4; *tanvâ*, 5; *râjjûâ* (iii.11.8). 3. *duvasyûvâ*.

In x.24.1, *sómam piba camā' sutām, camā'* may be I.s., for -ā'ā: 'Drink with the cup the soma pressed' (cf. *tapani'*, p. 381 end); or L.s.: 'Drink the pressed soma in the cup.'

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. Here belongs: 2. *mādhvā*, 17; AV. v.27.2,3: vi.12.3.

Possibly the crystallized case-form *jātā'*- (with -*bharman*, -*sthira*) is an instrumental, for *jātuā*, like *matī*, p. 380; but *jātū* may be an adv. accusative. *Suhāntū* (2) might mean 'with easy blow,' but see A.d.m. and A.p.n.

Transition to the *n*-declension. This occurs with 39 forms (from 15 stems): as, *urīnā*. The stems are: *urū*; *krdhū*; *ghṛtāsnū*; *jarā'yu*; *tūtā*; *trshū*; *tridhātū*; *dā'nu*; *dhrshnū*, 3; *purārū*; *prthū*; *mādhū*, 16; *vāsu*, 7; *sā'nu*, 2; *svādū*.

Transition from C: *supīnā*, AV. xii.2.11.

C. Here belong: *mayobhūvā*; (*pavītrenā*) *supū'ā*, VS. i.3.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belongs: 1. *sahāsra-bāhu-e*, viii.45.26. 2. *krátve*, 11; *pācve* (n.?), 3; *çīcve*; *krátve*, AV. vi.19.2: xviii.2.23.

3. The stem-final is usually gunated and -e added: thus, *āyó-e*, *āyāve*. This form occurs 231 times (from 66 stems). In i.61.1, the metre seems to demand *ādhrigāve*, text -āve.

The stems are: *añcū*; *aketū*; *aktū*; *ādhrigu*; *abhidyū*; *avasyū*, 2; *avishyū*; *āyū*, 10; *ācū*; *īndū*, 4; *īyakshū*; *udanyū*; *rjū*, 2; *r'shibandhu*; *kakārdū*; *kavatnū*; *kārū*, 6; *kṛtnū*; *ketū*, 2; *krātu*; *kshīprā-īshu*; *grhū*; *cēru*; *jantū*; *jīrādānu*; *tāku*; *tr'tsu*; *dāsyū*, 9; *dushtārītū*; *dhrshnū*, 3; *panasyū*; *parimanyū*; *pacū*; *pāyū*; *piyatnū*; *pūrū*, 5; *pedū*, 5; *prāyajyu*; *bubhrū*, 2; *bahū*; *bhānū*, 2; *bhīrū*; *bhr'gu*, 2; *manasyū*; *mānu*, 36; *mamyū*, 12; *mādayitnū*; *mṛtyū*, 6; *yājyu*, 5; *yādu*; *ripū*, 7; *vacasyū*, 3; *vāsu*, 3; *vāyū*, 23; *vishnu*, 13; *vidū*, 2; *velasū*; *çātru*; *çāntānu*, 3; *çayū*, 7; *çicu*, 2; *sudā'nu*, 6; *subāndhu*; *sūnū*, 10; *svābhānu*, 2; *hatnū*.

C. Here belong: *vibhūe*; *vishnāpūe*; *subhūe*; and, *abhībhūe*; *viçvābhūe*; *sacābhūe*.

DATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. Here belong: *jīvā'tave*, 7; *dhenūe*; *çārave*, 5.

C. Here belongs *tanūe*, RV., 18; AV., 6; -vè, AV., 7.

Transitions to B. The Rik has only *īshvai* (from A), vi.75.15. The Atharvan has 5 cases, all from C: *vadhvāi*, xiv.2.9; *çvagrūāi*, 26; *vadhvāi*, 73. In *agrūvai*, vi.60.1,3, the *ū* is "split" after *gr* (but not in *çvagrūai* after *çr*), and so the accent is not shifted to the ending. Cf. *punar-bhūvās*, G.s.f.

DATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. Here belong: *pācve*?, 3; *urāve*; *viçvā'yave*.

Transitions to the *n*-declension: *mādhune*; *kaçīpune*, AV. vi.138.5.

C. For the remaining cases of the *n*. there are no examples.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. 1. Here belongs only *pítváś*, vi.20.4.

2. The usual form in *-os* occurs 33 times (from 22 stems). It is a question whether *cákshoh* (*sá'ryo ajáyata*), x.90.13, is not a mere ungrammatical (or contracted ?) form like *vidyót*. The sense of AV.ii.35.4 suggests the reading *cákshos*, text *cákshus*. See V.s.m., and stems in *t* radical, Ab.s.f.

The stems are: *anhú*, 7; *adhvaryú*; *ṛtú*; *kṛcá'nu*, ix.77.2; *kshīpanú*; *gántu*; *cáksu*?; *tanayitnú*; *tanyatú*; *devayú*; *dyú*, 2; *ninitśú*; *pāru*; *manyú*, 2; *mṛtyú*; *ṛirīkshú*; *vanishthú*; *váyú*, 2; *vishnu*, 3; *cātru-cātru*; *sindhū*; *snú*.

C. There is no example.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. Here belong only: *dhános*, 3; *vástos*, 3.

C. Here belong: 1. *bhuvás*; *asúsúas*, AV. x.10.23. 2. *kadrávas*; *tanúus*, 3: AV., 2.

Transition to B: (from A) *ishvás*, x.18.14: AV. v.14.12.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. 2. *Mádhvas* occurs twice as Ab. 3. The usual form occurs 7 times: *urós*, 4; *sá'nos*; *svádós*, 2.

Transitions to the *n*-declension: *mádhunas*; *sá'nunas*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong: 1. perhaps *dhr̥shnu-ás*, x.22.3; *ripu-ás*, iv.3.13; *pīpru-as* (*pīparos*?), vi.20.7; and *vishnu-as*, viii.31.10. In all these instances the text has *-os*. 2. *paçvás*, 11 (and AV. vii.14.3); *pítváś*, 8; *krátvas*, 2; *mádhvas*, 12; *vásvas*, 5; *çigvas*.

3. The usual form in *-os* occurs 199 times (from 71 stems). For *áyós*, iii.54.2 (m.f.), and x.105.4,9 (m.), see p. 344, 361. For *çikshóh*, iii.19.3, BR. read *çiksho*.

The stems are: *ançú*, 8; *aktú*, 11, and see f.; *agháyú*, 5; *ádevayú*; *adhvaryú*; *anácú*; *dnrju*; *áyajyu*; *dyú*, 22; *ácú*; *indu*, 2; *urú*; *ṛtáyú*, 2; *kárú*, 7; *kṛcá'nu*, i.155.2; *krátu*; *cá'ru*, 2; *jantú*, 4; *jishnú*, 4; *tanyatú*; *tāpu*; *trasádasyu*; *dákshu*; *dásyu*, 8; *didhishú*; *devābandhu*; *dyú*, 4; *drú* (*drós* and *drūnas*); *dhákshu*; *dhr̥shnú*; *dhenú*, 2; *ninitśú*, 2; *patāru*; *paraçú*; *páyú*; *pīpru*, 3; *pīyú*, 2; *purukshú*, 4; *prabhú'vasu*; *práyajyu*; *prayiyu*; *bahú*; *mádhu*; *mandáyú*, 2; *mānu*, 8; *manyú*, 3; *māñçatú*; *mṛtyú*, 2; *yáyyu*; *yú*, 2; *yuvákú*; *ripú*; *vadh-áyú*; *vayiyu*; *vásu*; *váyú*, 10; *vīçváyú*; *vishnu*, 14; *vīdú*; *çamíyú*; *cātru*, 5; *çayú*, i.119.6; *çicu*; *sáhyu*; *sádhú*, 2; *sindhū*, 13; *subāndhu*; *sushtú*; *sūnú*, 2; *suarbhānu*, 2; *hetú*.

Transition from C: *prabhós*, ix.86.5.

Transitions to the *n*-declension: *cā'rūnas* (*mádasya*), viii.5.14; *drūnas*, or *n*, i.161.1.

In x.46.7, (*agnáyo*) *vanarshádo váyávo ná sómáh*, Gr. (Wb.) sees an old genitive of *Váyú*, assuming that the form in *-av-as* existed along with *-os* and *-u-as*. This is unlikely. When we have the stronger stem, we have as a rule the weaker ending, and *vice versa*; but cf. *giráyas*, Ab., p. 383, and *ṛadhádrayas*, p. 384 end. His conjecture *ṛshthá'h*, 'hastening as the winds,' Ueb. ii.516, does not satisfy. BR., 'inviting,' see N.p.m.

C. Here belong: *çambhúvas* (*rásasya*?), i.105.3; *sacābhúvas*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. Here belong: *aktós*, v.30.13; *dhenós*, 3; *vástos*, 19; *vástos-vastos*, 2; *sárdyos*; *síndhos*, 2.

C. Here belong: 1. *bhuvás*; *bhuvas-pate*, AV. x.5.45bis. 2. *agrúvas*, 2; *tanúas*, 14; *vadhúas*, 3; AV., *tanúas*, 10; *-vās*, 4; *vadhúas*, 2. 3. *śundhyúvas*.

Transitions to B: (from A) *suṽā'stvás*; *urvāruā's* (BR., *-ā'*), AV. vi.14.2:—(from C) *punarbhūv-ās*, AV. i.27.2 (for accent, cf. *agrūv-ai*); *prḍākuā's*, x.4.5; *ḡvaḡruā's*, xiv.1.44.

GENITIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. Here belong: 1. *mādhvas*, 2. 2. *mādhvas*, 65 (and AV. vii.3.1); *vāsvas*, 38.

3. The forms without *n* (36, from 8 stems) are more numerous than those with *n* (27, from 4 stems). They are: *urós*; *kshós*; *cā'ros*, 2; *mādhos*, 13; *vāsos*, 8; *vā'stos*, 7; *sādhós*; *svādós*, 3; from the AV., *gúggulos* (xix.38.1); *mādhos*, 6; *vāsos*, 3; *vāsorvasos*, 2; *vā'stos*.

Transitions to the *n*-declension: *cā'runas*, 4; *dā'nunas*, 3; *mādhunas*, 9; *vāsunas*, 11.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

For the genetic relations of the several forms, see p. 387.

A. 1. The stem-final is gunated and the ending is added. There are 8 such forms (from 7 stems): *ānavi*, viii.10.5; *trasādasyavi*, Vāl. i.10; *dāsyavi*, viii.6.14; *druhyāvi*, viii.10.5; *pāvīravī*, Vāl. 3.9; *vīshnavi*, viii.3.8; 12.16; *sūndavi*, viii.57.15.

2. The ending is dropped and the preceding diphthong receives a second increment. There are 30 such forms (from 19 stems): *aktaū*; *āyaū*, 2; *uraū*, 5; *krātau*; *coraū*; *druhyaū*; *pārḡau*; *paḡau*; *pūshtigau*; *pūtākratau*; *pāraū*; *mānaū*, 2; *manaū*, 3; *mītādrau*; *yādaū*, 3; *ḡrūshtigau*; *síndhau*, 2; *sētau*; *svāraū*.

The form with *n* is hardly authenticated in the m. In AV. xx.133.3, *rājḡjuni* seems a probable reading, MSS. *rajanī*.

If there is any certain instance of a L. in *-ā*, it must be regarded as due to false analogy. Gr., *Ueb.* ii.512, sees such a form in ix.97.37, *ṛtā'* (for *ṛtaū*) *matīnā'm*, 'at the time of prayer.' In AV. xx.131.12, the MSS. have *vanishthā'*, ed. *-aū*.

C. There is no example.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. The Rik has only *síndhau*, viii.20.25; the AV., *sārau*, v.25.1; *sā'tau*, i.11.1.

C. 1. The VS. has *bhruvī*, xix.91. 2. Of the organic form there are 4 examples: *camūi*; *tanūi*, 3; and with metrical lengthening, 3: *tanūi*, p. 3, ii.16.2: x.65.7; 66.9. The metre makes against the lengthening in iv.6.6, *tanūi* (Prāt. viii.7), p. 3. Cf. stems in *r* (*ar*), L.s.

The ending is sometimes dropped (or absorbed by the thematic vowel?). As a L., *camā'* occurs 6 times; but in x.24.1, it may be instr. In x.183.2, *svā'yām tanā' r'tvie* (L.s.n.) *nā'dhamāndm*, *tanā'* is L.s.: 'praying (for a son) in thy body at the time of the ṛtū.' The -ā of the L. is *pragrhya*, Prāt. i.28. Cf. p. 389, B3. See note to Ath. Prāt. i.74: *tanā'?*, iv.25.5; *māyā'*, xviii.4.4.

Transitions to B. The Rik has only *ṣvaṣruā'm*. The AV. has *rājīvām*, vi.121.2. We ought probably to read *tanvā'm*: in i.18.3, ed. -vā'm; in xix.61.1, *tanū's tanvā'm me bhaved antāh*, MSS. -vā', ed. -vā'm; and in 37.2, text -vām; and, possibly, *tanvā'm* in 55.3, text -vām. Cf. note to Ath. Prāt. iii.60. Similarly Roth has proposed for Rik v.58.7, *suā'm*, text *suām*.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. 1. Here belongs *sā'nav-i*. It occurs 9 times.

1. (a) Furthermore, the combination *sā'no āvye* occurs 7 times, and *sā'no avyāye* once. In the last instance the -o occupies the ninth place of a *jagati*; in the other 7, the ninth of a *trishtubh*. The *pada* has -au in all 8 instances, and the Prāt., ii.35, implies that the natural *samhitā*-form would be -āv. The metre shows this view to be wrong, since the -o has the value of a short syllable (āv). I think that the -i or -y of the ending has been simply dropped before a vowel, in order to avoid a cacophony (e. g., *sā'nāv-y avyāye*); and that this has happened without the usual compensatory lengthening, in order to give the requisite cadence - - - - or - - - -.

2. Here belong 28 forms (from 8 stems): *arajjāū*; *urāū*, 6; *ghr'shau*; *pr̥thau*; *mādhau*, 4; *vāsau*, 3; *vīdātū*, 2; *sā'nau*, 10; AV. xi.5.12; *mādhau*, AV. ix.1.16, 17.

Transition from C: (*ṣārman*) *udbhāū*, VS. xv.1.

Transitions to the *n*-declension: *ā'yuni*, 3; *sā'nuni*, i.155.1 (Gr., -āni); *dā'runi*, AV. vi.121.2. Jacobi, *Ind. Stud.* xiv.144, cites *amuni*=*amushmin*; cf. *vīṣve*=*vīṣvasmin*, iv.16.19, and Gr. 1299.

Bollensen, *Orient und Occ.* ii.481, proposes for vii.39.3 *urā'n-tārikshe*, i. e. *urā' an*, text *urāū*. Cf. masc.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The stem-final is gunated: thus, *adhvaryo*. The form occurs 508 times (from 58 stems). Examples are: *indo*, 144; *dhṛshno*, 19; *vaso*, 62; *vāyo*, 43; *vishno*, 17; *ṣatakrato*, 47; *sukrato*, 22; *sāno*, 36; further, *adhriḡo*, 3; *sishno*. BR. read *ṣiksho*, iii.19.3; see G.s.m.

In AV. iv.7.3, *dushtano* is possibly a transition-form (for *dushtanū*), since the Vedic stem is properly *dushtanā'*.

The form *saṣasracaksho* (V.s.m.f., for -shuś), AV. iv.20.5: xix.35.3, may be regarded as analogous to *bhadra-ṣoce*, etc., p. 390 top. We might assume a shorter stem in -u equivalent to that in -us; but it is hardly necessary or warrantable here.

C. There is no example.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. Here belong: *adrisáno*; *durhano*; *prthushto*; *sindho*, 3; *subáho*; *svabháno*. For *sahsracaksho* (*oshadhe*), AV. iv.20.5, see m.

C. Here belong: *júhu*, AV. xviii.4.6; *vadhu*, xiv.1.58; 2.7; *bábhru*, vi.139.3.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. The Atharvan has *guggulu*, xix.38.2.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. The genesis of the form is uncertain (p. 390). It ends in *-á*: as, *adhvaryá'*. It occurs 196 times (from 69 stems). Examples are: *indrāváyá'*, 22; *indrāvishná'*, 13; *báhá'*, 20; *vājīnīvasá'*, 21; *vṛ'shanvasá'*, 18; further, *ásmṛta-dhrá'*; *ṛta-psá'*; *ghṛta-sná'* (*-sánu*), 2; *vanar-gá'*; *vṛdhasná'*.

Transitions from *Ā*: *puru-bhá'*; *ṣambhá'*; *ṣambhá'*; *paribhá'*, AV. iv.25.1. In this passage, the restoration of the older and longer grammatical form (the true *C*-form) is strongly favored by the metre: thus, *yaú víṣvasya paribhúvā babbhúvāthuh*.

The form appears in both texts with shortened final: *jīgatnú'* (*mītrá'várunā*), vii.65.1; *suhántū* (*cūmurīm dhūnīm ca*), 19.4. Cf. p. 390 ad fin., 391, B.

C. Here belong: *manojúvā*; *mayobhúvā*, 7; *ṣambhúvā*, 2, and vi.60.14; *sacábhúvā*, 6. Almost all are at the end of a *páda*. Here I would put *ghṛta-sná'vā*, iii.6.6. See p. 402 top.

Transitions from *Ā*: *madháyuvā*, 2; *paçvā*, x.106.3 (p. 403 med.).

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

A. Here belong: *jīgatnú'*; *dhenú'*, 4, and see p. 406; *sábandhā*, 2; *samánábandhā*; *hánā*, 4.

C. Here belong: 1. *srúvā*; *apījívā*; *punarbhúvā*; *ṣambhúvā*; *sacábhúvā*; *viçvāṣambhuvā*, i.160.4; vi.70.6; i.160.1 (*-uvā ṛ-*, a graphic peculiarity; cf. p. 342 and Prât. ii.11):—*bhrúvau*, Çat. Br. xiv.9.4°. 2. *camúā*; *tanúā*, 6. Form as well as sense forbid our taking *tanú'* (*ṛ'tvie*) as dual, x.183.2. See L.s.f.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A. The Rik has only *urvī'*, 3. As these cases are "weak" in the neuter, the accent of an oxytone stem (*urá*) is shifted to the vocalic ending (*urv-ī'*, not *urv-ī̃*); cf. *paçv-ás*, *pítv-ás*, etc. The VS. has *já'nu-n-ī*, xx.8.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. Instrumentals: *anāmayitnúbhyām*, *nṛbáhúbhyām*; *báhúbhyām*, 6. Dative: *báhúbhyām*. Ablatives: *úrúbhyām*; *báhúbhyām*.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

A. C. The Rik has no example. VS. xxv.1, *bhrá-bhyá'm*.

Transition from *A* to *C*: *hánúbhyām*, p. ũ, TS. vii.3.16'.

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, AND ABLATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A. C. The Rik has no example. The AV. has *jā'nubhyām*, ix.8.21: x.2.3.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. Genitives: *ūruós*; *bāhuós*, v.16.2. Locatives: *bāhuós*, 21 times; *ūrvós*, AV. xix.60.2; *bāhvós*, vii.56.6: xix.60.1 (ed. -vós!).

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

A. Locatives: *hānuos*, i.52.6: AV. x.2.8; -vos, x.2.7.

C. Locatives: 1. *bhruvós*, iv.38.7: Çat. Br. xii.9.1⁵. 2. *camúos*, 13 times, and ix.69.5; 108.10; *camvós*, ix.96.21 (but see p. 408 top).

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A. C. The Rik has no example. AV. x.2.2, *jā'nu-n-os*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. 1. Here belongs only *mādhv-as*, ix.89.3. 2. As a dissyllable, *mādhv-as* occurs thrice. I would add *Vibhv-as*—taking it as vocative of the stem *Vibhū*—, at the beginning of iv.34.9d (Gr., N.p. of stem *vibhā*) and vii.48.1d, and *Vibhv-as*, iv.36.3. Cf. *Vibhū'-bhis*, vii.48.2. The stem *Vibhū'* is perhaps differentiated as a proper name from *vibhā'*; cf. p. 368 top.

3. The stem-final is gunated: as, *aktāv-as*. The form occurs 737 times (from 161 stems). Examples are (N. and V.): *adhvaryāvas*, 27; *āyāvas*, 27; *ācāvas*, 30; *indavas*, 67; *ṛbhāvas*, 57; *kārāvas*, 18; *vāsavas*, 46; *sindhavas*, 34; *sudānavas*, 42; further, *ā-psavas*, and compounds of 2-*psu*, -*dyu*; *āgravas*; *mitā-jñavas*, 2; *mitā-dravas*, 2; *harī-dravas* (p. 401). Here belong probably: *vāyāvas* (*sómās*), x.46.7 (cf. p. 410 end); and *vāyāva ind-*, p. -ve, vii.92.4. See BR., 3vāyā.

Transitions from C: *dhī-jāvas*; *vibhāvas*.

In i.64.3 and viii.22.11, we have from the stem *ādhi-gu* (-*gu*=*gam*), *ādhi-gāvas*. The *ā* is perhaps due to the false analogy of *gāvas*, 'cows.' Cf. D.s.m., p. 409.

C. Here belong: *vibhūvas*; *subhūvas*, 8; *surācūvas*; and, *ā-duvas*; *ābhūvas*, i.64.6: ix.65.27; *u-hūvas*; *jūvas*, 2; *nabhojūvas*; *paribhūvas*; *manojūvas*, 3; *mayobhūvas*, 6; *raghu-drūvas*, 3 (see p. 402); *vayojūvas*; *çambhūvas*; *sadyojūvas*; *suābhūvas*, 4; *mayobhūvas*, AV. vii.60.2; *subhūvas*, iv.8.7.

Transitions from A: *āprāyūvas*; *madhyāyūvas*; *mitrāyūvas*; *çramayūvas*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. 2. Here belong: *mādhv-as*, Vâl. 2.4; *çatakratv-as*. 3. Here belong 89 forms (from 15 stems). They are: *anagrāvas*; *ābhī-ravas*; *areṇāvas*; *īshavas*, 3; *tridhātavas*; *dhenāvas*, 49; *pārçavas*, 2; *vāsūyāvas*, 3; *çāravas*; *sanishyāvas*, 2; *sāmānyavas*; *sindhavas*, 21; *suketāvas*; *svāsetavas*; *hānavas*.

C. Here belong: 1. *ghṛta-pú-as*; *navasúas*, iv.34.5; *prasúas*, 3; *vibhúas*; *subhúas*:—*ávas*; *dhíjúvas*; *punarbhúvas*; *bhúvas*; *mayobhúvas*, 3; *mītra-krúvas* (p. 402, 1.3.). 2. (a) *jatúas*, AV. ix.2.22; *prḍákúas*, AV. i.27.1; *agrúvas*, RV., 6; (b) *camúas*; *ljuhúas*, 4; *2juhúas*; *tunúas*, 2, and x.108.6; *tanvās*, x.51.4 (p. 408 top); *tanúas*, AV., 4, and xiii.3.16 (-ā's, Ath. Prāt. iii.65, note, end). 3. *didhishúas*; *pārayishnúas*; *mumukshúas*; *sādayitnúas*; *prajānús*, AV. ix.4.6:—*ānhoyúvas*; *apasyúvas*, 4 times, and ix.2.7; *avasyúvas*; *áyúvas*; *udanyúvas*; *panasyúvas*; *prtanáyúvas*; *prṇanáyúvas*; *bibhatsúvas*; *makhasyúvas*; *mandrayúvas*; *mahíyúvas*, 2; *sanáyúvas*; *caranyúvas* (*gíras*), AV. xx.48.1.

In iv.41.8, *yuvayá's* is certainly to be taken with *dhíyo*, N., and must therefore stand for *-yá'-as*—an instance of vowel-absorption common with the *i*-stems (p. 366). Cf. A.p.m., *já's*. In x.70.5, we have *rathayúr* (*dvā'ras*); and in vii.2.5, *rathayúr* (*dúras*). Gr. reads in both places *-yá's* (*-yá'-as*); but BR., vi.257, consider it a syntactical peculiarity.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. 1. The *saṁhitā* has -ā; the *pāda*, -ū. Here belong 28 forms (from 4 stems): *urū'*; *purū'*, 24: as, iii.51.5, *purū' vásāni prthivī' bibharti*; *vasā*, 2; *vidū'* (*utā*, Prāt. ii.37), i.39.2.

2. Both texts have -ū. Here belong 48 forms (from 12 stems): *urū*, 2; *rjú*, iv.1.17: vii.60.2; *cāru* (*ānnā*), i.61.7; *tridhā'tu*; *purū*, 11 times (at end of *pāda*), and vi.44.14; *bahū*; *mādhū*, 2, and iv.43.5; *vasū*, 19 times (12 at end of *pāda*); *vidū*, 3; *sānu*, vi.61.2; viii.85.2 (*trīh saptā*); *sudā'tu*; *suhāntu*, vii.30.2 (but see I.s.n.). In vii.60.3, (*dhā māni*) *yuvā'kuh s-*, the *visarga* seems out of place. See p. 406 top. I believe the AV. has only one such form, *purū'*, xix.49.4.

Transition from C: (*bheshajā'*) *mayobhū*, ii.33.13b end.

Transitions to the *n*-declension. Here belong 127 forms (from 14 stems): *cārāni*; *tridhā'tāni*, 2; *dā'nāni*; *dārāni*; *devayā'ni*; *purā'ni*, 39; *prthā'ni*, 2; *bahā'ni*; *mādhāni*, 9; *yuvayā'ni*; *vasāni*, 66; *vā'stāni*; *gmācrāni*; *sā'nāni*; from the AV., *anā'ni*, xi.7.10; *alā'bāni*, xv.134.1; *ācrāni*, xv.19.13.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. 1. Here belong: *pagv-ās*, 4; *kr'tv-as*, 2 (BR., s.v.).

2. The usual *pāda*-form in -ān occurs 189 times (from 43 stems). (a) If it is formed by a vowel in the interior of a *pāda*, the *saṁhitā* shows the phonetic representative, -āñr, of the original case-form -āns. See p. 346, 394, and Prāt. iv.29. This occurs before *a*- 31 times: as, *rtā'ñr ānu*, i.49.3 (but *kārā'n* | *āhna*, iv.16.3); before *ā*-, viii.57.16; before *iva*, vi.46.14; 57.6: x.68.2; before *i*-, i.45.1: ix.97.17; before *u*-, v.31.13; 42.15: x.83.6; before *r*-, x.2.1; before *o*-, vii.5.6; before *e*- (at the end of the *pāda*, Prāt. iv.30), vi.18.3a; and even before *y*- (both cases are covered by the Prāt., iv.29), i.63.4: v.42.15. Total, 45. (b) It occurs in the interior of a

pāda: in 36 instances, before consonants, unchanged; furthermore, once as -*ūñc*, before *ca*, in i.100.18; as -*ūñ*, before *ca*, i.72.6; as -*āñ*, before *j*, v.14.4; as -*ūñ* (*ch*-), before *c*, i.100.18: Vāl. 7.3. (c) It occurs at the end of a *pāda*: as -*ūñ*, before *c*, i.174.6; as -*āñ*, before *j*, vi.44.17: x.180.1; and unchanged in the remaining 100 instances. For the Atharvan usage and statistics, see note to Prāt. ii.29.

The stems are: *aktú*, 9; *akratú*; *ádācu*; *ádevayu*, 2; *abhí'cu*; *áyajyu*, 2; *áçú*, 3; *ásánnishu*; *índu*; *rtú*, 8; *rbhú*; *kárú*, 2; *krátu*; *tántu*; *dásyu*, 27; *dá'nu*; *diú*, 25; *durhrnáyú*; *nabhanú*; *paraçú*; *paçú*, 5; *prtánáyú*, 3; *prtanyú*, 4; *práyajyu*; *bándhu*; *babhrú*; *bahú*, 2; *mítréru*; *yájyu*; *yuvanyú*; *vagnú*; *vanú*; *vará'hu*; *vásu*, 3; *váyú*; *venú*; *velasú*; *çátru*, 43; *çimyu*; *síndhu*, 23; *sudá'nu*; *sánú*; *suabhíçú*.

Transition from C: *mayobhū'n*, i.84.16=AV. xviii.1.6.

C. Here belong: *ánābhūvas*; *mayobhūvas*.

In ii.14.3, *índram sómair órnuta já'r ná vástraiñ*, we have probably an A.p.m., for *jú-as*. Cf. *yuvayá's*, p. 415, and see BR. iii.128.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. 1. Here belongs: *múdhv-as*, i.181.6: iii.31.16.

2. Here belong: *ishús*; *ghrtá-snús*, ii.27.1, cf. C; *dhenú's*, 4; *váreniakratús*, in a *khíla* to x.9; *ishús*, AV. xi.6.9.

In x.35.2, (*māti'ñ*) *síndhūn*, we have a masculine form with the signification of a feminine. In x.111.9, *etá's*, f., refers to *síndhūn jagrasānā'n*.

C. Here belong: 1. *prasúas*, 3; *vibhúas*; *ābhúas*; *āhúvas*; *ghrta-snúvas*, i.16.2; *dúvas*, 2 (see also *dúvas*, Gr. 617); *bhúvas*; *mayobhúvas*; *sanájúvas*. 2. *tanúas*, 19 times, and v.15.3 (Sây., *svás tanús*); *nabhanúas*; *vadhúas*; (from the AV., *tanúas*, 4; -*vás*, 1; *badhúas*, viii.6.14); *agrúvas*. 3. *abhidipsúas*; *dravit-núas*; *vipanyúas*; *gundhyúvas*.

It seems necessary to pronounce *tanvās* as a dissyllable in i.162.20 and x.51.2; see p. 408. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.58, conjectures with some doubt *viçvò* (as A.p.f. of a stem *viçá'*, 'nest') for *viçvo*, ii.38.8. Although I do not know of any other occurrence of such a stem, it seems to me a perfectly warrantable formation from the root *viç*.

For *rathayá's* (*dúras*), vii.2.5, text -*ús*, see p. 415.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. The ending is added directly to the stem: as, *ançú-bhis*. The form occurs 210 times (from 50 stems). Moreover, *Vibhū'-bhis* occurs vii.48.2. It might be regarded as a transition-form; but see p. 414 med. The long *ū* (Prāt. vii.2) of *makshā'-bhis*, p. ū, viii.26.6, is due to the metre. BR. take the word as an adv. instr. Sây. says: *çighragamanair açvaiñ*. For the accent of *snū-bhis*, cf. *s[ā']nu-bhis*, vii.88.3, and see p. 408 med. The AV. has *vanar-gúbhis*, iv.36.7.

The stems are: *ançú*, 3; *aktú*, 17; *adhvaryú*, 8; *apasýú*; *áprayu*; *abhidyu*, 3; *abhí'cu*; *arajjú*; *arenú*; *avasyú*; *áyú*, 4; *árujatnú*; *áçú*, 12; *índu*, 11; *urú*; *rtáyú*,

3; *ṛtú*, 15; *ṛbhú*, 6; *krātu*, 11; *gátú*; *jantú*, 2; *jigyú*; *tántu*; *táru*; *tr'tsu*; *tváyú*; *dyú*, 19; *devayú*; *namasyú*; *páyú*, 12; *prushitápsu*, 2; *báhú*, 4; *bhánú*, 1; *bhírú*; *bhr'gu*; *maksháyú*; *manyú*; *mitájñu*, 2; *vacasyú*; *vásu*, 24; *váyú*, 4; *vipanyú*, 2; *sanishyú*; *saranyú*, 2; *sádñu*, 2; *sindhu*, 5; *sudd'nu*; *suyántu*; *sñu*, 5.

C. Here belongs *ābhū'bhīs*, 2. For *makshā'bhīs*, see above.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL FEMININE.

A. Here belong: *ēkadhenubhis*; *tridhā'tubhis*; *dhenū'bhīs*, 5.

C. Here belong: *sva-pū'-bhīs*; *1juhū'bhīs*; *2juhū'bhīs*, 2; *tan-ū'bhīs*, 9; AV., 4.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL NEUTER.

A. Here belong: *arenū'bhīs*, vi.62.6; *bahū'bhīs*; *vāsubhis*, 3; *sumāntubhis* (*stotrais*, Śāy.), i.129.7; *jarā'yubhis*, AV. i.27.1; *bahū'bhīs*, vii.26.8.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belong 18 forms (from 11 stems): *aṣatrū'bhīyas*; *ṛbhū'bhīyas*; *guṇgū'bhīyas*; *tr'tsubhīyas*, 2; *dācābhīcubhīyas*; *dāsyubhīyas*, iv.38.1; *paṣū'bhīyas*; *pārū'bhīyas*, 2; *bahū'bhīyas*, 3; *vāsubhīyas*, 2; *sindhū'bhīyas*, 3; from the AV., *paṣū'bhīyas*, 2; *bahū'bhīyas*, 2.

DATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. The Rik has no example. The AV. has *īshubhīyas*, iii.27.1-6; *dhenū'bhīyas*, vi.59.1.

C. Here belongs *tanū'bhīyas*, x.158.4 (Gr., *-bhīyas*); AV., i.13.2; 26.4.

DATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A.C. There is no example.

ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belong: *aktū'bhīyas*; *jatrū'bhīyas*, viii.1.12 (see Gr. 548); *dāsyubhīyas*, x.48.2; *bahū'bhīyas*; *bhr'gubhīyas*; from the AV., *jīghatsū'bhīyas*, viii.2.20; *dāsyubhīyas*, ii.14.5; *bhr'gubhīyas*?, xix.39.5; *mṛtyū'bhīyas*, xiii.4.46; *sābandhubhīyas*, viii.2.26.

ABLATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. Here belong: *dhānubhīyas*; *sīndhubhīyas*, 3.

ABLATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A.C. There is no example.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. So far as I know, the Veda shows no certain exception to the rule that oxytone stems belonging to A shift the accent to the ending in the G.p.: thus, *babhrānā'm*, m. On the other hand, the thematic final of words belonging to C retains the accent: thus, *babhrā'nām*, f. The accent of the *i* and *ī*-stems is quite analogous. From the A-stem *kavī*, m., we have *kavīnā'm*; but from the C-stem *krīmī*, f. (m., *krīmī*), we have *krīmī'nām*, AV. v.23.13. See pp. 397-9.

Oxytones. The Rik has 24 forms (from 12 stems). 1. *ṛtūnā'm*; *ṛbhūnā'm*, 2; *ṛshūnā'm*; *carūnā'm*; *devayūnā'm*; *pitūnā'm*; *prācūnā'm*; *babhrūnā'm*; *bahūnā'm*, 3; *yātūnā'm*. The AV. has: *ṛtūnā'm*, xv.6.6: xvi.8.17; *ṛbhūnā'm*, ix.1.13; *carūnā'm*, xviii.4.53; *devayūnā'm*, viii.9.13; *paçūnā'm*, 24 times: as, ii.28.3; *yātūnā'm*, v.29.8,9. The VS. has *stāyūnā'm*, xvi.21. For *aghāyū'nām*, AV. i.20.2, a possible exception to the rule, see G.p.f., C.

2. The following words occur at the end of a catalectic *pāda* of 7 syllables, where Gr. reads *-āam*: *ṛbhūnā'm*; *ṛshūnā'm*, 3; *pitūnā'm*; *purūnā'm*, i.5.2; 36.1: v.74.7: vi.45.29; *ripānā'm*; further, *ṛshūnā'm*, at the end of the *trishṭubh-pāda*, i.127.10f.

3. In no case is resolution certainly necessary.

Barytones. There are 23 forms (from 11 stems). 1. *abhīkra-tūnām*; *abhī'cūnām*; *ahyārshūnām*; *tr'tsūnām*, 2; *bhr'gūnām*; *mānūnām*; *vāsūnām*, 5; *çātrūnām*, 2; *sīndhūnām*, 6; *svārūnām*. The AV. has: *dāsyūnām*, iii.10.12: viii.8.5,7: x.6.20; *phīārūnām*, xi.2.21; *vāsūnām*, ix.1.4; *çātrūnām*, iii.19.2: v.20.4: vi.65.2; *sābandhūnām*, xv.8.3.

2. At the end of a *pāda* of 7 syllables occurs *krātūnām*, Gr., *-āam*. 3. Resolution seems necessary in *sīndhūnāam*, ix.15.5.

C. Here belong: *yātujū'nām*, iv.4.5: x.116.5; *jōgūvām*.

GENITIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. Oxytones. 1. The Rik has no example. The AV. has *dhenūnā'm*, iv.27.3. 2. No example. 3. Resolution is necessary in *dhenūnāam*, RV., 3.

Barytones. 1. Here belongs *sīndhūnām*, 5. 3. Resolution is necessary in *sīndhūnāam*, i.46.8.9.

C. Here belong: 1. *pārvasū'nām*. 2. *tanū'nām*, 12; *tanū'nām* (Gr., *-āam*), v.67.5: vi.48.2; *vadhū'nām* (Gr., *-āam*), viii.19.36; *tanū'naam*, ii.23.8. 3. *babhrū'nām*, x.97.1; *bībhat-sū'nām*, x.124.9. If we judge *aghāyū'nām*, AV. i.20.2, by its accent, it is a feminine from the stem *aghāyā'* (m., *aghāyū'*), and may mean malicious beings of that sex. If it be taken as a masculine (for *aghāyūnā'm*), it is an exception, and the only one, to the rule in regard to the shift of accent.

GENITIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. Oxytone. For *purūnā'm*, i.5.2, see masc.

Barytones. 1. Here belong: *mādhūnām*, 6; *yā'cūnām*; *vāsū'nām*, 25, and AV. iv.26.1,2: vii.79.3. 2. At the end of a catalectic *pāda* of 7 syllables, where Gr. reads *-āam*, stand: *mādhū'nām*; *vāsū'nām*, i.127.7: viii.31.14: ix.58.2: Vāl. 3.5; and at the end of a *pāda* of 11 syllables (where Gr. reads *-āam*, 12), *vāsū'nām*, vii.16.2; 32.5. 3. Resolution is necessary in *vāsūnāam*, i.7.9; 128.5: ix.108.13: x.50.7; 74.1.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belong 17 forms (from 10 stems): *aktūshu*; *ānushu*; *āçūshu*; *druhyūshu*; *pūrūshu*, 2; *bāhūshu*, 3; *yādushu*; *viçvā-*

bhānushu, 2; *śātrushu*; *sīndhushu*, 4. The AV. has: *paçūshu*, 6; *vībandhushu*; the VS., *snūshu*, xvii.14.

C. Here belong: *ābhā'shu*; *purubhā'shu*.

LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. Here belong: *vāstushu*; *sīndhushu*, viii.24.27.

Transition from C: (*vikshū*) *āyū'shu*, i.58.3. We should expect *āyū'shu*; cf. *āyūvas*, ii.5.5. The *ū* is perhaps metrically shortened, as eleventh syllable in a *pāda* of 12.

C. Here belong: 1. *prasū'shu*, twice. 2. *camū'shu*, 13; *tanū'shu*, 20, and AV. xix.20.3. 3. *babhrā'shu*.

LOCATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. Here belong: *urū'shu*; *çmāçrushu*; *sā'nushu*, 2, and AV. x.4.14; *vā'stushu*, xii.5.49.

STEMS IN R OR AR.

In the words of which this section treats, the distinctions between "strong" and "weak" stems come for the first time prominently and unequivocally into notice. The stem *dātār*, 'giver,' makes its A.s., *dātār-am*, from a fuller ("strong") stem, *dātār*; but its L.s., *dātār-i*, is formed by adding the ending *-i* to the simple ("weak") stem, *dātār*. The cases which exhibit this fuller form of the stem are called, in general, "strong," and are, for the masculine and feminine, the N. and A.s., the N.A.V.d., and the N.V.p.; the others are called "weak." This strengthening of the stem does not extend to all words included here, and they may therefore be divided into two classes (A and B), according as they have *ār* or *ār* in the strong cases: thus, *mātār*, 'measurer' (A.s., *mātāram*), may be called an A-stem; and *mātār*, 'mother' (A.s., *mātāram*), a B-stem.

A. This category embraces 150 or more stems, formed by the derivative suffix *tar*, which are used as *nomina agentis*, or as participles. In general, the former are oxytone, and the latter accent the radical syllable. Lindner, p. 72, is of the opinion that the difference was originally a purely formal one, and that this formal distinction was afterwards extended and utilized as the expression of a functional difference. Here also we may put the stem *stār* or *tār*, 'a star,' although it is properly a radical. It occurs in the N., *tāras*, and L., *str'bhīs*.

B. This class is a small, but important one. It includes a number of words of relationship—substantives and their adjective compounds. The masculine stems are: the compounds of *mātār*, 'mother,' with *ādri-*, *ihēha-*, *gō-*, *pr'çnī-*, *saptā-*, *sīndhu-*; *trimātār*, *dvimātār*, *sammātār*, *sumātār*; *jāmātār*, *vijāmātār*; *devār*; (*nāptār*, 'descendant,' supplies its strong cases from a different stem, *nāpāt*; but cf. *nāptārem*, Yaçna lxxi.23); *pitār*, *dākshapitār*, *mātārā-pitār*; *bhrātār* [*saptāvasar*]. The feminine stems are:

duhitár; nánāndar; abhrátár; mātár, saptāmātár, sammātár, sindhumātár [svásar, saptásvasar]. For *nár*, see N.p.m.

C. There are only seven stems included in this section which are not formed by the derivative suffix *tar*. They are: *ushár; devár; nánāndar; nár, súarnar; svásar, saptásvasar*. Of these, *ushár, nár, súarnar*, and *svásar* have peculiar declensional forms: *usr-ás* (G., A.), *-ā'm* (L.); *nár-e, -as* (G.s.), *nar-ā'm; súarnar-e; svásar-ām* (G.p.).

Among the weak cases, moreover, there are certain changes of stem which require a descriptive notice. The stems treated in this section—like those in *i* and *ī*, and *u* and *ū*—have a final that lies on the border-land between vowel and consonant. If we consider them chiefly in the light of the related languages, we must entitle the section “stems in *tar* and *ar*,” but this declension exhibits peculiarities so specifically Indian, that I have followed the usual method, and given it a place with the declension of stems whose suffixes end in vowels (p. 327).

From a comparative point of view, we say that the stem of *dātár-i* is *dātár*, and that in *dātr'-bhīs* we have a peculiar weakening thereof; but if we compare

	<i>agnibhyām</i>	<i>-ibhīs</i>	<i>-ibhyas</i>	<i>-ishu,</i>
with	<i>dātr'-bhyām</i>	<i>-tr'bhīs</i>	<i>-tr'bhias</i>	<i>-tr'shu,</i>
and	<i>agne</i>	<i>agné-s</i>	<i>*agnáy-i</i>	<i>agnáy-e</i>
	<i>sá'no</i>	<i>sá'no-s</i>	<i>sá'nav-i</i>	<i>sá'nav-e,</i>
with	<i>dā'tar</i>	<i>*dātár-s</i>	<i>dātár-i</i>	<i>*dātár-e,</i>

we see that, as far as the Sanskrit is concerned, *agní* and *sá'nu* stand on the same phonetic level—not with *dātár*, but with *dātr'*; and that, taking *dātr'* as stem, we have in *dātár-i* a peculiar strengthening (guna) thereof. Likewise the lengthenings in the A. and G.p. are quite analogous (*agní'n, -īnā'm—dātár'n, -tēnā'm*). Further, the analogy of *úrmi-ā'* and *-agni-ós* would lead us to assume, for the period of separate Indian development, the forms *dātr-ā'* and *dātr-ós* (not *dātár-ā, dātár-ós*). In the Rik, the G. and L.d. forms are trisyllabic in every instance but one, and may be pronounced *pī-tr-ós* (Gr., *pitarós*), etc.

In Sanskrit it is the rule that the *ā* of thematic *tār* falls out in the D.s. (e. g., *dātré*, for *dātāre*), and remains in the L.s. In the Rik, the metre does not give evidence of a single form like *dātāre*; but in x.85.46, the text has *nánāndarī* where the metre demands *-dri* (A.V., *-dus*), and, on the other hand, *usrī*, v.53.14, where the metre demands *ushári*.

In the weak cases, accordingly, the stem appears in four forms: *tr, tē, tūr*, and [*ū*(*ā*), i. e.] *tr*. The fourth form, *dāt(ū')re*, becomes by syncope *dātré*, and the resultant is thus similar to that of the first form *dātrā'* (from *dātr-ā'*).

There are a few instances in which the distinctions between A and B are ignored; but they are too few to be classed as transition-forms. The most important irregularities are those of the stem *svásar*, ‘sister,’ and its compounds. Although a word of relationship, it has no B-forms whatever, but makes *svásāram, svásārā, svásāras*. Some recognize in the peculiar declension of *svásar* traces of its original character as *nomen agentis* (**sva-sā-tar*).

The instances in which A-stems have B-forms are only sporadic. We have in a *pāda* of 7 syllables, *manotā'rā rayinā'm*, viii.8.12b = i.46.2b. In iv.35.5, *śacyā hāri dhānutārāv atashā*, it is likely that the *ā* is due to the metre. The word *vasudhā'tāras*, A.V. v.27.6, is discussed in the note to the Ath. Pr. iv.45. Some authorities regarded it as a plural. This interpretation, which is favored by the sense, is not so very objectionable on account of the accent; for we may take the word as a compound of the participle *dhātár*. This occurs in Rik viii.7.35; and the compound *sāmdhātár*, viii.1.12,

implies the barytone *dhā'tar*. Otherwise, it must pass for a N.s.m. of the comparative of *vasu-dhā'*.

Except in the G.p., no forms of this declension show a *n* between stem and ending. For *str-n-as*, see N.p.

The following synopses exhibit the terminations of the inflectional forms:

NEUTER.

Singular: N.A., *-tar*?, *-tr*?, *-tur*, *-tari*; G., *-tur*; L., *-tarī*.
Plural: G., *-trām*?

MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Singular: N., *-ā*, *-āñ*, *-ār*?; A., *-āram*, *-āram*; I., *-rā*; D., *-re* (*-are*); Ab., *-ur*; G., *-ur* (*-ras*, *-aras*); L., *-ari*, *-arī* (*-ri*, *-rām*); V., *-ar*.

Dual: N.A.V., *-ārā*, *-ārā*, *-ārau*, *-ārau*; D., *-ṛbhyām*; G.L., *-ros*, *-ṛos*.

Plural: N.V., *-āras*, *-āras*; A.m., *-ṛñ*, *-ṛñg*, *-ṛñr*, *-ṛñh* (*-aras*?); A.f., *-ṛs* (*-ras*); I., *-ṛbhis*; D.Ab., *-ṛbhyas*; G., *-ṛñām*, *-ṛñāam*, *-ṛñām*, *-ṛñāam* (*-arām*, *-araam*, *-rām*), *-ṛñ*?; L., *-ṛshu*.

The forms in parentheses pertain only to the stems *ushār*, *nār*, *sūarnar*, and *svāsar*.

The following peculiarities are seen in the accent of the forms of oxytone stems. It is shifted to the ending in the I.s. and G.L.d. (*pitrá'*, *mâtros*—for *pitṛ-ā'*, *mâtṛ-ós*—p. 420), and in the G.p. (*pitṛñā'm*). It is also shifted to the ending when the final syllable of the stem loses its character as a distinct syllable by syncopation; as, *lâtré*, *usrí* (for *ushār-i*). Compare the accent of the stems in *i* and *u*, pp. 375 and 405.

Contrary to the general rule that monosyllabic stems shift the accent to the ending in the oblique cases (e. g., *bhī'*, *bhū'*), we have: *nār-e*, *-as*, *-i*; *nr'-bhis*, *-bhyas*, *-shu* (but *nar-ā'm*); *str'bhis*; and in like manner, *gāv-ā*, *-e*, *-i*, *-ām*; *gó-bhis*, *-bhyas*, *-shu*. The stem *naú* follows the rule (*nāv-ās*, *-i*; *nau-bhis*).

This declension pertains almost exclusively to masculines and feminines; and this is to be expected, since the words in *tar* are the names or epithets of persons or personified objects (Lindner, p. 72). The explicit paradigms of the grammarians (cf. *bahusvas'ñi*) have little or no application to the Veda. Least of all should elaborate arguments be based upon facts with regard to the forms of the neuter.

NEUTER STEMS IN TAR.

The Rigveda, however, appears to have a few forms (perhaps 17, at most), from neuter stems in *tar*. Since they are so few and sporadic, it seems advisable to give them all together here. The stems are: *dhartár*, 'prop, support'; *dhmâtár*, 'smeltery, smithy'; *sthâtár*, the opposite of *jágat*; and *vidhartár*, used as an infinitive, 'to hold (out)', 'to mete out.'

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

In the first place we should notice the fact alluded to on p. 343 (cf. p. 377 end, 412 end, and 390, and Gr., *Wb.* 1603), that in cases of extremely infrequent occurrence there appears to be a corresponding uncertainty as regards the form. It would seem that linguistic usage was to that extent still unsettled and indeterminate. For the N.A.s., the Veda shows at least two, and perhaps four attempts to make case-forms.

1. The termination that we should expect *a priori* is *-tár*. The nearest approach to this is in vi.49.6, *sátyaṣrutah kavayo yásya gírbhír jágata* (p. -*tah*) *sthátar jágad á' kṛṇudhvam*, 'At whose call ye, O truth-hearing wise ones, [are] coming, i. e.) come, (to him) grant ye that which remaineth steadfast and that which moveth,' i. e., make him master of all things. The word *sthátar*, however, has no accent. Gr. reads *-úr*, and BR. pronounce the passage corrupt.

2. The form of the paradigms ends in *-tṛ'*; as, *kartṛ'*. BR. suggest the reading *sthātṛ'* for the passage *paṣū'nī ca sthātṛ'nī carátham ca páhi*, i.72.6, and, as I think, with good reason; since all masculine forms (except this) come from the barytone stem *sthátar*. Cf. Müller's note to Rik Pr. iv.32.

3. As a phonetic representative of *sthátár* or *sthātṛ'*, we have *sthátúr*, p. -*úh*, in the phrase *sthátúc carátham*, a loosely formulized expression for 'all beings.' It occurs as N. in i.58.5, *sthátúc carátham bhayate patatrínah*, where construction and meaning are clear. In i.68.1, it is A.s. In i.70.7, *várdhān yām pārvī'h kshapó vírúpā sthátúc ca rátham*, the plural *várdhān* may be construed *ad sensum* with the subject *sthátúc carátham* (cf. *sám árata*, p. 373 top): 'Whom through many nights and mornings (*kshapó vírúpās*, as A.p.f.) all beings worship.' BR. refer the word *sthátúr* for these three passages to a stem *sthátúr*, n.

4. As for the form *-tári*, it certainly stands in the text, and in such syntactical relations as do not well admit of a locative, but render its interpretation as nominative or accusative pretty certain. To this may be added the probability that it is a phonetic representative of the organic form in *-tar* or *-tr*. According to the Prâtiçakhyas, namely, the vowel *ṛ* has a *r* in it, and the *r* is in the middle. Thus the Rik Pr. says: *repho 'sty ṛkāre . . . madhye sah*, xiii.14. Weber interprets the corresponding rule of the Vāj. Pr., iv.145, so that $r = \frac{1}{2}a + \frac{1}{2}r + \frac{1}{2}a$, and he compares the *ṛ* with the Zend *ērē*. The sound that precedes the *r*, as well as that which follows it, is probably the obscure (*samvṛta*) *a*, the neutral vowel of the English words *orgān* (*ā*), *būt* (*ū*). See the notes to Ath. Pr. i.36,37. Now I think that the diaskeuasts have taken account of this dissyllabic pronunciation of *ṛ* in four instances (all at the end of a *pāda*), and have written it *ari*.

In the first, *sá ṛnácíd ṛnayá bráhmaṇas pátir druho hantá' mahá ṛtásya dhartári*, ii.23.17, the construction demands a nominative in apposition with *hantá'*—'the support of mighty truth' (or 'right'). In ix.86.42, an accusative is certain syntactically, whatever the exegetical difficulties may be; Gr. translates *antár iyate | nárā ca ṣáṇsam dáiviam ca dhartári* thus: 'Goeth between (both, the praise of men and the support of the gods,

i. e.) earth and heaven.' In ix.47.4, *svayám kavir vidhartári víprāya rátanam ichati*, the sense demands an infinitive, and that rather in an accusative than a locative relation. I translate: 'The Wise One himself desires to mete out treasures to the singer.' Likewise in viii.59.2, *vidhartári hástāya vájrah prāti dhāyi darcatāh*: 'The wondrous thunderbolt was put in (Indra's) hand, to wield it.'

DATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

No example. In i.164.15, *sthātré*, which Sāy. takes as dative of *sthātúr*, is L.s.n. of *sthātrá*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

The only example is the word *sthātúr*, which occurs i.159.3: ii.31.5: iv.53.6: vi.50.7: x.63.8: and vii.60.2 (*viçvasya sthātúr jágataç ca gopā'h*).

LOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

The only example is found in v.9.5, with lengthened final as antepenultimate of a *pāda* of 8 syllables, *çiçite dhimātári yathā*, p. -r̥.

GENITIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

In i.70.3, the text has *gárbhaç ca sthātá'm gárbhaç caráthām*. BR. suggest *sthātrá'm*. *Sthātrá'm* is to *sthātṛná'm* as *svásrá'm* is to *svásṛná'm*. See p. 430, G.p.f. Gr. refers the form to the stem *sthā'nt*, present participle of *sthā*; cf. *pá'nt-am*, *bhāt-ī*.

THE MASCULINES AND FEMININES.

The neuters being thus enumerated, we may proceed to the masculines and feminines; and since these are declined precisely alike, except in the A.p., they may be treated together.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

The form ends in -á. It occurs 973 times. Of these occurrences, 870 are masculines (from 140 stems), and 103 are feminines (from 6 stems).

Examples of the masculines are: *avitá'*, 38; *janitá'*, 26; *jaritá'*, 17; *trátá'*, 13; *tváshtá'*, 45; *datá'*, 13; *dhartá'*, 13; *netá'*, 13; *sánitá'*, 22; *savitá'*, 107; *stotá'*, 12; *hótá'*, 158; further, *pítá'*, 85; *bhrátá'*, 10; *trimátá'*; *dvimátá'*, 4; *saptásvasá'*; *hatábhṛatá'*, *hatámátá'*, *hatásvasá'*, AV. ii.32.4.

The feminines are: *abhrátá'*; *duhitá'*, 29; *mátá'*, 63; *saptásvasá'*; *sínidhumátá'*; *svásá'*, 8.

The analogy of the related languages indicates that this final -á stands for -ár. This in turn must have been developed out of an original form -ar-s (cf. *átar-s*, Yagna, lxii.7, etc.). The steps of this development are traced by Curtius, *Studien*, ii.169.

Grassmann, in the preface to his *Wb.*, p. vii., observes that crasis, as shown by the metre, always takes place between final -a or -á and an initial r-, when concurrent in the interior of a *pāda*, except as stated below, and that it results in ar: thus, *indra sōmam píbu ṛtūná*, i.15.1; *yác cid dhī vām purá r'shaya*, viii.8.6, p. *purá'* (Prāt. ii.11). Crasis does not take place, i. e., hiatus ensues, (1) when the con-

current vowels are separated by the cæsura: as in iv.23.7c; (2) when the *ṛ*- is followed by a double consonant: as in iii.41.2a; and (3) when -a or -ā stands for -as, -ās, -e, -ai, -ān, or -ār: thus, *īndro brahmā' indra ṛ'shīh*, viii.16.7; *kāpva ṛtāsyā dhā'rayā*, viii.6.8. Accordingly, when the metre shows hiatus between -a (= -as) or -ā (= -ās) and *ṛ*-, we may assume that at the time when the hymns were reduced to written form, the endings -as and -ās had not yet lost their final *s*. In like manner, hiatus between -ā (as ending of N.s. of -*tur*) and *ṛ*- would indicate that the historical predecessor of -ā, namely, -ār, had not entirely gone out of use, or had at least left its graphical reflex in the text.

To put this matter to a thorough test, I examined every one of these 973 forms as it stands in the *samhitā*, and obtained the results here given. In the interior of a *pāda*, if the final -ā of the N.s.m. and f. is followed by a vowel, the two are almost invariably combined. Thus -ā unites with ā: as in x.4.5c; with e- to ai, in ix.73.3; with a-, very often; with i- (especially the *i* of *iva*) to e; and with u- to o: thus, *janitā'gnér janitā' sū'riasya janiténdrasya janitótā vishnōh*, ix.96.5. The form appears before a vowel with hiatus in only 16 instances: i.60.4b; 61.4b; 186.6a: iii.54.12b: (in iv.6.2c, read *bhaanūm*?) v.46.4d (*tvāshṭā utā*): vi.23.4a; 24.5d; 25.7b: vii.40.3d: viii.19.26c: x.6.1b; 49.10b: 60.7a (*ayām mātā', ayām pitā'*); 61.9c; 99.3a; 132.6a.

The form in -ā was followed by *ṛ*- in only five passages. These, along with a sixth one from the Atharvan, follow:

- ii.28.4a. *prā śm ādityō asṛjad vidhartā'ñ (ṛ-), p. -tā'*
- v.45.6. *āpa yā' mātā'ñ ṛṇutā vrajāñ gōh, p. mātā'*
- i.127.10. *jū'rñir hōtā ṛshānām, p. hōtā*
- iv.33.5. *tvāshṭā ṛbhavas tāt panayad vāco vah, p. -tā*
- v.46.1. *vidvā'n pathāh pura-etā' ṛjū neshatī, p. -tā'*
- vi.133.4. *svāsā ṛ'shānām bhātāk'r'lām babhā'va, p. svāsā.*

The metre shows that in the first three verses the concurrent vowels are to be pronounced with hiatus (-ā *ṛ*-); and that in the last three they are to be fused to *ar* and pronounced as one syllable. According to the Rik Pr., ii.11, -ā becomes -ā before *ṛ*-; and the metre—as well as the actual prescriptions of the TPr. (x.8) and Ath. Pr. (iii.46)—requires also the conversion of the *ṛ*- to *r*-. That this shortening does not take place in ii.28.4 and v.45.6 is plain evidence that the diaskeuasts took due account of the metrical value of the -tā *ṛ*- as two syllables; and their way of writing them is expressly mentioned by the Prāt., ii.31. Why have not the diaskeuasts, and after them Čaunaka, treated the third passage, which is precisely parallel, in the same way, and written *hōtāñ ṛshānā'm*? Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.212,213, q. v., is of the opinion that these hymns of Paruchepa, especially i.127 and 129, are comparatively recent productions and belong to a *later redaction*. This singular discrepancy (*hōtā ṛ*-) is, as I think, satisfactorily accounted for by this assumption, and is also a beautiful confirmation of Professor Kuhn's criticism.

Paruchepa is indeed mentioned by Čaunaka, ii 32, in connection with words occurring in i.129 and 133.

The second and third passages are the ones cited by Gr.: in them he would restore the old forms *mātā'r* and *hōtār*; and if we allow these, we may add *vidhartā'r*. Cf. Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 50, and Leskien, *Die Declination im Slavisch-litauischen und Germanischen*, p. 24.

As for the last three passages, on the other hand, it seems not unlikely that in the time of the oral tradition combinations like *dāgdhā'si* (for **dāgdhār āsi*, v.9.4) and *tvāshṭarbhavas* (for **tvāsh-tār ṛbhavas*) stood quite on a level with *svādhitīva* (for *svādhitir īva*, p. 375 end) in respect to elision and crasis, and with *avitā' rāthānām* (for -*tā'r r-*) in respect to elision.

In ix.97.38, we have *sā punānā ūpa sū're nā dhā'tóbhē aprā rōdasi vi shā āvah*, p. *dhā'tā ā' ubhé*. The combination is interesting as showing how entirely preposterous and artificial is the sandhi between two *pādas*. The *ā'* belongs of course to *pāda* b, and we must pronounce *ōbhē aprā*, etc. The graphical combination of *dhā'tā* with *ōbhē* would give *dhā'taūbhē*; but instead of this, we have *dhā'tā* first combined with *ā'* and afterwards with *ubhé*. Compare, however, Prāt. ii.31, r. 61, clxvi.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. A. The form ends in -*tāram*: as, *yātā'ram*. It occurs 168 times (from 41 stems).

Enumeration: *adhivaktā'ram*; *avasātā'ram*; *avitā'ram*, 3; *āstāram*; *āyan-tā'ram*; *ishkartā'ram*, 2; *kārtāram*; *gāntāram*, i.9.9; *cēttāram*; *jaritā'ram*, 11; *jētāram*, 3; *tarutā'ram*, 3; *trātā'ram*, 5; *tvāshṭāram*, 9; *dātā'ram*, 3; *dātāram*, iv.31.7; *dhartā'ram*, 3; *nidātā'ram*; *prañetā'ram*, viii.16.10; *netā'ram*; *pani-tā'ram*; *pavitā'ram*; *prahetā'ram*; *bodhayitā'ram*; *mandhātā'ram*; *marditā'ram*, 5; *yantā'ram*; *yāntāram*; *yātā'ram*; *rakshitā'ram*; *vanditā'ram*; *vibhaktā'ram*; *çrótāram*; *sanitā'ram*; *sameddhā'ram*, 2; *savitā'ram*, 17; *stotā'ram*, 12; *han-tā'ram*, 2; *haskartā'ram*, iv.7.3; *hētāram*; *hōtāram*, 62.

B. Here belong 57 forms (from 7 stems): *ādrimātāram*; *jā'mā-tāram*; *devāram*; *nāram*, 16; *pitāram*, 33; *bhrā'tāram*, 4; *sūn-dhumātāram*.

Feminine. A. Sole example: *svāsāram*, 5; AV. i.28.4: iii.30.3.

B. Here belong 31 forms (from 3 stems): *duhitāram*, 3; *mā-tāram*, 27; *saptāmātāram*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong: *āstrā*; *dhātrā'*; *nāptrā*, 2; *pitrā'*, 2; *savitrā'*, 2; from the AV., *āstrā*, xi.2.7; *tvāshtrā*, xii.3.33; *bhrā'trā*, v.22.12.

Feminine. Here belong: *duhitrā'*; from the AV., *mātrā'*, iii.30.2; *svāsrā*, v.22.12.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong 52 forms (from 7 stems): *jaritré*, 23; *dātré*; *nāptre*, 3; *pitré*, 9; *savitré*, 2; *stotré*, 13 (*Wb.*, col. 1774); *hōtre*; from the AV., *āstre*, vi.93.2; *kartré*, x.1.30; *kroshtré*, xi.2.2; *jaritré*, xviii.1.40; *dātré*, ix.3.12; 4.1: x.9.13-24; 10.27; *dhātré* and *vidhātré*, iii.10.10; *pitré*, i.31.4: v.11.1: vii.14.3; *rakshitré*, xii.3.55-60.

Feminine. Here belong: *duhitré*; *mātré*; *svāsre*; from the AV., *duhitré*, vi.137.1; *mātré*, i.31.4.

C-stems. Here belong: *nāre*, 5; *sūarnare*. In iii.18.1, *pitāreva*, p. *pitārā-iva*, Bollensen sees a dative, and divides thus: *pitāre va*. There is nothing improbable in the form as dative; but the sense favors decidedly the view of the *padakāra*.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong: *ástur*; *dhátúr*, 3; *pitúr*, 5; *bhrá'tur*; *vijāmátur*; *śavitúr*, 3; *hótur*, 2; from the AV., *tvásh'tur* and *dhátúr*, xi.8.9; *pitúr*, iii.25.5: vi.116.3; *bhrá'tur*, vi.116.3.

Feminine. Here belong: *duhitúr*; *mátúr*, 6; *śvásur*, 3; from the AV., *mátúr*, iii.25.5: vi.116.2,3: viii.9.5.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong 129 forms (from 24 stems): *abhi-kshattúr*; *avitúr*; *ástur*, 3; *janitúr*, 3; *jaritúr*, 19; *trátúr*, 2; *tvásh'tur*, 8; *dátúr*; *náptur*, 2; *nidhátúr*; *netúr*; *nésh'tur*; *pitúr*, 36; *bhrá'tur*, 3; *mandhátúr*; *vanditúr*; *vává'tur*, 2; *vódh'ur*; *çanitúr*; *sanitúr*; *śavitúr*, 29; *sotúr*; *stotúr*, 4; *hótur*, 6; from the AV., *utthátúr*, ix.4.14; *cettúr*, vi.73.1; *dhátúr*, ii.36.2; *trátúr*, etc.

Feminine. Here belong: *duhitúr*, 7; *mátúr*, 22; *śvásur*, 2; from AV., *nánándur*, xiv.1.44; *mátúr*, 6 times; *śvásur*, xviii.1.14.

C-stems. The full ending *-as* with the correspondingly weak theme is seen only in *usr-ás* (for *ushr'-as*, stem *ushár*), iii.58.4: vi.12.4; but the monosyllabic theme *nár* makes *nár-as*, i.121.2: v.9.7: vii.31.2.

I am unable to find any support for such a form as *pitṛ-ás*, cited by Benfey, *Gram.* p. 300, note 8. It is hard to say whether the form is to be set up as ending in *-ur* or *-us*. Schleicher, *Comp.*⁴ p. 538, §252, traces the genesis of the form thus: **pitár-as*, (*?*)*pitrás*, **pitṛ's*, *pitús*. The analogy of *vés* as compared with *ávy-as*, and of *mádho-s* as compared with *mádhu-as*, however, favors our starting with **pitár-s* (or *pitṛ'-as*; but not with *pitár-as*); cf. *nar-s*, Yç. iii.17. The series **pitár-s*, **pitár-r*, **pitṛ'-r*, *pitúr* seems to me perfectly licit and simple; but to some, in view of the analogy of the Páli *usabha*, *vusa* (= *rshabha*, *vrsha*—Kuhn, *Páli-Gr.* p. 14), the following may appear more probable: **pitár-s*, **pitṛ'-s*, *pitús*.

The Vedic *nár-as*—we should expect *núr*, for **nár-s*—is perhaps to be put on a level with *giráy-as*, p. 383, as having the fuller ending along with the stronger form of the stem. See p. 420 med.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. 1. Here belong: *netári*; *pitári*; *sotári*, 2; *vaktári*, AV. ii.1.4. For *nári*, i.85.9: viii.85.19, see p. 348 med.

2. The *sainhitā* has *-i*, and the *pāda* reads *-i*. The protraction is in every instance metrical. Here belong; *kartári*, i.139.7 (*i* is tenth syllable in a *pāda* of 12); *vaktári*, x.61.12 (eighth of 11); *dhmátári* (n., see p. 423).

In v.41.10 and vi.12.4, *etári ná çashaik*, p. *etári*, the *i* is eighth in a *pāda* of 11. Gr. takes *etári* as fem. of *etár* ('wie die Wallerin mit Liedern'); cf. *avitári*, vii.96.2, text *-trí*. The *padakāra*'s interpretation as L. rests, perhaps, on the analogy of the cases just given. I find no mention of them in the Prāt., although they are covered by the general prescriptions of viii.21,22.

Feminine. Here belong: *duhitári*, i.71.5 (*i*, being followed by a double consonant, is not lengthened, although the eighth in a *pāda* of 11 syllables); cf. p. 333; *mátári*, twice, and AV. xi.7.6.

C-stems. In x.85.46, *nánándari samrājñi bhava*, we must pronounce *nánándri*. The Atharvan gets over the difficulty by reading *nánánduh*.

Contrariwise, in v.53.14, *vrshṭvī' gám yór á'pa usrí bheshajám*, we must restore the syncopated vowel and read *ushári*.

In x.6.5, *usrá'm* seems to be an isolated case of transition to the ī-declension (series B, p. 366 end). Pronounce *ushar-á'm*.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

The form is identical with the simple stem. There are 110 m. forms (from 26 stems), and 20 f. forms (from 3 stems).

Masculine. Here belong: *avaspartar*; *avitar*; *janitar*; *jaritar*, 11; *jámatar*; *trátar*, 3; *tvashṭar*, 4; *dartar*; *doshávastar*, 3; *dhartar*; *dhátar*, 2; *netar*, 2; *neshtar*; *pranetar*, 5; *prayanitar*; *yajñahotar*; *vidhartar*; *vidhátar*; *sanitar*; *savitar*, 23; *susanitar*, 2; *sotar*; *sthátar*, 5; *hotar*, 27; further, *pítar*, 4; *bhrátar*, 6; from AV., *viçastar*, ix.5.4.

Feminine. Here belong: *duhitar*, 17; *mátar*, 2; from AV., *duhítar*, xix.47.5; *mátar*, 48.2; xii.1.63.

C-stem. In i.49.4, *ushar* (Prât. iv.13) is V.s. of *ushár*.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

The ending *-á* is used 176 times; the ending *-au*, only 10 times. The circumstances of occurrence coincide entirely with those given on p. 340, q. v.

I. The ending *-á* is used:

1. at the end of a *páda* (51 times);
2. before consonants (112 times);
3. before an initial vowel with which it is fused (11 times).
4. It is never used before vowels with hiatus.

II. The ending *-au* is used:

1. before vowels without hiatus, in the form *-áv* (8 times).

I. 1. In vii.94.3: viii.8.17: x.40.4, the following *páda* begins with *i-*; and in vi.60.9: viii.26.11: x.143.6, with *u-*. The concurrent vowels are written as fused; but are of course to be pronounced with hiatus.

3. The final *-á* coalesces with *a-* in i.110.8: x.39.3; with *á-*, in v.73.7; with *iva*, in iii.18.1; 58.2: iv.41.7: ix.18.5: x.59.1; 106.2,4; with *i-*, i.117.18.

4. In i.161.10 and x.65.10, the *samhitá* has *-á u-* in the interior of a *páda*, and the *páda* has *-au u-*. Cf. p. 341, 4a, and Rik Pr. ii.9, and Ath. Pr. iii.40.

II. 1. There are only two instances of *-au* before a consonant: viz., at the end of iii.55.11c (before *m-*), and of x.14.11a (before *c-*). iii.55 is one of the later, mystical hymns; and verse 11 of x.14 contains notions about the hounds of Yama which are entirely different from those of verse 10, and probably later. The enumerations follow:

I. Masculine. A. Here belong 31 forms (from 15 stems). They are: *avitá'rā*, 2; *asnátá'rā*; *ushtá'rā*; *gántá'rā*, 4; *coditá'rā*; *janitá'rā*; *dhartá'rā*, 3; *nicetá'rā*; *pretá'rā*; *yantá'rā*; *-yantá'rā*; *rakshitá'rā*; *çamitá'rā*; *sthátá'rā*, 2; *hótá'rā*, 10; from AV., *dhartá'rā*, vii.73.4.

B. C. Here belong 109 forms (from 9 stems). They are: *mátará-pítará*; *ihéhamátará*; *dákshapítará*; *pítará*, 23; *bhrá'tará*; *síndhumátará*; (*ubhá'!*) *mátará*, i.140.3; *nará*, 69; *nárá*, 9; finally, *manotá'rā*, 2: see p. 420 sub fin.

Feminine. A. Here belongs *svásárā*, 3.

B. Here belong 33 forms (from 3 stems). They are *duhitārā*, 2; *mātārā*, 30; *sammātārā*; from AV., *mātārā*, v.1.4.

II. Masculine. A. Here belong: *dātā'rau*; *rakshitā'rau*. The AV. has: *anushthātā'rau*, xv.4.1-6; *kshattā'rau*, iii.24.7; *gop-tā'rau*, v.30.10: xv.4.1-6.

B. C. Here belong: *pītārau*, 3; *narau*, 2; *dhānutārau*: see p. 420. The AV. has: *pītārau*, vi.120.3: xiv.2.37; *sammātārau*, xiii.2.13.

Feminine. A. Here belongs *svāsārau*, iii.55.11: AV. v.2.9.

B. Here belong: *mātārau*; from AV., *duhitārau*, vii.12.1.

INST., DAT., AND ABL. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

The only example is *pitr'bhyaṁ*, thrice, as dative.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

The form occurs 25 times (from 3 stems). It is always written *-tros* (*-sros*); but the metre shows that the word is to be pronounced as a trisyllable (*pi-tr-ós*, etc.) in every instance (except vii.3.9c), and so also in the single form from the AV. See p. 420 med.

Genitives: *pitrós*, 14; *mātrós*, iii.2.2; *pitrós*, AV. xx.34.16.

Locatives: *pitrós*, 6; *mātrós*, 3; *svāsros*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. A. Here belong 69 forms (from 40 stems).

Enumeration: *agnihotāras*; *abhiḥkshattā'ras*; *abhisvartā'ras*; *āstāras*; *upakshetā'ras*; *gāntāras*; *ceṭā'ras* (ptep.); *ceṭā'ras*; *jaritā'ras*, 10; *joshṭā'ras*; *tā'ras*; *trātā'ras*, 2; *dātā'ras*; *dhartā'ras*, 2; *dhātā'ras*; *nicetā'ras*, 2; *ninditā'ras*; *nētāras*; *nelā'ras*, 2; *nṛpātā'ras*; *panitā'ras*, 2; *pavitā'ras*; *prajñātā'ras*; *pranētā'ras*; *prāvitā'ras*; *pretā'ras*; *yantā'ras*; *yantā'ras*; *rakshitā'ras*; *vantā'ras*, 2; *vidhātā'ras*; *vijotā'ras*; *camitā'ras*; *grōtāras*; *sanitā'ras*; *sotā'ras*, 4; *stotā'ras*, 7; *sthātā'ras*; *svāritāras*; *hētāras*; *hōtāras*, 6.

In i.62.3: ii.19.1: v.33.5, the first *a* of *nāras* appears to have the value of a long syllable, as penultimate of a *trisṭubh-pāda*: thus, *nā'ras*.

B. C. Here belong 223 forms (from 9 stems). They are: *gómā-taras*; *dākshapitaras*; *nāras*, 156; *pītāras*, 48; *pr'cñimātaras*, 10; *bhrā'taras*, 4; *sīndhumātaras*; *sumātāras*; *suarnāras*. The AV. has: *devāras*, xiv.1.39; *vasudhātāras*, v.27.6 (see p. 420 end.)

Feminine. A. Here belongs *svāsāras*, 21.

B. Here belong: *abhrātāras*; *duhitāras*, 3; *mātāras*, 23; from AV., *abhrā'taras*, i.17.1; *duhitaras*, ii.14.2; *mātāras*, vi.9.3: xix.40.3; *sammātāras*, viii.7.27.

If the form *str-ṇ-as*—cited as N.p. from Jyotisham, pp. 4, 52—is authentic, it must be regarded as a form of transition to the *n*-declension; cf. *khādī-nas*, p. 393.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. The usual *pada*-form *-ṇ* occurs 65 times (from 12 stems). 1. In the interior of a *pāda*, it appears in the *saṁhitā*:

(a) as *-ṛñç* before *cy-*, x.50.4 (Prât. iv.32); as *-ṛñr* before *a-*, v.54.15 (Pr. iv.30); as *-ṛñh* before *p-*, i.121.1: viii.73.3 (Pr. iv.34); (b) as *-ṛn*, 16 times before consonants: e. g., x.64.8; 154.4; as *-ṛn*, before *a-*, i.42.5: ii.15.5; 34.14: v.50.3; before *i-*, vii.55.3; before *r-*, vi.39.5; (c) as *-ṛñ*, before *j-*, vii.3.8; and before *c-*, i.72.6 (Prât. iv.32; but see p. 422, 2). 2. At the end of a *pāda* it appears as *-ṛn* in 36 instances: e. g., v.33.1, and as *-ṛñ* before *j-* in v.15.2.

The forms are: *ástṛn*; *asnātr'n*; *jaritṛ'n*, 2; *trātṛ'n*; *dáksha-pitr'n*; *dātṛ'n*; *nṛ'n*, 42; *pitṛ'n*, 7; *pravodhṛ'n*; *stotr'n*, 3; *sthātṛ'n*; *hótṛn*, 3. The AV. has: *kartṛ'n*, x.1.14,17; *goptṛ'n*, xix.27.4; *pātṛ'n* (*a-*), iii.12.8; *pitṛ'n*, 13 times; *pitṛ'ñr* (*u-*), xviii.2.4, 23; 4.40; *pr'cnimātṛñs* (*t-*), iv.27.2.

In the A.p. the stem would have its weak form: as, *pitṛ'*; this, with the usual case-ending of vocalic stems, *-ns*, and the lengthening, gives *pitṛ'ns*. Of this organic form, the Prât., iv.30,32,34, gives four examples from the Rik, and two others taken from Fraishas (*nṛñh patibhyah* and *nṛñh pranetram*). The treatment of the form before vowels ought *a priori* to be the same as that of the forms in *-ān*, *-in*, *-ān* (p. 346, 395, 415); but in fact it is quite arbitrary, as may be seen above. See also note to Ath. Pr. ii.29.

Schleicher thought that the original form consisted of a consonantal stem with corresponding ending: as, *pitár-as*; but this seems to me unlikely for the period of separate Indian development. The metre, however, suggests the reading *nár-as* in vii.28.3, text *nṛ'n*, and x.50.4, text *nṛ'ñç*. In x.35.10b, Gr. reads *hótaras*, text *hótṛn*; but the verse may consist of 12,11,12,12.

Feminine. Here belong: *mātṛ's*, 4; *svásṛs*, 2. In x.35.2, *mātṛ'n* is declined as a masculine! Cf. i.140.3. We see the ending which belongs to consonantal stems in only one word, *usrás*, occurring thrice.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

For the remaining cases, the ending is added to the weaker form of the stem.

Masculine. Here belong 112 forms (from 14 stems). They are: *ástrbhis*; *kartr'bhis*, 3; *dhātṛ'bhis*, 3; *náptrbhis*; *partr'bhis*, 2; *pitṛ'bhis*, 9; *saptámātṛbhis*; *setṛ'bhis*; *sotr'bhis*, 7; *sótrbhis*; *hetṛ'bhis*, 2; *hótṛbhis*, 2; further, *nṛ'bhis*, 71; *str'bhis*, 8. The AV. has: *nṛ'bhis*, 2; *pitṛ'bhis*, 5; *bhrá'trbhis*, vi.4.1.

Feminine. Here belong: *mātṛ'bhis*, 6; *svásṛbhis*, 2.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong 70 forms (from 4 stems). They are: *jaritr'bhyas*, 11; *nṛ'bhyas*, 18; *pitṛ'bhyas*, 9; *stotr'bhyas*, 30. In i.110.6 and x.148.4, Gr. reads *nṛ'bhyas*; but this is not certainly necessary. The AV. has: *pitṛ'bhyas*, 17; *rakshitṛ'bhyas*, iii.27.1-6.

Feminine. Here belongs *mātṛ'bhyas*, i.95.7.

ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong: *nṛ'bhyas*, i.173.6: vii.20.5; *pitṛ'bhyas*, twice.

Feminine. Here belongs *mātṛ'bhyas*, x.1.2.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Oxytone stems in *r'*, like those in *i* and *ú* (p. 397, 417), shift the accent to the ending in the G.p. In accordance with the analogy of the *i* and *u*-stems also, the *r* should always be lengthened. It is always written as long in the Rik, except in the case of *nṛṇā'm*.

Masculine. I. The thematic *ṛ* is long. 1. Here belong: *dhātṛ-nā'm*; *pitṛ-nā'm*, 6; *stotṛ-nā'm*, 3; *hótṛ-nām* (the only barytone). The AV. has: *dātṛ-nā'm* (MSS., *dātrenā'm*; ed., *dātrānā'm*), v.24.3; *pitṛ-nā'm*, 11 times: as, ii.12.4; so TBr. ii.6.16².

2. Gr. reads -*aam* where the text has -*ām* at the end of a *pāda* of 7 syllables: *jaritṛ-nā'm*, i.30.15: iv.31.3: vii.66.3; *pitṛ-nā'm*, vi.46.12.

3. Resolution is necessary in 5 instances: *pitṛ-nāam*, viii.41.2: x.57.3; *stotṛ-nāam*, v.64.4: vi.45.29; *hótṛ-nāam*, viii.91.10.

I. a. Benfey, *Vedica*, p. 1-38, has shown clearly that in the Veda *r* designates not only the short, but also the long vowel. In iii.52.8: iv.25.4: v.30.12: vii.1.11; 19.10; 62.4: x.29.2; 99.9; 111.1, *nṛṇā'm* stands at the end of a *trishtubh-pāda*, and the syllable *nṛ* as penultimate has of course the value of a long (*nṛṇā'm*). In i.48.4: iii.16.4: v.18.5: vii.32.11: viii.55.5, *nṛṇā'm* stands at the end of a *pāda* of 7 syllables (Gr., reading -*aam*, makes 8), and must be pronounced *nṛṇā'm*; so also at the end of x.93.12b (11 syllables—Gr., -*aam*, 12).

II. The thematic *r* is short. 1. Here belongs *nṛṇā'm*, i.43.7: ii.1.1: iii.51.4: vi.65.5: vii.83.7.

3. Resolution is necessary (*nṛṇāam*) in i.77.4: vi.33.3: viii.40.2: x.29.1; 93.4; 148.4.

The AV. has *nṛṇā'm*, ii.9.2: xix.47.7. The TS. has: *udgātṛ-nā'm*, iii.2.9⁴; *dhātṛ-nā'm*, iv.7.14³ (Rik x.128.7, -*ṛ*); *netṛ-nā'm*, i.3.6¹; *pitṛ-nā'm*, i.3.6¹; 8.5² (Rik x.57.3: VS. iii.53, -*ṛ*): iii.3.5¹ (so Bhāg. P. iv.15.8); *bhrā'tṛ-nām*, ii.6.6²; so *strṇām*, Jyotisham, p. 89. See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.101.

C. The only stem which is treated as consonantal in the G.p.m. is *nár*. This makes *nar-ā'm*, 6; *nar-āam*, 10.

Ludwig, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*, p. 6, takes *nṛ'n* as a genitive in i.121.1: v.7.10: i.181.8: iii.14.4: iv.2.15: v.33.1: vi.2.11; 3.6: x.29.4: i.146.4. In the first two passages, the text is corrupt; in the last, Gr. also takes it as genitive (see *Ueb.* ii.508), and Roth thinks this interpretation possible. If genitive, it stands for *nṛ'm* (?); cf. *yáthiām*, etc., p. 353.

Feminine. Here belongs *svásṛ-nām*, i.124.9: iii.1.3, 11.

C. The only stem, not monosyllabic, to which the ending is added directly, is *svásar*—*svásr-ām*, i.65.7. I consider this a wrong formation, to which, perhaps, Parāçara was forced by the exigencies of his favorite metre. Schleicher would regard it as a relic of the older mode of formation. Cf. *usrā'm*, L.s.f., and see p. 423, G.p.n.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong: *devṛ'shu*; *nṛ'shu*, 2; *hótṛ'shu*. The AV. has *pitṛ'shu* 13 times: as, i.14.1, 3.

Feminine. Here belongs *mātr'shu*, 4.

STEMS IN AI, O, AU.

Under this head belong only five simple stems and their compounds: *rai*, *ṛdhádrai*, *brhádrai*; *gó*, *ágo*, *pr'gnigo*, *rúṣadgo*; *dyó*, *pr̥thivídyó*, *pradyó*, *vr̥sh̥tídyo*; *naú*; *gláu*. They are used only in the masculine and feminine, and between these two genders there are no declensional differences. Although the thematic vowels are not suffixal, I have nevertheless followed the traditional order, and treated these stems after those in *r*.

I. The stems *rai* (m.f.) and *rayí* (m.f.) supplement each other as follows:

N.	<i>rayis</i> , 28	<i>ráyas</i> , 20
A.	<i>rayím</i> , 180	<i>ráyás</i> , 22
I.	<i>ráyá'</i> , 39	<i>rayibhis</i> , i.64.20
D.	<i>ráyé</i> , 62	
Ab.	<i>ráyás</i> , 3	
G.	<i>ráyás</i> , 103	<i>rayínám</i> , 41.

The stem *rayí* intrudes twice on the domain of *rai* in the I.s., forming *rayyá'*, x.19.7, and *rayíná*, x.122.3.

The stem *rai* intrudes twice on the domain of *rayí*, forming *rám* as A.s. at x.111.7, and—perhaps for the sake of the metre—*ráyám* as G.p. at ix.108.13 (Gr. unnecessarily, -ádm).

In i.129.9,10, *ráyá'* seems to be trisyllabic (*ráiá'* or *rayíná'*?). In i.68.10: iv.41.10: vi.19.5, the G.s. appears with irregular accent, *ráyas*. So in vi.47.9: vii.34.22; x.140.4: Vâl. 4.10, the A.p. appears with irregular accent, unless indeed we assume that in the matter of accent the A.p. is treated as a strong case (cf. *vr't-as*, *bhíd-as*, etc.).

In the Atharvan, *ráyá'* occurs at xiv.2.36; *ráyé*, xviii.2.37; *ráyás* (sing.), 22 times.

The Rik has three forms which seem to be compounds of *rai*: *brhádrāye*, *ṛdhádrāyas*, and *ṣatárá*. The first two are referred by BR. to stems in -ri, -ri. This is possible (see p. 384, G.s.m.); but it seems to me more likely that the forms stand for -*rāye*, -*rāyas*, the *ā* being due to the metre. See p. 382, D.s.m. The word *ṣatárá*, x.106.5, we may regard as coming from the more original form of the stem (-*rā*); or, possibly, as standing for *ṣatard'*?

The noun-stem would seem to have been once identical in form with the verbal root *rā*; and we have the forms *rám*, *rā-bhyám*, *rā-bhis*. The *y* is perhaps of phonetic character (as in *devá-y-os*). The grammarians abstract the stem *ráy* or *rai* from the form *ráy-as*, by dividing it as *ráy-y-as*.

II. The stem *gó* is thus declined: *gaús*, 22; A., *gávam*, text *gám*, 6: *gám*, 34; *gávā*; *gáve*, 13; Ab., *gós*; G., *gávas*, text *gós*, 3: *gós*, 34; *gávi*, 7; *gávā*, 2: *gávau*, 4; *gávás*, 97: *gávas*, 3; A., *gávas*?, text *gás*, i.61.10: *gás*, 100 times, and 458,6; *góbhis*, 76; D., *góbhyas*, 2; G., *gávám*, 55: *gónám*, 15: *gónám* (at end of *páda* of 7 syllables—Gr., -aam), 5; *góshu*, 43.

The dissyllabic character of *gám* (= *gávam*) is clear in v.52.16, where *gám* is metrically parallel to *pr'gnim*: *gám vócantá sūrā-*

yah | *pr'ṣṇim vocanta mātāram*. So viii.4.21. BR. cite *gāvas* (*ā*!) as A.p., from TBr., etc. *Gónām* is never used except at the end of a *pāda*. See Pān. vii.1.57; *gónām*—cited by Böhtlingk, *ad loc.*, as an exception—is at the end of an *akṣharapañkti*, i.69.3c. *Gāvām* is regularly used in the interior of a *pāda* (52 times: in v.30.4, pronounce *āruām*—not *gāvām*). It is used twice at the end of *pādas* with an even number of syllables: x.166.1 (8 syll.): ix.81.1 (12 syll.). For iv.1.19c (10 syll.), Gr. suggests *gónām*; but the metre is still short (read *śūci ā'dho* [*ā'*] *atṛnan ná gónām*?).

In the AV., the metre gives no evidence of the forms *gā'vam* (A.s.), *gāvas* (G.s.), *gāvas* (A.p.); *gāvā*, *gāve*, and *gā'vā* are not found; the other forms are like those in the Rik. *Gónām* occurs xx.127.3 (end of *pāda*); *gāvām*, 11 times (interior of *pāda*).

The Rik has the compounds: *ā-gos*, G.s.m. (may come from *ā-gu*, p. 401); *pr'ṣṇigāvas* (cf. *ādhrigāvas*, p. 414), N.p.m.; *rūcadgavi*, L.s.f.

III. The stems *div* (m.), *diū* or *dyū* (m.), and *dió* or *dyó* (m.f.) supplement each other as follows:

	A. <i>dió</i> , <i>dyó</i> .	B. <i>div</i> .	C. <i>diū</i> , <i>dyū</i> .
N.	<i>dīaus</i> , 26		<i>dyaús</i> , 46
A.	<i>diá'm</i> , 12		<i>dyá'm</i> , 67
I.		<i>divá'</i> , 9	
D.		<i>divé</i> , 15	
Ab.		<i>divás</i> , 50 +	
G.		<i>divás</i> , 180 +	
L.		<i>diví</i> , 118	
V.	<i>dīaus</i> , 2	<i>dyaús</i> , 4	
N.A.V.		<i>dyá'vā</i> , 26	
N.V.		<i>dyá'vas</i> , 22	
A.			<i>dyá'n</i> , 24; <i>diá'n</i>
I.			<i>dyúbhis</i> , 19.

A. The form *dyá'm* is read by Gr. as *diá'm* in 12 passages; but this is justified only in 8 or 9. We must read i.127.2*d* as a catalectic *pāda* (*párijmánam iva dyá'm*) so as to keep the *a* of *iva* long by position. The requirements of the metre are better satisfied by *upa dyá'vam skambháthu skámbhanena*, vi.72.2c, than by *úpā diá'm*; so in i.67.5c (*tastámbha dyá'vam*), and perhaps in ii.11.15*d*. The form *dyá'm* is related to the form *dyá'vam* thus rendered probable, as *gá'm* to *gá'vam*, and perhaps as *rā'm* to *rā'yam*.

The vocative *dyaús* occurs at viii.89.12: x.59.8,9,10—of course, as a monosyllable. In vi.51.5—the only passage in the Rik where it occurs as a dissyllable—the diaskeuasts have taken due notice of the metrical value of the word, and accented it, in accordance with the general rule, on the first syllable, *dīaus*; this, of course, appears in the written text as *dyaús*, with *játya svarita*. In AV. vi.4.3, also, we have *dīaus̄ pítar yāvāya duchínā yá'* (ed. wrongly, *dyaúsh*). Compare the voc. *jyá'ke* (i. e. *jiáke*, from *jyákā*), AV. i.2.2, and *vyá'ghra* (i. e. *viághra*, from *vyághrá*), iv.3.3. The MSS. have the impossible reading *vyághra*, and the edition wrongly *vyá'ghra*. These have been pointed out by

Whitney. The circumflex is in each case perfectly regular. Quite anomalous is the dual *dyāv-ī*, iv.56.5, formed with the ending of a neuter.

The stem *dyó* intrudes on the domain of *div* twice. The Ab.s. *dyaús*, dependent on *abhíke*, i.71.8=TS. i.3.14=VS. xxxiii.11, is quite isolated. Mahídharma, *prathamā shashthiyarthe, divaḥ samīpe 'ntarikshe*. The L.s. *dyávi* occurs only 12 times in the Rik, against 118 occurrences of *diví*, and only once in the AV., where *diví* is frequent. *Dyávi-dyavi* occurs twice in the Rik. Both *dyaús* and *dyávi* are improper formations.

B. In mandalas i.-vii., *divás* occurs as Ab. 50 times and as G. 180 times; in mandalas viii.-x., Ab. and G. together, 167 times; besides, *divas* occurs with a voc. 21 times, and *divo napátá* twice. In the G.d. of *dyád'váprthivi'*, the first element appears as a singular, *divásprthivyós*, 4.

The stem *div* intrudes on the domain of *dyó* in the A.s., *divam*. This occurs 21 times (against 79 occurrences of the written *dyám*). In a decided majority of these 21 passages may be seen other marks betraying a later origin, and I regard *divam* as an improper formation. It is the regular form in the later grammar. As a N.p., *divas* (for *dyávas*), ix.108.11, is hardly admissible. Gr. takes it as N.p. in his *Wb.*; but as G.s. (accent!) in his *Ueb.*

The stem *div* intrudes on the domain of *dyú* in the A.p., *divas*, ii.3.2: iv.53.5. In iv.3.8 and v.47.1, it is doubtful whether *divás* (accent!) is an A.p. The only form of *div* that is certainly plural (*divas* at ii.3.2 and iv.53.5) is feminine.

C. The stem *dyú* intrudes on the domain of *div* and makes *dyós*, occurring as Ab.s. twice, and as G.s. 4 times. The form, however, may come from *dyó* as well as from *dyú*, just as *ágos* from *ágo* or *águ*.

In verses peculiar to the Atharvan are found the forms *divád'* and *divé*; the forms *dyaús*, *dyám* (e. g. i.2.4), *divam*, *divás*, *divás*, and *diví* occur frequently; *dyávi* occurs in xii.2.18 and in two Rik passages; *dyán* and *dyúbhís*, only in Rik verses (xviii. 1.24 and vi.31.3); *divas*, as N.p.f., xi.7.14 and xiii.3.21; *divas*, as A.p.f., iv.20.2; 34.4: xix.27.3; 32.4 (MSS. *divó*).

The following compounds occur: *prthivi'dyád'vá*; *pradyaús*, AV. xviii.2.48; in the Rik, *pradivá*; *pradivas*, Ab., 21; *pradivi*, 8; *vrshṭidyávā*, -*avas*; *sudivas*, N.p.; *áhardivi*, once, and AV. v.21.6. We find *dyád'vá* in the Rik with -*kshámā* (8), -*prthivi'* (79), and -*bhámā* (5).

Transitions to the *a*-declension. Here belong the forms *divám* (15), *divé-dive* (46), and *tridivé*, made after the analogy of the weak cases *div-ás*, etc. The AV. has *tridivám*, *sudivá*-, *divé-dive* (xx.135.10).

Adverbially recessive accent is seen in *div-á*, which occurs 25 times in the RV. and 13 times in the AV.

IV. The stem *naú*, f., is thus declined: *naús*; *návam*, 17; *návád'*, 13; G., *návás*; *návi*, 2; N.p., *ná'vas*, 4; *naubhís*, 2. The AV. has the forms: *naús*, 4; *ná'vam*, 6; N.p., *ná'vas*, v.4.5.

Transition to the *ā*-declension. From *nāv-ā'* as a stem comes the I.s. *nāváyā*, i.97.8, *sá naḥ sīndhv' iva nāváyā*. So T.ār. vi.11.2. Observe the accent.

V. The stem *glavú* has the following Vedic forms: *glavís*, AV. vi.83.3; N.p., *glāv'vas*, Ait. Br. i.25; *glavbhís*, VS. xxv.8.

SUFFIXLESS STEMS.

The following section treats of suffixless stems—those whose only element, or whose final element, is a root. First come the vocalic, and then the consonantal stems, in alphabetical order. It will be seen, however, that the root-words ending in other vowels than *ā* or *á* have been already discussed along with the stems whose suffixes end in the corresponding vowels. This course has been pursued, in order that similar forms might be brought together (as, *ahías* and *gáthánías*, p. 384), which would otherwise have been widely separated. We shall treat of the stems in *ā* and *ā* radical also together, case by case. This course has here the same practical advantage as in the treatment of the stems in *i* and *i*, *ú* and *ú*.

STEMS IN RADICAL *Ā* AND *Ā*.

If we study the mass of forms, we shall see that there are two series of declensional endings. The first—which, for convenience, we shall call series A—is that which the grammars assign to the stems in radical long *ā*, and of which *-pā'* may serve as a paradigm:

Series A: m. and f.

<i>-pā's</i>	<i>-pāú</i>	<i>-pā's*</i>
<i>-pā'm*</i>		<i>-pā's</i>
<i>-pā'*</i>	<i>-pā'bhyām*</i>	<i>-pā'bhis*</i>
<i>-pé</i>		<i>-pā'bhyas*</i>
<i>-pā's</i>	<i>-pós</i>	<i>-pā'm</i>
<i>-pí</i>		<i>-pā'su*</i>
<i>-pās</i>		<i>-pās.*</i>

Series B: m., f., and n.

The other forms coincide entirely with those of the stems ending in suffixal *ā* or *á*—*ga-tā-s*, *ga-tā'*, *ga-tā-m*, etc. The declensional series of these stems we shall designate as series B m., B f., and B n.

The Indian grammarians, as is well known, do not admit the existence of roots in short *ā*. To this view they were perhaps led by the facts that the great majority of the verbal forms actually have long *ā*, and that short *ā* at the end of compound nouns often supplants a long *ā* of the Vedā. In fact, from the Vedic texts themselves, it appears that the forms like *go-pā'm* are, in general, younger than those like *go-pā'm*.

The great bulk of all the forms from *a*-stems are either nominatives or accusatives. Of the other cases the examples are few, or even only sporadic. In the N.s.m., the Rik-forms with long *ā* are more than ten times as numerous as the Rik-forms with short *a*, and five times as numerous as the Atharvan forms with long *ā*: on the other hand, the Atharvan stems with short *a* are almost as numerous as the Atharvan stems with long *ā*, and considerably more numerous than the Rik-stems with short *a*. Moreover, the Atharvan has no masculine forms from stems in long *ā* in the oblique cases. It would seem, too, that the verses in which the forms with short *a* occur, belong, in general, to the younger parts of the Rigveda.

The later *saṁhitās*, as compared with the earlier, show a decided tendency to give up the old A-forms and use the new B-forms. Thus in place of the Rik *nāma-dhā's* (x.82.3), the Atharvan variant has *nāma-dhā's* (ii.1.3). In the Rik, we find *prathama-jā's* and *carshaṇi-prā's* (N.s.m.), and *soma-pās* (V.s.m.); in the Atharvan, *prathama-jā's* and *carshaṇi-prā's* (N.s.m.), and *soma-pā* (cf. Manu xi.149). In the Rik, we have *carma-mnā's* (N.p.m.—can also be referred to B); in the VS., *carma-mnā'm*: in the Rik, *reto-dhā's* *vṛshabhās*; in the VS., *garbha-dhā'm*.

Moreover, if we look at the later literature, we see that stems in radical *ā* generally take the place of those in radical *a*. In the Veda we have the masculine stem *suprajā'*; but in Sanskrit, *suprajā*. In contrast with the Vedic masculine A-stems *sāma-gā'*, *agra-jā'*, *ab-jā'*, *giri-jā'*, *ṛta-jñā'*, *vāso-dā'*, *paṇu-pā'*, *antariksha-prā'*, *pathi-shthā'*, we find in the later language the B-forms: *sāma-gasya*, Ait. Br. ii.22; *agra-jām*, R.; *ab-jeshu*, Manu; *giri-jāya*, Ait. Br. vii.1 end; *dharmajñām*, Manu; *vāso-dās* (see Manu i.7.229–232 for 16 compounds of *-dā*); *paṇu-pānām*, Brhat Saṁhitā, xvi.14; *antariksha-prā* (V.s.m.), T.ār. iv.7.5; *pathi-shthās* and *-shthānām*, MBh. Everywhere, the B-stems gain the upper hand. Similarly stems in *ū* supplant those in *u*, p. 403, II. Compare Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 87.

By the aid of the lists of A and B-stems and of the enumerations of A and B-forms in the following pages, a more detailed comparison of the relative age of the A and B-forms might be made.

On the other hand, we cannot doubt the existence of roots in short *a*. The facts of the related languages speak in favor of this view, and so do *a priori* considerations. Schleicher has asserted the originality of roots in short *a* (*Beiträge*, ii.92–99); and Delbrück has given a most interesting discussion of the subject in his *Verbum*, pp. 87, 88, and 94, which see. Compare also Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.202.

Gr. puts stems like *dānu-dā'* ("dānud-ā") in the same category with *véd-a*, *cód-a*, Wb. 1698. I am uncertain whether this fact is to be interpreted as a tacit denial of Delbrück's view or not.

Now since the stems in radical short *a* are declined in all respects like stems in suffixal short *a*, there arises a difficult question: Are we to assume that stems ending in radical short *a* were originally declined like those ending in suffixal short *a*, or not? Is such a form as *go-pā'm* to be regarded as a direct relic which the Vedic language has inherited from the time of Indo-European unity, or are this and similar B-forms to be regarded as instances of a wide-spread transition from the declension of the stems in radical long *ā* to that of stems in suffixal short *a*—that is, as transitions from A to B?

In regard to some verbal forms with short *a* (*ākhyāt*, *āhvāt*), Delbrück (p. 89) takes the view that they are direct relics of the pre-Vedic time ("dass die Kürze uralt überliefert sei").

In regard to the numerous forms of nominal compounds with short *ā* (*go-pā'm*, etc.), the fact that they are, in general, demonstrably younger than those of stems in radical long *ā* seems to me to point to a different theory. The existence of roots in short *ā* is to be asserted for the primitive Indo-European language; but the existence of roots in short *ā* is not to be admitted—except, perhaps, to a very small extent—for the oldest period of the Vedic language.

When I say that roots “existed” at such a period in such a form, I mean, of course, simply that they were used for, or entered into verb and noun-formations at that time in the one form or the other—for example, as *-pā* or as *-pā*.

At the beginning of the time of separate Indian development, such roots were already for the most part out of use. Upon specifically Indian ground, however, the roots which in the oldest Vedic period ended in long *ā* were gradually replaced by roots in short *ā*. That is, I consider the Vedic root-forms with short *ā* not as direct relics coming down from the time of Indo-European unity, but rather as new formations specifically Indian, which indeed coincide with the proethnic forms, but are not historically identical with them. They may therefore be properly designated as forms of transition from A to B, dating from the period of separate Indian development.

The entire identity of form in certain cases of both series did much to increase the confusion of the two series (compare p. 370 top), and thus to give eventually the upper hand to one or the other mode of declension, A or B,—here, naturally, to B, since its forms are vastly more frequent than those of A. This process of transition was the more easy, since it is in some of the most frequently occurring cases—the N.p.m., A.s.f., N.p.f.—that the forms of A and B are coincident.

For the oldest Vedic period I would therefore assume that *most* of the radical stems were A-stems like *soma-pā'*. Doubtless all the declensional forms of such radical stems belonged to series A. The N.p.m. was *somapā's*; and the N.s.m., without difference, *somapā's*. In the great majority of instances, however, a N.p.m. in *-ās* (*devā's*) corresponds to a N.s.m. in *-ās* (*devā's*); and after this analogy, the N. singular m. of the infrequent radical stems was also formed with short vowel (*somapā's*), to correspond to the N. plural m. (*somapā's*), and the forms of the two cases, N.p.m. and N.s.m., before alike, were thus differentiated. To the apprehension of the language-users, the stem became *somapā'*, and upon this a system of B-forms was developed accordingly.

So in the feminine, the A.s. *ṣṛad-dhā'm* answers properly to a N.s. *ṣṛad-dhā's* (a form of which the written text shows traces at vii.32.14—see below, N.s.f.); but since the vast majority of accusatives in *-ām* (*citṛā'm*) answer to nominatives in *-ā* (*citṛā'*), the N.s. *ṣṛad-dhā'* was formed after this analogy. In like manner we have the A.s.f. *sva-jā'm*, and correspondingly the N.s.f. *divi-jā's*; but also the N.s.f. *sana-jā'*. So in the plural we have the N.f. *vāja-dā's*; but, after the analogy of series B, the A.f. *aṣva-dā's*—not *-dā's*.

To assume the existence of roots in short *ā* simply on the basis of these compound noun-forms, when they can just as well be explained as instances of purely declensional transition to the *ā*-declension, would be a *petitio principii*. We must therefore seek for evidence of the existence of roots in *ā* for the Vedic period on the field of the verbal flexion and elsewhere.

The forms *gatā*, *hathās*, etc. were supposed to give evidence of root-forms *gā* and *hā*; but Delbrück (p. 93) has deprived this evidence of its force by explaining the forms as a purely phonetic outgrowth of **gan-tā*, **han-thās*, etc. (See also Brugman, Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* xxiv.257.) In like manner, forms like *dhāyati* and *dāyate* have been used to support the roots *dhā*, 'suck,' and *dā*, 'mete out.' Even here, Delbrück (p. 165) comes to a different conclusion respecting the first, but admits the root *dā*. Similarly the *ā* of the reduplicating presents, *pībāsi*, *tishthāsi*, etc., which Fick adduces as evidence of the original short *ā*, is shown by Delbrück (p. 105) to be due to analogy (*tuddāmi*: *tudāsi*: *pibāmi*: *pibāsi*). Again, although *pā'tis* unquestionably implies a root *pā*, yet it is an entirely pre-Vedic formation and proves nothing for the Vedic period.

After leaving out all the indecisive forms, there will probably remain some which forbid the complete exclusion of roots in *ā* from the field of truly Vedic formations. Thus in viii.81.1a, we have *pānantam ā' vo āndhasas*: why should we regard the *aa* as a mere phonetic resolution of *ā*? is not the word perhaps to be divided *pā-ant-am*?

It will require a careful, critical, and detailed investigation to determine how many of the forms apparently involving a root in *ā* really imply a root in *ā*. As a result of this determination we might be able to separate the roots for which we may assume a short *ā* in the Vedic period (as *dā*, *pā*) from those for which we may not (as *jā*), and to call the compound noun-forms from the latter (as, *a-jā's*), "transition B-forms," and those from the former (as, *madhu-pā's*), "radical B-forms." This separation, however, is not a part of my task, and I have therefore spoken of all the B-forms indiscriminately as coming from stems in "radical short *ā*," and have enumerated them together in each case under "B."

Series A is applied to masculines and feminines without distinction, and in two or three sporadic instances to neuters. The grammars, however, state that the neuters of stems in radical *ā* go according to series B n., and this is almost invariably the fact.

THE MASCULINE STEMS.

In the masculine, the forms of A and B are distinguishable for every case except the N.V.p., and the N.A.V. and I.D.Ab. d. In these cases the forms might be referred either to A-stems or to B-stems: thus *ratna-dhā's* (N.p.) may be assigned to the A-stem *ratnadhā'*, or to the B-stem *ratnadhā'* (iv.34.8). Such doubtful forms I have referred to A-stems, unless the other unambiguous forms were referable only to B. Compare the articles *pravātejā*, *madhudhā*, *raghujā*, *rayidā*, *vayodhā*, *vāyūgopa*, *svajā*, in Grassmann's *Wb.* Gr. says that stems in *ā* may form the I.p.m. in *-ābhis* or *-ais*. I think he is wrong; see I.p.m.

The general enumeration follows, and includes also the stems of many of the ambiguous feminine forms which may be referred to either A or B. Stems in brackets are from the Atharvan.

A. Stems of the A-forms.

I. (a) The stem is identical with the root: *gā'* (*gā*, 'sing'); *jā'*; *trā'*; *dā'*; [*dhā'*]; *sthā'*.

(c) The stem is a compound of a radical substantive: *parama-jyā'*.

II. (a) The stem is identical with a prepositional compound of the verbal root: *adhi-pā'*; *paras-pā'*; *ni-shthā'*; *pari-shthā'*.

(c) The stem is a compound of a feminine substantive under II. (a): *aprajā'*; *bahuprajā'*; *suprajā'*; *karmanishthā'*; *purunishthā'* (also *-ā'*); [*ānāvayā'*].

III. (a) The stem is a compound of a verbal root with a noun or adverb. The noun is most often a substantive in an accusative or locative relation (*go-pā'*, *ab-jā'*, *apsu-jā'*); but it may be an adjective or adverb in some other adverbial relation (*navā-jā'*, *su-shā'*).

(b) The stem is a compound of a word under III. (a) used substantively (*devá-gopá*).

The ensuing list embraces the compounds falling under III. (a) and (b); in it, an affixed B signifies that the stem occurs also with á, and the hyphen is used to avoid repetition of the verbal. We have the following compounds:—with the verbal

- krá' (*kar*, 'do'): *á-krá*—Gr., *á-krā*.
 - krá': *dadhi-*; *rudhi-*.
 - kshá' (cf. B): *ṛbhu-*?
 - khá' (cf. B): *bisa-*; cf. *khá*, n.
 - gá' (*gá*, 'go'—cf. B): *adhva-*, B?; *aná-*; *tamo-*; *tavá-*; *puro-*; *samana-*; *svasti-*; *agre-* (Ágv. Çr., see A.s.m.), B.
 - gvá' (cf. B): *éta-gvá*?
 - gá' (*gá*, 'sing'—cf. B): *sáma-*, B.
 - já' (cf. B): *agra-*; *adri-*; *apsu-*; *ab-*; *udanya-*, B?; *ṛta-*; *ṛte-*; *giri-*; *go-*; *tapo-*?, B; *divi-*; *divo-*; *deva-*; *dvi-*, B; *nabho-*; *nava-*; *pura-*; *pūrva-*, B; *prathama-*, B; *pravāte*, B?; *bhāreshu-*; *manushya-*; *raghu-*, B?; *vane-*; *sana-*, B; *sano-*; *saha-*; *saho-*; *sva-*, B?; *svayam-*; [*agni-*; *abhra-*; *oshadhi-*; *khala-*; *nakshatra-*; *vara-*; *vāta-*; *śakadhūma-*; *hiraṇya-*].
 - jñá': *ṛta-*; *pada-*.
 - trá': *án-agnitrá-*; *puru-trá-*; cf. p. 441 top.
 - dá' (*dá*, 'give'—cf. B): *ánaçvadá-*; *ánaçirdá-*; *abhiksha-*; *açva-*; *átma-*; *ojo-*; *go-*; *jani-*; *draviṇo-*, B; *dhana-*; *bala-*; *bhūri-*; *rabho-*; *rayi-*, B?; *vasu-*; *vastra-*; *vāja-*; *vāso-*; *sahasra-*; *saho-*; *svasti-*; *havir-*; *hiraṇya-*; [*pata-*], from VS., *prāṇa-*, B; *apāna-*; *vyāna-*; *varco-*; *varivo-*.
 - dhá' (*dhá*, 'put'—cf. B): *kiye-*; *jani-*; *dhāma-*; *dhiyam-*; *nāma-*, B; *madhu-*?, *ratna-*, B; *reto-*; *vayo-*; *varivo-*; *vipo-*; *sarva-*; [*adoma-*, B?; *yakshmo-*; *varco-*].
 - dhá' (*dhá*, 'suck'): *payo-*.
 - pá' (*pá*, 'oversee'—cf. B): *abhiçasti-*; *ṛta-*; *kula-*; *go-*, B; (*ágopá*, *áhigopá*, *índragopá*, *devágopá*, *vāyúgopá*, *sómagopá*, *sugopá*); *chardish-*; *jagat-*; *tanū-*; *nishikta-*; *paçu-*; *vrata-*; *çevadhí-*; *sti-*; [*nidhi-*; *sva-*].
 - pá' (*pá*, 'drink'—cf. B): *agre-*; *añjas-*; *ṛtu-*; (*ánrtupá*); *rdā-*; *kildā-*; *tapush-*; *payas-*; *pūrva-*; *madhu-* (cf. *madhupá* 'tama'), B; *çukrapāta-*; *çuci-*; *çṛta-*, B; *suta-*; *soma-*, B; *hari-*; *havish-*.
 - prá' (cf. B): *antariksha-*, B; *kakshia-*; *kṛṣṭi-*; *kratu-*; *carshaṇi-*, B; *jaraṇi-*; *ratha-*; *rodasi-*.
 - má'?: *carma-mná*, B.
 - yá': *ṛṇa-*; *eva-*; *jma-*; *tura-*; *deva-*; *çubham-*; [*anáva-*].
 - rá': *çata-rá*?' (text *çatrá*).
 - sá' (*san*, 'win'—cf. B): *ap-*; *açva-*; *urvará-*; *kshetrá-*; *dhana-*, B; *priya-*?, B; *vāja-*; *pata-*; *sadd-*; *sahasra-*; *uru-shá'*; *go-*, B; *nt-*; *paçu-*, B; *su-*; *suar-*.
 - shá' (cf. B): *rocana-*; [*ṛta-*] *adhvare-shá'*; *giri-*; *gharmye-*; *nare-*; *pathe-*; *parvate-*; *prithivi-*; *barkih-*; *mañhane-*; *rathe-*, B; *vakshane-*; *vandane-*; *vandhure-*; *hari-*; *harmye-*; [*añge-*; *pathi-*; *bhuvane-*; *madhyame-*; *rayi-*; *savya-*].
 - sná': *ghṛta-*.
- B. Stems of the B-forms. Compare the neuter stems, p. 441. We have the following compounds:—with the verbal (or substantive)
- kshá': *dyu-kshá'*.
 - khá': *su-khá'*.
 - gá' (*gá*, 'go'): *agre-*; *adhva-*?, *patam-*; *saṁ-*; (*ratha-saṁgá*); *su-*; *suar-*; [*a-sva-*; *áçum-*; *ṛju-*; *dur-*; *vala-*; *çitim-*].
 - gvá': *atithi-*; *éta-*?, *dāça-*, *nāva-* (accent!); *puro-gavá*.
 - gá': (*gá*, 'sing'): *sáma-gá*, ÁV.
 - grá' (*gar*, 'swallow'): *tuvi-grá*.
 - já': *a-*; *udanya-*?, *eka-*; *tapo-*; *pūrva-*; *pravāte-*?, *raghu-*?, *sákam-*; [*jarāyu-*; *tanū-*; *tapo-*; *dvi-*; *ni-*; *prathama-*; *samudra-*; *stamba-*; *sva-*]. For *adhri-ja*, see Gr.
 - iá': *á-iá*?
 - dá' (*dá*, 'give'): *andnu-*; *ddnu-*; *draviṇo-*; *rayi-*?, [*dáyá-*; *prāṇa-*].
 - dā' (*dá*, 'bind'): *ṛṇya-*.

-dhā': ratna-; [adoma-?; nāma-;] garbha-, VS.
 -pā' (pā, 'oversee'): go-; mīthā-avadyapa.
 -pā' (pā, 'drink'): madhu-; ṛta-; [soma-].
 -prā': [ākūti-; kāma-; carshaṇi-; prthivi-;] antariksha-, T. & R.
 -mlā'?: carma-mnā', VS. xxx.15.
 -sā': dhana-; priya-; paṇu-shā; go-shā'-tama.
 -sthā': apnāh-; saṁ-; go-shthā; tri-; rathe-.
 -hā' (han, 'slay'): arāti-, çatru-, and sahasra-, in the AV. Cf. neuters, p. 441 top.

According to the grammars, adjective compounds of feminine substantives in ā form the masculine stems in ā: thus, *an-avasā'* (-ās yāmas), from *avasā*; *a-ṛaddhā'* (-ā'n pañ'n); *puru-nishthā'* (-ās kavīs, v.1.6); cf. *śshthā*. In the Veda, however, this rule is by no means general: thus, we have the nominatives s.m. *bahuprajā's*, *su-prajā's*, *puru-nishthā's* (viii.2.9); and the A.s.m. *karma-nishthā'm*. This wavering between A and B corresponds to that of the feminines between the A and the B-forms. In both m. and f. the B-forms prevail in the later language (*labdha-nidrās*, Kathās. iv.9).

THE FEMININE STEMS.

In the feminine, the forms of A and B are not distinguished from each other in the A. and I.s., in the I.D.Ab.d., and in the N., I., D.Ab., L., and V.p.—that is, in some of the cases of most frequent occurrence (they are marked with an asterisk in the table on p. 434). The N.s. and A.p. are distinguishable; and in the N.s. we have mostly A-forms (with -s), and in the A.p., exclusively B-forms (with -ās—not -ās). In point of fact, therefore, there are no feminine forms belonging distinctively to A, except in the N.s. In this case, the A-forms are about equal to the B-forms in the Rik, but the B-forms belong to late hymns; in the Atharvan, the B-forms decidedly outnumber the A-forms in the N.s., as well as throughout the rest of the declension.

The declension of masculine radical ā-stems like *dānu-dā'* is the same as that of B m. (*ga-tā'*); but since the feminine of such a stem would be *dānu-dā'*, it is plain that this may be declined according either to A, or to B f. And so we have the same wavering as in the masculine: thus, *gopā's* (N.s.m.) is to *gopā's* (N.s.m.) as *devāgopās* (N.s.f.) is to *devāgopā* (N.s.f.). It seems that the radical (A-) declension went out of use for feminines at an early period.

Theoretically, all the compounds enumerated under division III. of the masculines ought to be declined in the same manner in the feminine. According to the grammars, the N.d.f. should be like the N.d.m. (*purā-jā'*); but in reality we have here B-forms (*rdū-pé*, *pārva-jé*). In discussing the masculines, we found it probable that most of the forms like *gopā's* were to be regarded as instances of transition to B m. Here, also, it seems easier to assume a general and wide-spread system of transitions to B f. Otherwise, we must assume that every fem. stem (e. g. *devāgopā-*; *rdūpā-*; *pārva-jā-*) to which we refer the B-forms (e. g. *devāgopā*, N.s.f.; *rdūpé*, *pārva-jé*, N.A.d.f.) is feminine to a masculine stem with short ā

(e. g. *devāgopā*, *ṛdāpā*, *pūrvajā*); this is possible (compare the articles *sanājā*, *jā*; *ānagnitrā*; *devāgopa*, *pā*; *nāvagva*; *sahāgopa*; *sugā*; *svāgopā*; *svajā*; *svāsasthā*); but does not seem generally warrantable. The masculine stems are themselves transition-stems, and the feminine forms can just as well be considered as direct forms of transition from A to B.

A. The A-forms. Using the same categories as above, the only feminine forms belonging distinctively and unequivocally to A are as follows:

I. *kshā*'s, *gnā*'s, and *vrā*'s (N.s.f.); *kshé*? (D.s.f.); *gmū*'s and *jmā*'s (Ab.G.s.f.).

III. *ṛtapā*'s; *ṛtejā*'s; *godhā*'s; *goshā*'s; *divijā*'s, *divojā*'s; *vanejā*'s; *ṇatasā*'s; *śahasrasā*'s; *samanagā*'s; [*kulapā*'s, *gopā*'s; *vayodhā*'s; *vasuddā*'s],—all N. s.f.

B. Stems of the B-forms and of some of the forms that may be referred either to A-stems or to B-stems.

I. (a) *kshā*'s; *kshmā*'s; *khā*'s; *gnā*'s; *jā*'s; *jyā*'s, 'bowstring,' *rā*'s; *vrā*'s; *dhya*'s.

(b) The stem shows a reduplicated form of the root: *gāṅgā*; *jāṅghā*.

II. (a) Almost all the stems of this category are substantives and none shows a form belonging distinctively to A. Gr. derives *prajā*'s, s.v., from *jan* with *prā* by the "formative suffix *ā*." It is declined indeed as if the *ā* were suffixal; but this mode of declension may be secondary, and I assume an original root-stem in *-jā*. He says, *Wb.* 675, "In *nī-dhā*', *go-dhā*', *ṇad-dhā*', *sva-dhā*', the suffix *ā* has been added, as the declension shows." But we shall see that with some of these words there are even yet traces of the A-declension. Enumeration: *abhikhyā*'s; [*apagā*'s, *durgā*'s]; *prajā*'s, [*upajā*'s, *parijā*'s]; [*prajñā*'s]; *ā-tā* (? *tan*—accent 1); *nīdrā*'s; *apadhā*'s, *durdhā*'s, *nīdhā*'s, *ṇaddhā*'s, *sva-dhā*'—root *dhā*, 'put'—, [*godhā*'s, *tirodhā*'s, *purodhā*'s]; *pratīdhā*'s, *svadhā*'s—for **su-dhā*'s, *dhā*, 'suck,' *prapā*'s; *abhibhā*'s, *kūbhā*'s, *vibhā*'s, *sabhā*'s; *pratimā*'s, *pramā*'s; *āpayā*'s; [*upavā*'s, *pravā*'s]; *āvāsā*'s; *avasthā*'s, *parishthā*'s, *pratiśthā*'s, *viśthā*'s; *prahā*'s. Several are used as adjectives: *anushthā*'s, *nishthā*'s, *parishthā*'s.

(c) Compound: *āsamjñā*, A.V.

THE NEUTER STEMS.

Aside from a few sporadic words (p. 445), the stems of the neuter forms always end in short *ā* and the forms coincide with those of series B n., page 434.

Declensionally, then, they might have been treated with the neuter *ā*-stems (pp. 331–354); and a few have been there included: thus, *antāriksham* has been counted on p. 331; and similarly *trishadhasthā*-s, N.s.m., on p. 329; and *trishadhasthā*, N.s.f., on p. 355.

This inconsistency is the less reprehensible inasmuch as the final root-element of a compound often loses its distinct character as a root: thus, in *pr-shthā*' we have as final element the root *sthā* or *sthā*; but in the compounds *vītāprshthās*, *-prshthā*, *ghṛtāprshtham* (*barhis*), the final syllable can hardly have been felt as a radical. Quite analogously the recessive accent of the English compound *fore-head* (pronounced *fō'r-ēd*) has, to the apprehension of the vulgar, entirely obscured the fact that the word has anything to do with *head*. In some words, as *upāstha*, the character of the final element is uncertain.

A complete list of the neuter stems whose final element is a simple radical belongs rather to the chapter on the formation of stems (p. 325—see Lindner, p. 26). These remarks apply also to the radical masculines in *ā* and their feminines

in *ā* (cf. articles *sanajā'*, *sv-āsa-sthā'*), so far as they have the forms of series B m., or of B f. Thus *vāyūgopās* has been counted among the 1954 forms mentioned on p. 344 end; although it ought not to be separated from *paçupā's*, etc., N.p.m. I do not think that many words properly to be classed here have been left out.

The enumeration follows :

Dyu-kshā (*antāri-ksha*); *twi-kshā*; *khā*; *dur-gā*, *su-gā*; [*asthi-jā*, *tanū-jā*, *prathama-jā*;] *rtā-jya*; *ānsu-tra* (cf. *tanu-tra*, and see Garbe, Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* xxiii. 476, 480); [*adoma-dā*;] *ararin-da* (*dā*, 'bind'); [*drā?*, *uttara-drā*, *kṛṣṇa-drā*;] *sva-dhā* (*anushvadhām*); [*vātāgopa*, *parās-pa* (VS. xxxviii.19);] *madhu-pā*; *kāma-prā*; *su-mnā*; *pr-shthā*, *bhaya-stha*, *mahā'-vailastha*, *sadhā-stha*; *karatija-hā*, *vṛtra-hā*, *satrā-hā*.

Stems whose formation is exceptional or doubtful. A few such remain. We have from the adverb *tāthā* the stem *ā-tathā*—N.s.m., *ātathās*, i.82.1. The Veda has the forms: *ā'tās*, N.p.; *ā'tāsu*; and *ā'tais*. Gr. refers them all to a m. stem *ā'tā*. Against the view of Gr. speaks the fact that all nouns substantive like *prajā'* are feminine. His dictum that series A admits both endings, *-ābhis* and *-ais*, is supported only by *dhanasais*. Perhaps, then, we ought, with BR., to refer *ā'tais* to *ā'tā*, m., and the other forms to *ā'tā*, f. The f. stem *maryā'dā* is unclear.

It does not help us in the least to refer the N.s.m. *uçānā*, with Gr., to a stem *uçānā*, since a form without *s* is no more admissible here than in the N.s.m. of the stems in *-as*, which see.

The strong forms of the word for 'path' are as follows :

in RV.,	<i>pānthās</i> , 11	in AV.,	<i>pānthās</i> , 3	<i>pānthā</i> , 1
	<i>pānthām</i> , 31		<i>pānthām</i> , 19	<i>pānthānam</i> , 1
	<i>pānthās</i> , 6			<i>pānthānas</i> , 7.

The N.s.m. *ātārthapanthās* occurs twice, and *purupānthās* (N.s.m.), once. In like manner we have *mānthām*, never *mānthānam*. Once, in a hymn of by no means antique stamp, i.100.3, we have the form *pānthāsas*. The Zend forms correspond in the main to those of the Rik :

[* <i>pañtāo</i>]	<i>pañtā</i> , 1
<i>pañtām</i> }	<i>pañtānem</i> , 1 (Vend.)
<i>pañtām</i> } 14	<i>pañtānō</i> , 2.

In i.127.6 *g* and *h* : v.10.1 and viii.57.13, Kuhn and Gr. propose to read *pānthāam*, and in viii.31.13, *pānthāās*. In each case, the word is at the end of a catalectic *pāda* of 7 syllables and the resolution is unnecessary. If, however, any one insists upon having 8 syllables, he must read, e. g., *urūm rāthāya pānthānam* (*pānthānas*), and in no case *pānthānam* (*pānthānas*). See Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.203.

In like manner the two resolutions in the Avesta (Geldner, *Metrik*, p. 17) are unnecessary, since they are at the end of catalectic *pādas* of 7 syllables (Yt. viii.7 : x.86.).

The Rik, then, does not have a single form that gives direct evidence of a stem *pānthan*. Not until we get to the Atharvan do we see any forms involving this stem unquestionably : N.p., *pānthānas*, to the exclusion of *pānthās*; A.s., *pānthānam*, once, against *pānthām*, 19 times; and N.s., *pānthā*, iv.2.3 (where *pāda* reads *pānthā*), against *pānthās*, thrice. Similarly in the Avesta, *pañtānem* occurs only once, and that in the Vd.; *pañtānō*, twice; and *pañtā* (i. e. *pañtā*, from a stem *pañtan*; stem *pañtā* would form *pañtāo*), Vd. xvi.2. The evidence, both from the Veda and the Avesta, pronounces the forms from the stem *pānthan* the younger.

Brugman, however, explains *pānthām* as arising by contraction from *pānthān-m* (*Studien*, ix.307). From *pānthām*, the language-users got by "false abstraction"

the stem *pánthā-*, and so the N.s. *pánthā-s* was formed, and the N.p., *pánthās*, i. e. **pánthā-as*. The only analogies for such contractions with *n*-stems are *mánthām* and the somewhat doubtful *mahá'm* (**mahan-m*). If this is the correct explanation, it would seem as if the stem *pánthan* ought to have left some direct traces in the Rik. The *ā* of *pañtām* does not necessarily imply a form *pañtan-m* (see Schleicher, *Comp.*⁴ §27.7). If the N.s.m. *pánthās* is an Associations-bildung based entirely on the A.s.m., we must suppose that no nominative could have been formed until after the form of the accusative was settled.

On the other hand, if we assume out and out a stem *pánth-ā* (*mánth-ā*), we cannot regard the *ā* as a derivative suffix, for that is unparalleled.

Possibly the peculiar treatment of the two stems *pánthan* and *mánthan* is to be referred to the analogy of the root-words ending in *-an* below, which exhibit parallel forms in *-ā*. I have therefore put the strong declensional forms of these stems in this chapter, assuming transition-stems *pánthā*, *mánthā*, and making *pánthā* related to *pánthan* as *-já'* to *jan*. Somewhat similar transitions are seen in *an-asthā's* (cf. *an-asthán*—N.s.m., *-ā'*) and *an-akshā'sas* (cf. *akshán*); see *an*-stems, N.A.s.n.

Without interpreting the facts, I would observe that four verbals correspond to roots with nasals: *-kshā'*, *khan*; *-gā'*, *gam*; *-já'*, *jan*; *-sā'*, *san*. See Delbrück, pp. 92, 93. The relation is perhaps similar in *-gvā* and *gvam*, *ā'-tā* and *tan*, and the words for 'earth,' *kshā'* and *kshām*. Cf. further, *gmā'*, *gám*; *jmā'*, *jám*; *kshmā'*, *kshām*; *dhmā*, *dham*; *mnā* (*su-mnā'*), *man*; *vrā* (*vrā'*), *var*; *krā* (*ā-krā*), *kar*; *gra* (*tuvi-grā*), *gar*; *trā*, *tar*; and see Curtius's *Studien*, v.197.

Several roots appear even in a triple form. We have: *go-shan-as* (*napāt*), *go-shā'-m* (*sómam*), *go-shā'-tamās*; *r̥bhu-kshán-am*, *r̥bhu-kshā'-s*, *dyu-kshā'-s* (cf. *kshā-trā*, *kshī*); *tán* (*tánā girā'*), *ā'-tā*, *ā'-tā*. To these we may add the root *han*. In the Veda occurs *vrtra-hán-am*; the Zend *vērēthra-jáo*, Yaçna lviii.14 etc., corresponding to Skt. **vrtra-hā'-s*, supports the second form *hā'*; while the Atharvan words *çatru-hā'-s*, *arāti-hā'm*, etc., supply the third. (The form *-ha* is again brought back to the consonant declension by an added *t* in *samhāt*.) The Zend *jáo* may, however, represent **jan-s* (= *-hán-s*, *-hā'*); cf. *zāo*, **zam-s*—G.s., *z(e)m-o*—, and *zyāo*, **zyam-s*. Important, finally, from an exegetical point of view is Grassmann's suggestion, *Ueb.* i.576: he assumes a stem *dā'*=*dām*, and of this he takes *dē* (v.41.1) as L.s.n., which see.

The following synopses exhibit the terminations of the inflectional forms:

SERIES A. MASCULINE.

Singular: N., *-ās*, *-aas*; A., *-ām*, *-aam*; D., *-e*; G., *-as*; V., *-ās*.
Dual: N.A.V., *-ā*, *-au*.
Plural: N.V., *-ās*, *-aas*, *-āsas*?; A., *-ās*?, *-ās*??; I., *-ābhis*, *-ais*??; Ab., *-ābhyas*; L., *-āsu*.

FEMININE.

Singular: N., *-ās*, *-ā'*; A., *-ām*, *-ā'*; I., *-ā*; D., *-e*?; Ab., *-as*; G., *-as*.
Plural: N.V., *-ās*; I., *-ābhis*; D., *-ābhyas*; L., *-āsu*.

NEUTER.

Singular: N.A., -ās; D., -e, -ai (inf.).

The terminations of series B m. and n., and of series B f., coincide—so far as they occur at all—with those given on page 329 and on page 355 respectively.

Dissyllabic forms of monosyllabic stems do not shift the accent to the ending. Only a few occur: *kshā'-su*; *jā'-su*; *gnā'-bhis*, *gnā'-su*?; *jyāyā*, *jyā'yās*; *dhyāyā*; *kshmayā'* (! an isolated exception). Compare p. 421.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The ending -s is added to the stem: as, *adri-jā'-s*. The form occurs in the Rik 273 times (from 102 stems); and in the Atharvan, 55 times (from 26 stems). In this and the following lists, Atharvan forms found only in verses quoted from the Rik have not been included. Enumeration:

I. *gā's*, 'singer,' x.127.8 (? cf. AV. xii.1.39); *jā's*, ix.93.1 (cf. *jā's-pātis*, vii.38.6); *dā's*, vi.16.26; *sthā's*, x.35.9; *dhā's*, TS. ii.6.4;—*parama-jyā's*, viii.79.1.

II. *adhi-pā's*, 2 (AV., 8); *paras-pā's*, 3; *ni-shthā's*;—*bahu-prajā's*; *su-prajā's*;—*puru-nishthā's*;—*dūrē-bhās* (? see rad. s-stems, N.s.m.);—*ān-āyā's*, AV. vii.90.3.

III. (arrangement by roots) *dadhi-krā's*, 4;—*ṛbhu-kshā's*, 14;—*bisakhā's*;—*anā-gā's*; *puro*, 3; *samana*;—*sāma-gā's*;—*adri-jā's* (see iv.40.5); *apsu*; *ab*; *ṛta*, 2; *ṛte*, 2; *go*; *divi*; *deva*; *dvi*; *nabho*; *pura*; *pūrva*; *prathamā*, 4; *manushya*; *vane*; *sana*; *sano*; *saha* (x.84.6); *saho*, 2;—*ṛta-jñā's*, 3;—*ātma-dā's*; *ojo*; *go*, 4; *draviṇo*, 9; *dhana*, 3; *bala*, 2; *bhūri* (iv.32.19, 21); *sahasra*; *saho*, 3; *suasti*, 3; *hīranya*;—*kiye-dhā's*, 2; *dhāma*; *dhiyañ*, 2; *nāma*; *ratna*, 8; *reto*, 3; *vayo*, 12; *sarva*;—*abhi-casti-pā's*, 2; *ṛta*, 2; *go*, 33; *ā-gopās*; *devā-gopās*; *soma-gopās*, 2; *sugopā's*, 2; *tanū-pā's*, 5; *paṇu*, 4; *vṛata*, 5; *cevadhi*; *sti*;—*ṛtu-pā's*, 3; *an-ṛtupās*; *pūrva-pā's*, 2; *suta*, 5; *soma*, 5; *hari*;—*antariksha-prā's*, 2; *kratu*, 2; *carshani*, 7; *rodasi*;—*ṛṇa-yā's*, 5; *eva*; *tura*; *deva*, 4;—*ap-sā's*, 3; *aṇva*, 2; *dhana*; *vāja*, 2; *cata*, 3; *sahasra*, 6; *go-shā's*, 2; *nṛ*; *su*; *suar*, 6;—*rocana-sthā's*; *adhvare-shthā's*; *giri*, 2, and ix.18.1; *manhane*; *rathe*, 2; *vandane*; *vandhure*; *hari*, 5.

Gr. proposes: *giri-shthā's*, ix.62.4; 98.9; *ghṛta-snā's*, viii.46.28; *draviṇo-dā's*, vii.16.11; viii.39.6. These resolutions are all at the end of *pādas* of 7 syllables and needless; read -ās.

We have from the Atharvan 46 forms (from 24 stems): *abhra-jā's*, i.12.3; *deva*, x.6.31; *nakshatra*, vi.110.3; *prathamā*, iv.35.1; vi.122.1; xii.1.61; *vāta*, i.12.3; *hīranya*, iv.10.1.4;—*draviṇo-dā's*, xix.3.2; xx.2.4; *dhana*, iii.16.1; *haviṛ*, v.1.7;—*reto-dhā's*, v.25.1; *vayo*, v.11.11; vii.41.2; ix.4.22; xii.3.14; xiii.2.33; xviii.4.38; xix.46.6; *varco*, ii.1.4;—*abhi-casti-pā's*, ii.13.3; iv.39.9; v.18.6; viii.7.14; xix.24.5, 6; *go*, 4 times: as, iii.8.4; *tanū*, vi.53.2; *nidhi*, xii.3.34, 41, 42; *sva*?, iii.3.1;—*soma-pā's*, viii.5.22;—*dhana-sā's*, xix.31.8;—*ṛta-sthā's*, iv.1.4; *aṅge-shthā's*, vi.14.1; *bhuvane*, ii.1.4; iv.1.2; *madhyame*, ii.6.4; iii.8.2; *savya*, viii.8.23. The VS., xvii.15, has *prāṇa-dā's*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *varco*, *varivo*. For others, see iii.16.

Resolution is necessary in RV. x.64.10, *ṛbhu-kshā's*; so AV. xix.55.3, 4, *vasu-dā's*; likewise in RV. iv.6.3c, 4c, *nava-jā's* and *pigu-pā's* (Gr., -ā's).

In no wise is a N.m. form in -ā admissible. In ii.20.2, the metre shows that we must pronounce *abhishtipā'si jānān*. If

we take *abhishtipá'* as a compound, we shall have to regard the *samhitá*-reading as an instance of elision and crasis. Perhaps it is better to read *abhishtī pási*, 'thou protectest with thy favor.' See p. 381 top, and Gr., s.v. In v.87.1-9, *evayá'marut*, Gr. suggests that *evayá'* may be a N.s.m.; but here we must enter a non liquet. For *átathás* and *pánthás*, see p. 441.

B. The Rik has 24 forms (from 14 stems); the Atharvan, 29+ forms (from 24 stems). Enumeration:

Dyu-kshás, 4;— *su-khás*;— *agre-gás*; *patam*-; *su*, 4;— *dāca-gvas*?; *náva*, 2; *puro-gavás*;— *a-jás*, 2; *adhri*-;— *anānu-dás*, 3; *dānu*-;— *apnah-sthás*; *purunishthás*. Here belongs, probably, *paçu-shás*, v.41.1; see G.s.m.

From the Atharvan, *ācūm-gás*, vi.14.3; *rju*-, i.12.1; *patam*-, vi.31.3: xiii.2.31; 3.1; *gitim*-, xi.5.12; *vala-gás*, xii.5.39 (? *Ind. Stud.* iv.304);— *eka-jás*, x.8.5 bis; *jarāyu*-, i.12.1; *ni*-, iii.5.2; *prathama*-, iv.4.5; *samudra*-, iv.10.4; *stamba*-, viii.6.5;— *dāyá-dás*, v.18.6,14; *prāna*-, iv.35.5;— *drás*, *vrás*, *nyás*, ? xi.7.3,4;— *nāma-dhás*, ii.1.3 (Rik x.82.3 has *nāma-dhás*);— *ākūti-prás*, iii.29.2; *kāma*-, xi.7.8; *carshan*-, iv.24.3; *prthiv*-, xiii.2.44;— *go-shthás*, iii.14.6, etc.;— *catru-hás*, i.29.5: vi.98.3; *sahasra*-, viii.8.17.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. The form is like that of the masculine. It occurs in the Rik 18 times (from 13 stems); and in the Atharvan, 5 times (from 4 stems). Enumeration:

I. *kshás*, 5; *vrás*, i.124.8 (Roth and Sây. as pl.); *gnás* (see p. 355). Cf. *bhás*, BR. v.234.

III. *rta-pás*; *rte-jás*; *godhás*, x.28.11; *go-shás*, x.95.3; *divi-jás*; *divo-jás*; *vane-jás*; *cata-sás*, x.95.3; 178.3; *samana-gás*; *sahasra-sás*, x.178.3.

From the Atharvan, *kula-pás*, i.14.3; *go-pás*, xii.1.57; *vayo-dhás*, ix.1.8: xviii.4.50; *vasu-dás*, xii.1.44.

(a) Although no other forms than the above show a -s in the *pada-pátha*, we do yet find the following words standing before a vowel with hiatus in the written text, and are warranted in assuming that these words originally formed their nominative with -s. They are: *jyá*, vi.75.3; *ni-drá*, viii.48.14; *pra-pá*, x.4.1; *grad-dhá*, vii.32.14; *sva-dhá*, x.129.5. To these add *prati-má*, *vi-má*, *un-má*, TS. iv.4.11^a; and see TPr. x.13, and *Ind. Stud.* xiii.104, note 2.

It was doubtless the case-ending -s that kept these words from combining with a following vowel; but since the transition of the radical feminines to the B-declension became general at an early period, the full form was felt to be, e.g., *pra-pá'* rather than *pra-pás*, and was so entered in the *pada*-text. In order to establish the apparently anomalous relation of the two *páthas* in regard to these words, it became necessary for the Prát. to mention them expressly (ii.29). If we compare the two *páthas* in regard to these nominatives, we find that the Prát. is complete and exhaustive.

If, however, we compare the written *samhitá* with the oral tradition or metrically spoken text, we find that the former is not consistent with itself. It has *svadhá'sá* at i.165.6, and *svadhá'mitá* at v.34.1, where we must pronounce *svadhá' ásid* and *svadhá' ámitá* (cf. x.129.5a). In like manner we saw at p. 356

that the metre requires hiatus between the -ā of the N.s.f. and a following vowel in 28 instances; but that the diaskeuasts and after them Çaunaka have taken cognizance of this fact only in the case of *īshā'* and *manishā'* (five instances).

Since the Prāt. cannot be convicted of incompleteness in enumerating anomalies like *prapā'*, and since it does not mention *godhā'*, x.28.11 (Müller's editions 1 and 2), *tēbhyo godhā' ayātham karshad état*, we must conclude with Aufrecht (*Rigveda*², preface, p. v) that the true *pada*-reading is *godhā'h*. This is the A-form, and in the preceding verse we find with glaring inconsistency the B-form *godhā'*; this also occurs at viii.58.9 and AV. iv.3.6 (*nimrūk te godhā' bhavatu*, p. *godhā'*, without *avagraha* and without *visarga*—cf. *Ind. Stud.* iv.305-6).

B. The form is without -s, like the N. of stems in suffixal -ā. It occurs 16 times (from 14 stems).

Enumeration: *abhi-bhā'*; *kūbhā'?*; *godhā'*, viii.58.9: x.28.10; *devāgopā*, vii.35.13 (Müller, *pāh*; why is this form any less grammatical than the N.s.m. *suprajā's?*): x.63.16; *diu-kshā'*; *pra-jā'*; *prati-mā'*; *pra-mā'*; *madhu-dhā'*; *maryā'dā'?*; *sana-jā'*; *svāgopā*; *sva-dhā'*, ix.113.10; *sva-dhā'*, i.176.2.

We have from the Atharvan 27 forms (from 9 stems): *āpa-gā* (BR. *apagā'*), i.34.5: ii.30.1: vi.8.1-3; *dur-gā'*, xii.4.23; *jā'*, v.11.10 *bis*; *upa-jā'*, xi.1.19; *ā-samjñā*, xii.5.34; *godhā'*, iv.3.6; *grad-dhā'*, 13 times: as, v.7.5; *devāgopā*, vii.20.5: xix.11.3; *pra-pā'*, iii.30.6; from TS., *mā'*, iv.3.7¹.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

According to the grammars, stems in radical long ā shorten that vowel in the neuter: thus, *ṣaṅkha-dhmā'-m*.

A. About eight forms occur with long ā, which are used as neuters, and end in -s. Since a true neuter form with masculine case-ending is quite unexampled, we are perhaps forced to the conclusion that masculine forms have here been used in default of any others save those with short ā. See p. 377 end. They are: *ṣata-sā's* (*vācas*), vii.8.6; *suprayā's* (*barhīs*—cf. vi.63.3, *suprāya-nātamam*), vii.39.2; *sthā's*, ii.27.4: x.88.4: (*jāgac ca*) i.80.14; *indra-jā'h soma-jā' ātharvanām asi vyāghrajāmbhanam*, AV. iv.3.7; *ṣreshṭha-sthā's*, Tāndya Br. vii.8.2 (BR.).

Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 228, mentions *prātīdhām* (sic) as an infinitive in -am from vocalic root. If he means *pratīdhā'm*, AV. viii.8.20: xi.10.16, would it not be better to take it as acc. of a *nomen actionis*, on account of the form?

B. See page 440, and compare p. 407 top. Here belong 78 or more forms (from 9 or more stems): *khām*, 2; *tuvi-kshām*; *dur-gām*; *dyu-kshām*, 4; (*prshthām*, 10); *vṛtra-hām* (*śāvas*), vi.48.21 *bis*; *satrā-hām* (*paūṁsiam*), v.35.4; *sadhāstham*, ? 14 times; *su-gām*, 14; *su-mnām*, 39.

From the Atharvan: *adoma-dām*, vi.63.1; *kṛshna-drām*, ix.7.4; *prathamajām* (*śjas*), i.35.2 (and VS. xxxiv.51); *vātagopam*, ii.12.1; *su-gām*, xiv.2.6.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong 115 forms (from 59 stems). The AV. shows 9 forms (from 7 stems). Enumeration:

- I. *já'm*, ix.89.2; *trá'm*, 2 times; *sthá'm*.
 II. *nishthá'm*; *karma-nishthá'm*, x.80.1; *pari-shthá'm*.
 III. *dadhi-krá'm*, 8; *rudhi-*;— *tamo-gá'm*; *tavá-*; *suasti*, 2;— *sáma-gá'm*;— *agra-já'm*; *nabho-*; *purá-*, 2; *prathama-*, 2; *bhāreshu-*;— *án-açva-dám*; *án-açir-dám*; *a-bhiksha-dá'm*; *jani-*; *dravīno-*, 7; *dhana-*, 2; *rabho-*; *vasu-*; *saho-*, 4;— *vayo-dhá'm*, 3; *varivo-*; *vipo-*;— *abhipasti-pá'm*; *go-*, 11; *nishikta-*; *vratá-*, 2;— *añjas-pá'm*; *ṛta-*; *soma-*, 3;— *antariksha-prá'm*; *carshani-*; *ratha-*; *rodasi-*;— *ap-sá'm*, 2; *urvárá-*, 2; *dhana-*, 2; *saddá-*; *sahasra-*, 6; *go-shá'm*; *suar-*, 4;— *rocana-sthá'm*; *giri-shthá'm*, 4; *nare-*; *pathe-*; *parvate-*; *barhishthá'm*; *rathe-shthá'm*, 3; *hari-*.

The form in *-á'm* stands at the end of a catalectic *páda*, which Gr.—by the unnecessary resolution, *-áam*—makes acatalectic. At the end of *pádas* of 7 syllables, we have: *kakshia-prá'm*, viii.3.22; *taná-pá'm*, viii.60.13; *pathe-shthá'm*, v.50.3; *ratha-prá'm*, viii.63.10; *rathe-shthá'm*, viii.33.14:—at the end of a *páda* of 11: *giri-shthá'm*, ix.85.10.

We have from the Atharvan: *prathama-já'm*, ii.1.4;— *havir-dá'm*, vii.78.2;— *ratna-dhá'm*, vii.14.1;— *go-pá'm*, xiii.2.2: ix.10.11 (Rik i.164.31);— *apa-vá'm* ?, xix.50.4;— *pathi-shthá'm*, xiv.2.6; *rayi-shthá'm*, vii.39.1; 40.2; from Áçv. Çr. v.5, *agre-gám* (Rik only *agre-gás*).

Resolution is necessary in *kshetrá-sáam*, iv.38.1; and in *ab-já'am*, vii.34.16a (*aksharapañkti*).

For *pánthám*, *mánthám*, see p. 441; for *mahá'm*, see stems in *an*.

B. The Rik has 26 forms (from 10 stems); the Atharvan, 8 forms (from 5 stems). Enumeration: *atithi-gvám*, 6; *andnu-dám*; *eka-jám*; *go-pám*; *tri-shthám*; *dāga-gvam*; *dyu-kshám*, 5; *patañ-gám*, 2; *madhu-pám*; *su-khám*, 7; from the Atharvan: *su-gám*, iii.3.5: xiv.1.58; 2.8; *á-sva-gam*, xii.5.45; *eka-jám*, vi.99.1; *vala-gám*, v.31.4: x.1.18; *arāti-hám*, xix.35.2; so *garbha-dhá'm*, VS. xxiii.19: TS. vii.4.19¹; *carma-mná'm*, VS. xxx.15.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

The forms of series A and B are here coincident. The Rik has 81 forms (from 27 stems). Enumeration:

I. *kshá'm*, 13; *khá'm*, 2; *gná'm*; *já'm*, x.3.2; *jyá'm*; *rá'm* (? p. 431); *vrá'm*, i.121.2;— *jánghám*, 2;

II. *áva-sám*; *pra-já'm*, 22; *prati-shthá'm*, 2; *pra-há'm*; *sa-bhá'm*, 2;— *su-prajá'm*;

III. *antariksha-prá'm*; *açva-sá'm*; *uru-shá'm*; *ṛta-jñá'm*; *dur-dhá'm*; *dhana-sá'm*; *vāja-sá'm*; *grad-dhá'm*, 6; *sva-já'm*; *isva-dhá'm*, 11; *2sva-dhá'm*, 3; *suar-shá'm*;— *ágopám*.

We have from the Atharvan 12 forms (from 8 stems): *kshá'm*, v.1.5; *tiro-dhá'm*, viii.10.28bis; *prati-dhá'm* (see p. 445), viii.8.20: xi.10.16; *yakshmo-dhá'm*, ix.8.9; *grad-dhá'm*, x.2.19; 6.4: xix.64.1; *upa-vá'm*, *pra-vá'm*, xii.1.51; *pra-há'm*, iv.38.3. Cf. *bhá'm*, Çat. Br. ix.4.1⁹.

The word *kshá'm* occurs furthermore in Rik i.67.5; 174.7: vi.6.4: x.31.9, and has the value of two syllables. Gr. proposes *kshá'm-am*; see stems in radical *m*, A.s.f.

Elision and crasis. In viii.32.6, *árá'd úpa svadhá' gahi*, Roth makes *svadhá'*=*svadhá'm á'*; Gr. sees an I.s.f.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. There is no example.

B. Only example: *rathe-shthēna*, ii.17.3.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. Here belong 10 forms (from 7 stems). They might also be referred to B as homophonous instrumentals (p. 358).

They are: *apa-dhā'*, ii.12.3 (where the Abl. *apa-dhās*, written *apadhō* before *valāsya*, is needed—Gr.); *abhi-khyā'*, thrice; *a-sthā'*, as adv., x.48.10; *jma'*; *prati-dhā'*, viii.66.4; *sva-dhā'*, vi.2.8: viii.32.6 (see A.s.f.); *prati-shthā'*, x.73.6. The VS. has *ācīr-dā'* at viii.5; and the TS., at iii.2.8', the form *ācīr-dāyā'*. Unless we assume a stem *-dāyā'* (?), and take this as a homophonous I.s., both the quantity of the penultimate *d* and the accent are anomalous. See BR., s.v.

In *sākām pratishthā' hr'diā jaghantha*, x.73.6, I take *pra-* as instr. of accompaniment: 'Along with that on which she rested (sc. *ānasā ushāsas*), thou smotest her in the heart' (*hr'di d'*, BR.).

The adv. suffix *-dhā* is taken by BR. as an instrumental.

B. Here belong 52 forms (from 9 stems): *kūbhayā'*?; *nī-dhāyā'*, 2; *kshmayā'* (accent !), 5; *jyāyā'*; *dhyāyā'*; *pra-jāyā'*, 11; *grad-dhāyā'*, 4; *sva-dhāyā'*, 26; *sva-dhāyā'*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. There is no example.

B. Here belong: *ṛtā-jyena*; *kāma-prēna*; *su-mnēna*; from AV., *kāma-prēna*, x.9.4; *su-gēna*, xiv.2.11 (Rik x.85.32, *sugēbhis*).

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong 9 forms (from 7 stems): *kildā-pé*, x.91.14; *dé*, v.41.1 (but see L.s.m.); *dhiyam-dhé*, vii.13.1; *paçu-shé*, i.127.10; *guci-pé*, x.100.2; *subham-yé*, iv.3.6; *haviṛ-dé*, i.153.3: iv.3.7: vii.68.6. For *uḍāne*, see stems in *an*, D.s.m.

The infinitive *grad-dhé*, i.102.2, is to be regarded as dative in form as well as in meaning. Since the meaning of ix.70.4*b* admits of a dative, it is better to regard *pra-mé* as a dative also in form. BR. take it as a locative form, and this is certainly possible; for if we explain *prati-māi* as arising from the regular phonetic combination of *prati-mā* and the case-ending *e*, we may also explain *pra-mé* as arising from *pra-mā+ī*.

The infinitives *prakhyāi*, *vikhyāi*, *parādāi*, *pratimāi*, *prayai* (2), *āyāi*, *avayāi*, *upayāi*, *avasāi* (Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 221), to which must be added *vayodhāi*, x.55.1; 67.11, cannot be regarded otherwise than as datives, although we should expect *prakhyé*, etc. The case-ending *e* is added to the full root-stem: and if we take *pramé* as a loc., and *pratidhā'm* as an infinitive, these two words, along with *suapatyāi* and *mahīyāi* (p. 359 top), are the only formations which are in this respect analogous to them.

B. Here belong: *atithi-gvā'ya*, 4; *dyu-kshā'ya*; *patam-gā'ya*; *rathe-shthā'ya*; *sva-jā'ya* (from *svaj*?), AV. vi.56.2.

DATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

- A. For *kshé*, iv.3.6, Bollensen reads *ukshné*.
 B. Here belongs *pra-já'yai*, 9.

DATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

- A. No example. For the infinitives, see D.s.masc.
 B. Here belong: *su-mná'ya*, 10; *parás-páya*, VS. xxxviii.19.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

- A. No example. B. Here belongs *ṛcya-dá't*, x.39.8.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

- A. Here belong: *gmás*, x.22.6; *jmás*, i.157.1: viii.1.18. So Gr., s.v. *gmá'*; he calls the stem *gám* an "unberechtigte Fiction." To be consistent, he ought to refer *kshmás*, i.100.15, to *kshmd'*, not *kshám*. Gr. reads *apadhás*, ii.12.3; see I.s.f.
 B. No example.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

- A. For this and the remaining cases of the neuter there is no example.
 B. Here belong: *dur-gá't*, 6; *sadhá-sthát*, 4. With equal reason belongs here *antárikshát*; but it has been included above, p. 337. For the resolved forms in *-aat*, see p. 338 top.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

- A. Here belongs certainly *kṛshṭi-prás* (*dadhikrá'vnaś*), iv.38.9. Gr., *Wb.*, takes *paçu-shás*, v.41.1, as G.s.m.; but in the *Ueb.*, as N.s.m. Some recognize in *já'spati*, i.185.8, a genitive *já's* (from *já'*).
 B. Here belong: *a-jásya*, 2; *atithi-gvásya*, 3; *śva-jásya*?, AV. x.4.10,15; *sáma-gásya*, Ait. Br. ii.22.

GENITIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

- A. Here belong: *gmás*, 4; *jmás*, 4. The supposed genitive *g(a)ndá's* of *gná'spátis*, ii.38.10, has the same anomaly as *já's*, above.
 B. Here belong: *jyá'yás*, 2; *pra-já'yás*, 3.

GENITIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

- A. No example. B. Here belong: *su-mná'sya*, 3; *asthi-jásya* (*kilá'sasya*), *tanú-jásya*, AV. i.23.4.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

- A. There is no example.

B. Here belong 12 forms (from 7 stems): *dāṣa-gve*; *nāva-gve*; *ratha-saṁgē* (already counted, p. 338); *saṁ-sthé*, 5; *saṁ-gē*, 2; *su-khé*; *suar-gē*. The patronymic *ātithigvé* (2) should have been counted, p. 338; but it was omitted.

If we refer *uṣānm* to a stem *uṣānā*, we shall at least have to assume another stem, *uṣānā*, for the locative in i.51.11, *uṣāne kāvyé*. This is a poor make-shift. See *as*-stems, L.s.m.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. There is no example.

B. Here belong: *āpa-yā'yām*; *puro-dhā'yām*, AV. v.24.1-17.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. No example. B. Here belong 40 forms (from 7 stems): *karañja-hé*; *khé*, 2; *dur-gé*, 5; *bhayā-sthe*; *sadhā-sthe*, 23; *su-mné*, 7; *mahā'-vailasthe* (wrongly counted, p. 338).

In the ill-preserved hymn v.41, verse 1, we read, *kó nú vām mitrdvaruṇo rāyān | divó vā maháh, pá'rthivasya vā, dé | rāsya vā sādasi*. Gr., Ueb. i.576, takes *dé* as L.s.n. of *dā=dām*, 'room, region.' 'Who now, O M. and V., is devoted to you either in the room of the mighty heaven, or of the earth, or in the place of the sacrifice?' Cf. p. 442.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong 21 forms (from 6 stems): *ṛtu-pās*; *bhū'ri-dās* (iv.32.20); *śukrapāta-pās*; *śuci-pās*, 2; *suta-pās*; *soma-pās*, 15; *ṛta-pās*, TS. iii.2.8¹.

For *vayo-dhas*, *dravino-das*, see *as*-stems, V.s.m.

B. Here belong: *eka-ja*; *dyu-ksha*, 2; from the AV., *patam-ga*, vi.50.2: xiii.2.30; *soma-pa*, i.8.3: ii.12.3; from the T.ār., *anturi-ksha-pa*, iv.7.5.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

A. There is no example.

B. Here belong: *gaṅge*; *śrad-dhe*, 2; *tīro-dhe*, AV. viii.10.28.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. B. There is no example.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

The ending *-ā* occurs 27 times; the ending *-au*, only 7 times. Since both of these endings occur also with the most of the consonant stems, it will be best to give the circumstances of occurrence together at the end of this article.

I. A. Here belong 27 forms (from 19 stems): *go-pā*, 4; *gharmie-shthā'*; *chardish-pā'*; *jagat-pā'*; *tanū-pā'*; *tapush-pā'*; *dravino-dā'* (*utā*, p. -*āu utā*), v.43.9; *paras-pā'*, 2; *purā-jā'*; *pūru-irā*, viii.8.22; *vāja-dā'*; *patā-rā'*?; *śuci-pā'*; *su-gopā'*; *soma-pā'*, 2; *stī-pā'*; further, at end of catalectic *pādas* of 7 syllables, where Gr. reads *-āā*, *kakshia-prā'*, i.10.3; *go-pā'*, viii.25.1; *tanū-pā'*, vii.66.3; from AV., *go-pā'*, v.9.8.

B. Gr. refers *udanya-já'* to a B-stem (-já'); so *éta-gvā* (2). Of the first stem no other form occurs, and of the second, none that cannot be referred to a stem *éta-gvā*. I have therefore counted all three forms with the A-forms.

II. A. Here belong 7 forms (from 6 stems): *go-pau*; *go-paú*; *suta-pau*; from AV., *adoma-dhau*, viii.2.18.

B. Gr. refers the following forms to B-stems; but they may all be referred with equal right to A-stems, and I have counted them with the A-forms. They are: *á-krau* (stem *á-krā*; cf. p. 442); *adhva-gaú*; *madhu-pau*; *rayi-daú*.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

A. There is no example.

B. Here belong: *rdū-pé*; *pūrva-jé*; *su-āsa-sthé*.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A. No example. B. Sole example: *sadhā-sthe*, x.17.6.

INST., DAT., AND ABL. DUAL MASC., FEM., AND NEUTER.

A. B. The Rik has no example. The TS. has several instrumentals at iii.2.10¹: *vāk-pā'bhyām*, *kratu*, *cakshush*, *grotra-pā'bhyām*.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL MASC., FEM., AND NEUTER.

A. The Rik has no example.

B. Locatives f.: *sva-dháyos*, RV.; *jangháyos*, AV. xix.60.2.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. The ending *-as* is added to the stem: as, *go-pā'-as*, *gopā's*. The form occurs in the Rik 84 times (from 50 stems); and in the Atharvan, 12 times (from 10 stems). Enumeration:

I. (*r'shayo*) *gā's*, 'singing,' AV. xii.1.39;— *parama-jyā's*, Rik viii.1.30.

II. *ā-tās*, iii.43.6 (see p. 441); *ā-prajās*; *su-prajā's*.

III. *rbhu-kshās*, 2;— *éta-gvās* (Gr., *éta-gvā*);— *deva-jā's*; *purā*, 4; *prathama*, 2; *sva*;— *ṛta-jñā's*, 4; *ṛta-jñās*, 2; *pada-jñā's*, 3;— *açva-dā's*, 2; *go*; *dravino*; *dhana*; *vastra*; *vāso*; *hiranya*;— *jani-dhā's*; *dhiyam*, 3; *payo*; *ratna*; *reto*, 2; *vayo*;— *kula-pā's*; *go-pā's*, 9; *devā-gopās*, 3; *su-gopā's*, 2; *tanā-pā's*; *paçu*; *vrata*;— *agre-pā's*; *añjas*; *payas*; *soma*; *havish*;— *carma-mnā's*;— *jma-yā's*;— *dhana-sā's*, 2; *saddā*, 2; *sahasra*;— *prthivi-shthā's*;— *rathe*; *harmie*;— *ghṛta-snā's*. To these add: *pravāte-jā's*, *raghu-jā's*, *vāyú-gopās*,—forms which Gr. refers to B-stems.

Gr. proposes: *indra-gopāas*, *devā-gopāas*, viii.46.32; *go-pāas*, viii.31.13; *su-gopāas*, v.38.5c and d. These resolutions are all at the end of catalectic *pādas* of 7 syllables and needless; read *-ās*: so in x.65.14b, *ṛta-jñā's* (11 syllables—Gr., *-aas*, 12).

From the Atharvan: *agni-jā's*, *apsu-*, *oshadhi-*, x.4.23; *khala-*, viii.6.15; *prathama-*, x.7.14; *śakadhūma-*, viii.6.15;— *vara-dā's*, xix.71.1;— *go-pā's*, vii.81.6: x.8.9; *tanū-*, vi.41.3;— *soma-pā's*, v.25.9; *sōma-pās*, xviii.3.64.

Resolution is necessary in RV. x.23.6, *go-pāas*.

B. Here belong: *dāṇa-gvās*; *nāva-gvās*, 7; *patan-gā's*, 2; *su-gā's*; and from the AV., *nāva-gvās*, xviii.3.20; *tanū-jā's*, vi.41.3; *tapo-jā's*, vi.61.1; *vala-gā's*?, xix.9.9.

There are four forms in *-āsas*. I am uncertain whether A-stems may form their plural thus; whether, for instance, *priya-sā'sas* may be referred to a stem *-sā'*. The forms are: *dāṇa-gvāsas*; *dyu-kshā'sas*; *nāva-gvāsas*; *priya-sā'sas*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

The forms of series A and B are here coincident. The Rik has 28 forms (from 18 stems).

Enumeration: *gnā's*, 6; *vrā's*, 4; *ā-gopās*; *ava-sthā's*; *āhi-gopās*; *giri-jā's*; *jaranī-prā's*; *devā-gopās*; *deva-yā's*; *nāva-gvās*; *pra-jā's*, 3; *prathama-jā's*; *pra-yā's*; *vakshane-shthā's*; *vāja-dā's*; *su-gopā's*; *soma-pā's*; *svayam-jā's*.

From the Atharvan: *manushya-jā's*, xi.4.16; *ṛta-jñā's*, iv.2.6; *pada-jñā's*, vii.75.2; *gushma-dā's*, xix.40.2.

In four instances *gnā's* is dissyllabic; if *gan-ā's* is the correct resolution (cf. Zend *ghenāo*), the *ā* may be regarded as suffixal (cf. p. 355).

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. I have no evidence that the following forms are to be referred to A-stems.

B. 1. Here belong 15 forms (from 5 stems): *ānsa-trā* (wrongly included on p. 346); *dur-gā'*, 2; *sadhā-sthā*, 3; *su-gā'*, 5; *su-mnā'*, 4; from AV., *su-gā'*, vii.97.4; *prathama-jā'* 1, p. *-jā'*, viii.9.16, 21.

2. Here belong 16 forms (from 6 stems): *ararīn-dāni*; *khā'ni*, 4; *dur-gā'ni*, 5; *sadhā-sthāni*, 2; *su-gā'ni*, 2; *su-mnā'ni*, 2; from AV., *dur-gā'ni*, vii.63.1: ix.5.9: xix.50.2.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. There is no certain example. Paradigm: *śāṅkha-dhmā's*.

1. Ludwig takes *paṇu-shā's* with *vā'jān*, 'viehwinnende kräfte', v.41.1; it is rather a N.s.m. of series B, p. 444. Among the forms there given as nominatives, there may be some accusatives p.m. in *-ā's*.

2. There is no certain example of an A.p.m. of series A ending in *-ā's*. Possibly there is one in x.79.7, *vane-jā's* (*āgvān*); see BR. vii.1800. Otherwise, we must take it as N.s.m.—sc. *agnis*. Gr. takes *eva-yā's* (*marūtas*) as A.p.m., v.41.16; but it is to be pronounced as 4 syllables—*eva-yā'as* or *-yā'vnas* (cf. ii.34.11). In i.143.8, *jā's* is A.p.f. in form, but of common gender in meaning.

3. Gr. refers *tapo-jā'n* (*āpi*, p. *-jā'n*), x.154.5, and *ṛta-pā'n* (*a-*, p. *-pā'n*), x.27.6, to stems *-jā'* and *-pā'*. This is scarcely admissible; we must assume transition-stems *-jā'* and *-pā'*.

B. Here belong: *go-pá'n* (vi.51.3); *patam-gá'n*; *su-gá'n*, 3; *tapo-já'n* and *gr̥ta-pá'n* (above); and from the AV., *dur-gá'n*, xiii.2.5; *tapo-já'n*, xviii.2.15, 18 (= Rik x.154.5); *soma-pá'n*, ii.35.3; from the TS., *p̥arva-já'n*, *saha-já'n*, iii.5.3.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. There is no example.

B. Here belong 27 forms (from 15 stems): *kshá's*, 2; *gná's*, 2; *já's*, 3; *án-agnitrás*; *anu-shthá's*; *acva-dá's*; *deva-yá's*; *pari-shthá's* (x.97.10); *pra-já's*, 7; *maryá'dás?*; *vi-shthá's*; *sahá-gopás*; *su-gá's*; *1sva-dhá's*, 3; *2sva-dhá's*; from the AV., *pari-já's*, xix.56.6; *manushya-já's*, xii.4.43. The SV., i.323, reads *rá's*, a bad variant of Rik viii.85.13.

For *prati-shthá[s]* (Gr.), see L.s.f.; for *gná's* as dissyllable, v.43.13, cf. N.p.f.; for *kshá's* as dissyllable, iv.28.5, see stems in *m*, A.p.f. The resolution at the end of x.97.10a, *pari-shtháas*, is needless.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belong: *agre-pá'bhis* and *rtu-pá'bhis* (or f.), iv.34.7; *go-pá'bhis*.

Gr.—*Wb.* 175, s.v. *á'tá*—assumes the ending *-ais* for series A. This view I cannot accept. The only forms which occur to support it are *á'tais*, ix.5.5: VS. xxix.5, and *dhana-sáis*, x.67.7. These I refer to the stems *á'-tá* and *dhana-sá'*. The form *vayo-dhais*, x.55.1; 67.11, rests on a mistake; the text has *vayo-dhá'i*.

B. 1. Here belong: *tuvi-grébhis*; *mithásavadya-pebhis*; *ratna-dhébhis*, 2; *su-gébhis*, 3; *sāma-gébhis*, AV. ii.12.4.

2. Here belong: *dāṣa-gvais*, 2; *nāva-gvais*, 2 (and AV. xiv.1.56); *patam-gais*; *su-khais*; *á'-tais* and *dhana-sáis* (above).

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL FEMININE.

A. B. The forms are coincident. The Rik has 29 forms (from 6 stems): *ratna-dhá'bhis*; *gná'bhis*, 5; *pra-já'bhis*, 6; *grad-dhá'bhis*; *1sva-dhá'bhis*, 15; *2sva-dhá'bhis*.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL NEUTER.

A. No example. B. 1. Here belong: *madhu-pébhis* (i.34.10: iv.45.3); *su-gébhis*, 5; *su-mnébhis*, 4.

2. Here belongs *su-mnais*, 7.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. No example. B. Sole example: *p̥arva-jébhyas* (Gr., *-bhias*).

DATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. B. Sole example: *pra-já'bhyas*, 3; *prajá'bhyas* (Gr. *-bhias*), at end of iv.53.4c.

DATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. B. There is no example. Cf. pp. 350, 397, 417.

ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Sole example: *bhūri-dābhyas*. B. No example.

ABLATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. B. There is no example.

ABLATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. B. There is no example.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. No example. B. Here belong: *sākam-jā'nām*; *dvi-jā'nām*,
AV. xix.71.1.

GENITIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. No example. B. Here belong: *vi-bhā'nām*; *pra-jñā'nām*,
AV. xiii.2.2.

GENITIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. B. There is no example.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belongs *ā'tāsu* (or f.), 2.

B. Here belong: *draviṇo-dēshu*; *su-khēshu*.

LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

A. B. Here belong: *kshā'su*, 2; *gnā'su*; *jā'su*; *pra-jā'su*, 2;
sa-bhā'su.

LOCATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. No example. B. Here belong: *dur-gēshu*; *sadhā-stheshu*;
su-gēshu; *su-mnēshu*, 3.

STEMS IN RADICAL *ī*, *î*, *ū*, *û*, *ṛ*.

It is doubtful whether there are any stems ending in a really radical *ī* or *û*; cf. *pradhî*, p. 367, and *abhidyû*, p. 401. Most roots ending in these vowels, as well as those which, according to the Hindu authorities, end in *ṛ*, take an added *t* when used as the final member of a noun-stem: thus, *açva-jî-t*, *soma-sû-t*, *loka-kr'-t*. The stems of this sort are given by Gr., *Wb.* 1727-8. I have treated them under the head "stems in *t*." Cf. also p. 419 (*stâr*, *târ*).

The stems in radical long *î*, as *deva-vî'*, *pada-nî'*, *manyu-mî'*, are treated with the other *î*-stems (see pp. 368, 369, 375-400), and the forms are enumerated in each case under "C." In like manner, the forms of the stems in radical long *û*, as *uda-pû'*, *nabho-jû'*, *vîra-sû'*, *surâ-çû'*, are given under "C," pages 405-419.

The following sections treat of suffixless or radical stems ending in consonants. The arrangement is based on the alphabetical order of the final consonants.

STEMS IN RADICAL *GH*.

There is, to my knowledge, only one stem in *gh* in the Veda: *sarágh*, f., 'bee.' This occurs in the N.p., *sarágho madhu-kr'tah*, Çat. Br. iii.4.3¹⁴. From *sarágh* are formed: N.s., *sarát*, TS. v.3.12²: Çat. Br. xiii.3.1⁴; D.p., *sarád-bhīas*, RV. i.112.21. The *ḍ* (*ṭ*) is here the regular representative of Indo-European *gh*²; compare Hübschmann, in Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* xxiii.386. It is then unnecessary to set up a stem *sarát* or *saráh*; and the stem *sarágh* is supported by *iyám* . . . *sarághā* . . . *sāraghām mādhu*, TB. iii.10.10¹. See A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.110.

STEMS IN RADICAL *AC* OR *AÑC*.

The root *ac* appears in a number of compounds which show such peculiarities of declension that it is necessary to treat of them by themselves. After them will be treated all other radical stems in *c*.

The stems exhibit the distinction of strong and weak forms, and the strong forms are characterized by nasalization: thus, *prāc* (*prā-ac*) makes *prāñcas* in the N.p.m., but *prācas* in the A.p.m.

These stems are declined only in the masculine and neuter. The feminine is formed by adding *i* to the weak stem of the masculine, and is declined according to series B, p. 366.

The following lists include, I believe, all the Vedic stems whose final member is the root *ac*. First is given the element with which *ac* is compounded; then, the stem of the masculine and neuter forms; and last, the stem of the feminine forms. A stem is enclosed in parentheses if it has no forms occurring in the Rik or Atharvan.

1. Most often the element with which *ac* is compounded ends in *a* or *ā*. The two vowels are then fused.

Enumeration: *āpa*, *āpāc*, *āpācī*; *āva*, *āvāc*, *āvācī*; *pārā*, *pārāc*, *pārācī*; *prā*, *prāc*, *prācī*; *sū* and *prā*, *suprāc*, (*sūprācī*, VS. iv.19); *arvā*, *arvāc*, *arvācī*; *ghṛtā*, *ghṛtācī*; *devā*, *devācī*; *asmatrā*, *asmatrāc*; *satrā*, *satrāc*, *satrācī*; *ādharma* (accent), *adharāc*, (*adharācī*); so *viçva* (accent), *viçvācī*. From *nāra*, instead of *narācī*, we have with irregular accent *narācī*, as shown by AV. v.31.4, *narācīd'm*, 'a certain plant.' If *narācī* also occurred, we might see in *narācī* differentiation by means of accent, as on p. 368 top. The stem *vishvāc*, of the isolated G.s.m. *vishvācas*, Gr. refers to *vishva*=*vishu*; cf. *vishva-dri-āk*. For *vishvāc*, *vṛthak*, and *nīṇik*, see A.s.n.

If the root *ac* is preceded by an element ending (2) in *i*, or (3) in *u*, this *i* or *u* either remains intact or is changed to *y* or *v* in the strong cases in the *samhitā*, while in the weak cases it unites with the *a* of *ac* to *ī*, or to *ū* respectively.

2. Enumeration: (a) *prāti*, *prāti-ác*, *praticí'* (cf. *súpraticí*, VS. iv.19); *dádhi*, *dádhi-ác*; *tírí*, *tírí-ác* (the weakest cases are supplied by a different compound, **tírás-ác*, *tírác*); *çvít-i*, *çvity-ác*, *çviticí'*; *sám-i*, *samy-ác*, *samicí'*; (b) *úd-i*, (the strong cases are formed regularly from *údac*), *údicí*; *ní*, *ní-ac*, *ní'cí*; *devadrí*, *devadrí-ac*, *devadrí'cí*; *sadhri*, *sadhri-ac*, *sadhri'cí*; *kadrí*, *kadrí'cí*; cf. *asmadrí-ac*, *madrí-ac*, *vishvadrí-ac*; and *tvadrí-ac*, *madriadrí-ac*, *yuvadrí-ac* (see A.s.n.); *akudhri-ac*; *níni-ac* (see A.s.n.).

3. Enumeration: (a) *ánu*, *anu-ác*, *anúci'*; *rjú*, *rju-ác*; *śu*, *su-ác*; (b) *vishu*, *vishu-ac*, *visháci*. The two feminines *puráci'* and *uráci'* are formed as if from *puru-ác* and *uru-ác*. Such m. stems do not occur. The place of the latter is filled by a compound of the root *vyac*, *uru-vyác*, whose feminine, if formed after analogy of *samy-ác samicí'*, would be *uru-vici'*; and of this, as BR. suggest, *uráci'* may be a shortened form. But since *uru-vyác* has a regular feminine (see rad. c-stems, D.s.f.), it is perhaps better to refer *uráci'* to *uru-ác*.

4. Sometimes *ac* is compounded with elements ending in a consonant. These are: *çvít*, *sám*, *úd*, *tírás*, *pas*, *ṛ'dh?*, *pr'th?*.

In the first two instances, an *i* is inserted between the parts of the compound, and this *i* (*y*), or its resultant with *a*, goes through the whole declension: thus, *çvity-áncas*, *çviticé*; *çviticí'*; *samy-áncam*, *samicí'*. The stem *úd-ac* is the only one whose strong forms show *ānc* preceded by a consonant (*úd-āncam*). Even this stem forms its weakest cases as though the strong were from *údy-ānc*, and makes *údicás*. Traces of the older formation remain in *uccá'*, an I.s.n. with adverbial accent for *úd-(a)c-á*; cf. *paçcá'*, for *pás-(a)c-á* (p. 337 above). In like manner *tirāçcá'* stands, with adverbial accent, for *tírás-(a)c-á*; so *tirāçcí* for *tírāçcī*. The feminine stem is *tírāçcī*; but the nomen proprium, *Tirāçcī'*, is differentiated by its accent (p. 368 top). Gr. places here, finally, *ṛ'dh-ak* and *pr'th-ak*.

In the Rik, if the stem is accented on the root syllable, the accent remains there in the strong cases (*prá'ñcam*, *pratyáñcam*); and also in the weak (*prá'cí*, *arvā'cā*, *satrá'cā*), except when the vowel of *ac* unites with a preceding *i* or *u* to *ī* or *ū*. This happens with the oxytone stems of 2(a) and 3(a), and the ending is then accented (*praticás*; *praticí'*, N.A.d.n.—weak; *dadhí'cē*, *-ás*; *çviticé*; *anú'cás*).

In *nícā'* and *prācā'* we have only apparent exceptions; they stand for *nī'cā* and *prā'cā* with adverbial shift of accent.

If the weak case-forms of the masculine are oxytone, the feminine stem is also oxytone, and this in turn throws the accent forward to the case-ending as stated on p. 375 top: thus, *anú'cás* (A.p.m.), *anúci'*; *praticás* (Ab.s.m.), *praticí'*; so *samicyós*, *narācyā'm*.

These rules do not hold for the later texts. Thus the Atharvan has *çátrūn* | *jahi* *pratt'co anú'cāh*, iii.1.4, against the Rik-reading *jahi* *praticó anú'cāh*, iii.30.6. See also A.p.m. In like manner we have *samí'cas* . . *paçū'n*, TS. v.2.9⁴; cf. *dadhí'cā* and BR. iii.506.

In the feminine we have: *anú'cī*, AV. x.10.10; *samí'cī*, TS. iv.1.3²; *samí'cyā*, TBr. i.4.8⁸; *prati'cī*, AV. often; *prati'cīm*, AV. xii.1.34: TBr. i.4.4⁵; *prati'cīs*, TS. v.2.10². Like the Atharvan, the TBr. in quoting from the Rik, modernizes the accent: thus TBr. ii.8.7⁶ writes *prati'cī* for *praticí'* of its original, Rik i.95.5.

The VS., TS., and TBr., however, in quoting from RV. i.96.5 and iii.29.13, do not alter the accent of *samicí'*, *-cí'h*.

The verse RV. x.18.14 is shown to be a later addition (1) by its contents, (2) by its metre, and (3) by the form of transition from A to B (exceedingly rare with *ū*-stems—see pp. 401 top, 403 med.), *ishu-ás*. This evidence is beautifully confirmed by so minute a detail as the accent of *prati'cīm*. The examples show that this is a modern form; a genuine Rik-verse would have *praticí'm*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

The case-ending *-s* does not appear after the double consonant of the strong stem *-āñc(-s)*, *-āñk(-s)*. Progressive assimilation reduces the form *-āñk* to *-āññ*; this is preserved in the text before a vowel, if the thematic *a* is not long (as is the case with the stems of class 1, p. 454).

1. The following non-assimilated form appears: *pratyāñk*, before *sómo*, TS. i.8.21; before *sádo*, vi.3.1^o; before *shadāhó*, vii.4.2^o. See Whitney's note to TPr. v.32.

2. The *samhitā* has the following assimilated forms: *dadhiāññ*, before *a*, RV. ix.108.4; before *r*, vi.16.14; *niāññ*, before *u*, iv.13.5: x.27.13; 142.5; *pratiāññ*, before *a*, i.144.7: x.79.5; before *u*, i.50.5b: v.2S.1. For other examples, see Ath. Pr. iii.27 and TPr. ix.18. Cf. also *yūññ* for *yūñk*, stem *yáj*; *kīdr'ññ* and *sadr'ññ* (rad. *ṣ*-stems, N.s.m.).

3. Including the words just given under 2, the *pada* has 47 forms in *-ñ* (from 8 stems): *āpāñ*; *arvā'ñ*, 23; *dadhiāñ*, 3; *-yāñ*, 2; *niāñ*, 3; *pratyāñ*, 12; *prā'ñ*; *vishvañ*; *suprā'ñ*. From Atharvan verses, I have noted 39 forms (from 10 stems): *adharā'ñ*, v.22.2: xii.2.1: *arvā'ñ*, 12 times, as iii.2.3; *ūdañ*, v.4.8: ix.7.21; *tiryāñ*, thrice, as x.2.28; *nyāñ*, v.22.2; *pārāñ*, thrice, as vi.29.3; *pratyāñ*, 9 times; *prā'ñ*, 5 times, as iii.4.1; *vishvañ*, xi.8.33; *sadhryāñ*, vi.89.2.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

The N.A.s.n., as a "middle case" (*mittlerer casus*), is not nasalized, nor does it show the fusion of *ia* to *i*. All the forms here given are used as adverbs, unless the contrary is stated. Here belong 159 Rik-forms (from 22 stems):

1. (a) *āpāk*, 5; *ārvāk*, as adj., i.9.5: vii.27.3: x.29.3; as adv., 39 times, and viii.50.1; *prā'k*, 6; from the AV., *adharā'k*, xx.128.2; 134.1-6; *āpāk*, xx.128.4; 134.1-6; *arvā'k*, 7 times, as iv.25.6; *pārāk*, x.1.16; *prā'k*, 7 times, as xx.128.1.

(b) The vowel of the final syllable *-āk* is shortened to *-āk*: *vishundā'k*; *vṛ'thāk*, 2; **niñiāk* (*niñia-ak*—but see rad. *j*-stems, introductory paragraph).

2. (a) *pratyāk*; *samyāk*, 5; *niāk*, 7; *sadhriāk*, as adj., i.108.3: iii.31.6; as adv., 6 times; *asmadrīāk*, 8 (N.p.m. *-driāñcas*); *madrīāk*, 2 (A.s.m. *-driāñcam*); *vishvadriāk*, as adj., vii.25.1; *akudhriāk*; from the AV., *tiryāk*, x.2.24; *pratyāk*, 16 times; *samyāk*, xviii.4.11. For *samyāt*, see rad. *j*-stems, L.p.f.

(b) The final syllable *-iāk* is shortened to *-īk*: *tvadrīk*, as adj., x.43.2; as adv., v.3.12 (in both instances the metre allows the pronunciation *tvadrīāk*); *madrīk*, 3 times (*madrīāk* actually occurs); *madriadrīk*; *yuvadrīk*; *niñīk*, for **niñiāk*,—see 1(b). An analogous shortening is perhaps seen in *jiók* (16 times), for *dió-ak*.

3. *vishvak*, as adj., vii.34.13: x.36.9; as adv., 12 times; AV., thrice.

4. *údak*, 4 (and AV., 7); *r'dhak*, 13; *rdhák*, once; *pr'thak*, 13; *praprthák*, AV., thrice, as xi.1.27. Cf., however, *Ind. Stud.* iv.412,248.

In vii.25.1, *má' te máno vishvadriag ví cārít*, *vish-* may be taken as adj. with *máno*, or as adv. with *ví cārít*. The example shows clearly how the two constructions blend logically.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong 33 forms (from 9 stems); *arvāñcam*, 11; *údañcam*; *niāñcam*; *pratiāñcam*, 5; *pratyāñcam*, 2; *prāñcam*, 7; *madriāñcam*; *viśhuañcam*; *samyāñcam*; *sudāñcam*, 3; and from the Atharvan, *adhardāñcam*, 32 times, as v.22.3; *anvāñcam*, vi.134.3; *āpāñcam*, iii.3.7; *arvāñcam*, v.3.11: xi.3.32-49; *pārāñcam*, 21 times, as vi.65.1; *pratyāñcam*, 23 times, as vii.40.2; *viśhvañcam*, ii.33.7; *samyāñcam*, xiii.3.20; from TS., *tiryāñcam*, ii.5.11'.

For *uru-vyāñcam*, see rad. *c*-stems, A.s.m.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *arvācā* (*rāthēna*), vii.78.1.

Neuters: *devadrīcā* (*mānasā*), i.93.8; 163.12; *satrācā* (*mānasā*), thrice. The weakest forms of *prāc* should be paroxytone; as, *prācā*.

If, with BR. and Gr., we take *prācā* as adjective with *mānasā* in iii.31.5, *prācāhinvan mānasā sapta viprah*, the false accent adds one more item to the long indictment against the hymn (*Ueb.* i.528). It is perhaps better to take it as an adverb (with adverbial accent) with *ahinvan*.

Five forms, which as adjectives would be paroxytone, occur as adverbs with the accent shifted to the ultima: *tiraçcā*, 3 times; *nīcā*, 7 (and AV. iv.3.6); *uccā*, 12; *paçcā*, 8; *prācā*, ii.26.4: vii.83.1. We may presuppose an adv. **parācā*, differentiated by the accent from the adj. I.s.n. *pārācā*.

To the apprehension of the speakers, the stems of these adverbial instrumentals were *tiraçcā*, *nīcā*, *uccā*, *paçcā*, *prācā*, *parācā*. These served as the bases of new formations: *tiraçcā-tā*, 2; *nīcā't*, only once; *nīcāis*, not until Atharvan; *uccāis*, only once; *paçcā't*, 17; *prācāis*, only once; *parācāis*, 10. Cf. p. 337.

These are undoubtedly late formations. The use of the plural instrumental as adverb belongs to the later period of the Vedic language, and none of the plural instrumentals thus used has the older ending *-ebhīs*. The adv. *çānāis*, so frequent in Sanskrit, occurs only once in the RV., viii.80.3 (with *çanakaīs*).

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *dadhīcē*, 2; *çvitīcē*. For accent, see p. 455.

Neuter: no example.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *praticās*, i. 173.5.

Neuter: *prācas*, ii.15.3, 'von vorne.' In *Ueb.* i.570, for exegetical reasons, Gr. takes it as A.p.m. This view is favored also by the accent, which we should expect to see shifted to the ultima, if the word were an adverb.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *dadhīcas*, 2; *viśhvācas*.

Neuter: no example.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *prāci* (*adhvarē*), viii.13.30.

Neuter: no example.

As adverb, with adverbial accent, occurs *tiraçci*, Çat. Br. ii.3.2¹²; cf. *tiraçci-rāji*, BR.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

There is no example.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *arvāñcā*, 5; *sadhriāñcā*; *samyāñcā*, 2; from the AV., *āpāñcau*, vii.70.4; *arvāñcau*, v.26.12; *viśhvāñcau*, xx.136.2; *samyāñcau*, v.1.5.

Neuter: *praticī* (*dhāmanī*), ix.66.2. Observe the accent.

INST., DAT., AND ABL. DUAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

There is no example.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *viśhūcos*, L., vii.18.6. Neuter: no example.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong 22 forms (from 13 stems): (a) *rjūāñcas*; *pratyāñcas*; *çvityāñcas*, 2; *samyāñcas*; *suāñcas*, 3; and from the AV., *tiryāñcas*, xv.3.6; *pratyāñcas*, xi.7.13; *samyāñcas*, iii.30.3,6; further (b), from the RV., *arvāñcas*, 3; *asmatrāñcas*; *asmadrīāñcas*; *ūdañcas*; *pārāñcas*; *prāñcas*, 4; *viśhuañcas*; *sadhriāñcas*, 2; and from the AV., *adharāñcas*, iii.6.7: ix.2.12; *āpāñcas*, v.3.2; *pārāñcas*, iv.40.1–8: xi.9.22; *prāñcas*, thrice, as xi.6.18; *viśhvañcas*, i.19.2: xix.38.2. There is no instance of a vocative.

In vii.48.1, *ā' vo arvācaḥ krātavo nā yātā'n | viśhvo rātham nāriam vartayantu*, Sây. takes *arvācas* as equivalent to *arvāñcas*. This is possible; but, rather than admit so harsh a grammatical anomaly, I would even change the text out and out to *arvāñcas*, especially since the hymn bears traces of corruption (read *vājās[o]*—p. 345) and late origin. 'Hither may the hither-turned powers as it were of you as ye journey, O ye *Viśhū*, roll the mighty wagon.' We may consider *krātavo nā* as a "suggested comparison," the *tertium comparationis* (*āçvās*) not being expressed; see Gr., Wb., s.v. *nā* II.2). In v.33.8d, *krātubhis* can hardly refer to anything else than 'steeds.'

Transition to the *i*-declension. A very interesting case of a new formation based on false analogy is seen in the late hymn x.46, verse 7, *çviticāyas* (*sómās*). The proper nominatives plural are: m., *çvityāñcas*; f., *çviticī's*. From the feminine stem *çviticī'*, however, is inferred a masculine stem *çviticī'*, and from this the N.p. is formed, *çviticāyas*. Cf. pp. 337, 371–2.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

There is no example in the Rik. We find: *pratyañci lomāni*, Çat. Br. x.2.1^o; *samyañci bhūtāni*, xiv.8.14³; *pratyañci dīrghā-ranyāni*, Ait. Br. iii.44.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong 22 forms (from 11 stems): (a) *anūcās*; *praticās*, 2; from the AV., *anū'cas* and *prati'cas*, iii.1.4 (Rik. iii.30.6, -cās); *prati'cas*, v.8.7: vi.32.3; vii.108.2; from the TS., *samī'cas*, v.2.9⁴; further (b), from the RV., *adharā'cas*, 2; *āpācas*; *arvā'cas*, 3 (for vii.48.1, see N.p.m.); *āvācas*; *ūdīcas*, x.131.1; *pārācas*, 5; *prā'cas*, 2; *vīshūcas*, 3; *satrā'cas*; from the AV., *nī'cas*, xi.1.6; *pārācas*, ii.25.5; *vīshūcas*, iii.1.5; 2.3: TS. v.2.9⁴.

For the accent, see p. 455. Only once does the AV. have *praticās* (viii.3.6), and that in a quotation from Rik x.87.4.

INST., DAT., ABL., GEN., AND LOC. PLURAL.

Of the remaining cases of the plural m. and n. there is no example in the RV.

The forms are enumerated in full in all the sections on radical or suffixless stems. The entire omission of a case signifies that no example of that case occurs. Thus no mention is made of the oblique dual cases of stems in radical *dh*, because no examples of such stems in such cases are found.

Accent. Monosyllabic stems accent the ending in the weak cases. The A.p.m.f. is treated in respect to accent as a strong case (e. g. *rūc-as*); but numerous exceptions occur, where the A.p.m.f. is oxytone (e. g. *vāc-ās*). These will be grouped together at the end of the article.

STEMS IN RADICAL C.

The forms are alike for the masculine and feminine. All monosyllabic stems used as substantives are feminine; but *tvac-i* occurs twice as m., and *arc-ā* once as an adjective in the l.s.m. The only neuter form is *āpr'k*, an A.s.n. used adverbially.

These stems show the distinction of strong and weak forms to a limited extent: 1. by nasalization (only in the stem *uru-vyāc*); 2. by lengthening an interior radical vowel. This occurs in the compounds of -*vā'c* with *drogha*-, *ranya*-, *satya*-; and of -*sā'c* with *apatya*-, *abhi*-, *droṇa*-, *dhāma*-, *nr*-, *yajña*- (in *ā-yajña-sac*), *rayi*-, *rāti*- (and in *smād-rāti-shac*), *hari*-.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *upapr'k*; *yatāsrūk*, 2; *hīranyatvak*; from AV., *sū'ryatvak*, ii.2.2; *anṛta-vā'k*, iv.16.7. See also V.s.m.

Feminines: *tvāk*; *vā'k*, 9; *srūk*, 2; from AV., *r'k*, xi.7.5: xiv.2.71; *nimrūk*, iv.3.6; *vā'k*, 14 times, as ii.12.8; *cūk*, xii.5.34 (and VS. xxxviii.18); *srūk*, ix.6.17; from TS., *anhomūk*, ii.4.2¹.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine. Here belong 24 forms (from 17 stems). Enumeration: (*a*—with strengthened stem) *uru-vyāñc-am*;—*satya-vācam*, 2; *apatya-sācam*, 3; *abhi-shācam*; *drona-sācam*; *dhāma-sācam*; *rāti-shācam*; (*b*) *añhomūcam*; *ādroghavācam*, 2 (and AV. vi.1.2); *kūyavācam*; *tanūrūcam*; *dhānarcam*; *purorūcam*; *madhupr'cam*; *mṛdhrāvācam*, 2; *surūcam*, 3 (and AV. iv.1.2); *suṽācam*.

Feminines (91 forms, from 7 stems): *āsīcam*, 2; *r'cam*; *tvācam*, 12; *vācam*, 71; *vācam-vācam*; *vimūcam*; *sīcam*; *sūriatvacam*; from AV., *r'cam*, vii.54.1,2; *gūcam*, iv.38.4; *srūcam*, xi.1.24; *tvācam*, 9 times; *vācam*, 27.

Neuter: *āpr'k*, as adverb, x.89.14—see above.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *arcā* (*māsd'*); *uru-vyāc-ā*; *sūriatvacā*, 2.

Feminines (44 forms, from 9 stems): *rcā*, 12; *tvacā*; *mṛcā*; *rucā*, 6; *rucā-ruccā*; *vācā*, 12; *gucā-guccā*; *sicā*; *surūcā*; *srucā*, 6; from AV., *rcā*, 2; *tvacā*, 3; *vācā*, 21; *gucā*, 2; *srucā*, 2.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ūdyatasruce*; *yatāsruce*; *viṣvaḡuce*.

Feminines: *tucē*, 3; *rucē*; *tvacē*, AV. xi.2.5; *rcē*, VS. xiii.39; *uru-vyāc-e* (*sārasvatyai*), AV. vi.41.2. In view of the last form, it is better to refer *urūci'*, the supplementary feminine stem of *uru-vyāc*, to *uru-āc*—see p. 455.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

Here belong: *tvacās*; *nimrūcas*, 2; from AV., *tvacās*, v.14.3; vi.21.1; xii.3.53; *srucās*, xii.4.34.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *pururūcas*; *surūcas*.

Feminines: *rcās*; *tvacās*; *vācās*, 21; *vācas* (*pate*); *vimucas* (*napāt*), 2; from AV., *rcās*, ix.10.19; *vācās*, 10 times, as i.1.1; *vācas* (*pate*), 4 times.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *tvacī*!, ix.69.3 (*āvyē*); 101.16 (*gāvyē*).

Feminines: *ātūci*; *udr'ci*, 2; *tvaci*, 7; *nimrūci*, 2; *vāci*, 3; *vivāci*, 4; *sruci*; from AV., *udr'ci*, vi.48.1–3; *tvaci*, i.23.4.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belongs: *ākṛttaruk*, x.84.4.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *tanūrūcā*; *yatāsruccā*, 2; *suṽācā*.

Feminines: (*a*—with strengthened stem) *satya-vācā* (*-vāc*), x.12.1 and AV. v.1.9; (*b*) *ghṛtapr'cā*, RV., once; *tanūrūcā*, once.

II. Feminines: *vācau*; *sicau*, 2.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. Here belong 41 forms (from 18 stems). Enumeration: (*a*—with strengthened stem) *abhi-shā'cas*, 3; *á-yajña-sācas*; *drogha-vā'cas*; *nr-shā'cas*, voc.; *nr-shā'cas*, 2; *ranya-vā'cas*; *rayi-shā'cas*; *rāti-shā'cas*, 8; *satya-vā'cas*; *smād-rāti-shācas*; *hari-shā'cas*; from AV., *abhi-shā'cas*, xviii.4.44; *rāti-shā'cas*, xviii.3.20; (*b*) *dudhrā-vācas*; *yatāsrucas*, 8; *vasurūcas*; *vivācas*, 2; *surūcas*, 3; *suṽā'cas*, 3; *sūktāvācas*; *sūriatvacas*, voc.; from AV., *surūcas*, xviii.3.22; *suṽā'cas*, ii.5.2; *saṁśicas*, xi.8.13.

Feminines (21 forms, from 8 stems): *āpr'cas*; *r'cas*, 5; *divo-rūcas*; *pr'cas*; *bhadravācas*, voc.; *rūcas*, 2; *vā'cas*, 6; *srūcas*, 4; from AV., *r'cas* (N. and A.), 14; *vimūcas*, vi.112.3; *nimrūcas*, xiii.3.21; *vā'cas*, twice; *śicas*, xiv.2.51; *srūcas*, v.27.5: xix.42.2 (text *srucās*!).

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *anr'cas*; *arūcas*; *mṛdhrāvācas*, 3; *vādhriṽācas*; *vivācas*, 2.

Feminines: *mṛdhrāvācas*; *rūcas*, 2; *vā'cas*, 4; *surūcas*; *srūcas*; from AV., *durvā'cas*, iv.17.5; *śūcas*, vii.100.1; *śicas*, xi.9.18; 10.20; *surūcas*, iv.1.1.

Irregular accent. In i.113.17, *vācās* (*úd iyarti vāhniḥ*) must be an acc. (cf. ii.42.1); so *srucās*, AV. xviii.4.2.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belongs *rgbhīs*, ii.35.12: AV. x.1.12: xii.1.38; 4.49.

ABLATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belongs *rgbhyās*, AV. x.5.30: xiii.4.38.

GENITIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belong: *rcā'm*, x.71.11; from AV., *rcā'm*, x.8.10: xv.6.3; *tvacā'm*, xii.3.51; *madhupr'cām* (sc. *apā'm*), iii.13.5.

STEMS IN RADICAL CH.

Here belongs *bandhu-pr'ch-ā*, N.d.m., iii.54.16. The forms *vipr'cham*, *sampr'cham*, *sampr'che*, and *prché* occur as infinitives.

STEMS IN RADICAL J.

Several stems are treated here whose final *j* is not radical, but belongs to the derivative suffix *aj* or *ij* (p. 327). They are: *trshnāj* (from *tr'shnā*), *dhrshāj*, *sanāj*, *uṣāj*, *vanāj*, *bhurāj*. Of less clear formation are the stems *bhi-shāj* and *āsrj* (from *asar-ij*?—cf. Cretic *εἶαρ*, 'blood'). The adverb *ninik* (which BR. refer directly to stem *ninij*) is best explained as standing for *niniák*, *niniā'k* (p. 456). The *ak* may be referred to root *ac* or to the suffix *aj* (*niniā+aj*; cf. *trshnā'j*).

The stem *ásrj* is supplemented by *asán* thus: *ásrk*, *ásrk*, *asná'*, *asnás*, *asnás*.

The forms are alike for the m. and f. Most monosyllabic stems used as substantives are f.; but *áj*, *yá'j*?, *yúj*, and *ráj* are m., and *bhráj* occurs as a m. adj. Neuter forms are found from the stems *ásrj*, *çvātrabhá'j*, *suyáj*, *svaráj*, and *svá'vrj*.

The distinction of strong and weak cases.

1. Nasalization. This is seen only in two words, *yúnjam* (*yújam* occurs 15 times) and *yúnjá* (*yújá* occurs once); but the VS. has also *yún*, N.s.m.

2. Of the lengthening of an interior radical *ā* there is no certain example.

The compounds of *-rá'j* appear with long *ā* in the weak cases (*virá'je*, *samrá'je*) as well as in the strong. In like manner we have *bhrájá'* as I.s.f. Here, therefore, we must consider the long vowel as inherent in the root or stem. (Different is the root in *giri-bhrá'j*.)

The same is true of *-bhá'j*. The Rik has the forms: *pītubhá'jas*; *pārva-bhá'jam*, *-bhá'jas*; *prathamabhá'jam*; *gobhá'jas*; *vāmabhá'jas*; *ratnabhá'jas*. G.s.f.; *çvātrabhá'jā*, I.s.n. All these, save the last two, occur in strong cases, and no form has *ā*.

Gr. sets up the first three stems with short *ā*; but if the long *ā* were not inherent in the stem (cf. the later forms cited by BR. v.240), we should have to assume strong forms (*ratnabhá'jas*, *çvātrabhá'jā*) in weak cases (G.s.f. and I.s.n.)! Cf. *dvipá'de*, rad. *d*-stems, D.s.n.

The verbal *-yá'j*, on the other hand, appears generally with *ā* (*diviyájas*, *satya-yájam*, *suyájam*, *prksháprayajas*—all strong forms). For *yát* as a voc., see V.s.m. For *ava-yá's*, see N.s.m.

I am inclined to think that a comprehensive examination of the exceptions to the law respecting the reconversion of palatals to gutturals before the suffix *a* [Lindner, p. 13, 3,] would show that in many cases the words with *c* or *j* belong to later texts (*rucá*, VS.; *rujá*, MBh.) and are by origin new forms of transition rather than old and normal formations (cf. *-rác*, *róka*).

Thus we have in viii.45.13, *indra dṛdhá' cid árujám*; and so in iii.45.2, *vrtrakhádó valámrujáh purá'm dārmó apá'm ajáh . . . indro dṛdhá' cid árujáh*. Despite the accent, I can not but think that these *a*-forms, *árujā-m* etc., are transition-forms made after analogy of radical stems in *j* (*çaphá-ráj-am*, *ruj-as*, *ratha-yúj-am*), and in part under the influence of the metre and the similar verse-ending.

A real stem *a-yuja* is ill-authenticated in Vedic texts. In Pâr. Gr̥hy. i.17.3, Codex Wilson 451 reads *ayugmāksharam*; and in Açv. Gr̥hy. iv.2.2; 5.3, the edition reads *a-yuj-o* (N.p.). In i.15.7, however, we find—just where we should expect it—a form of transition to the *a*-declension, *ayujāni* (*nāmāni*), used to avoid the unfamiliar *a-yūñ-i*. Accordingly in RV. viii.51.2, *ayujó* (*ásamo nr'bhīh*) may be due to a merely formal parallelism; cf. p. 468. The metre would be good with *ayúg utá'samo nr'bhīh*, or the like.

The late forms *bhrájá-s* and *bhrájá'ya* have *bhráj-ā'*, perhaps, for their point of departure.

Transition to the *i*-declension. The form *tujáye* (accent—cf. *tuj-é*, iv.1.3: v.41.9), v.46.7, is a transition-dative to *túj*, equivalent to *tujé* in meaning. There is no oxytone stem *tují*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

The final radical *j* appears as *k* or as *t* in general according as it represents an original *g*¹ or *g*². See Ascoli, *Corsi di glottologia*, i.106,117; and Hübschmann, in Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* xxiii.384-90. Cf. stems in rad. *h*, N.s.m.f.

I. Masculines: *abhúk*; *uśík*, 4; *rtayúk*; *rtv-ík*; *ghrtánirnik*, 3; *candránirnik*; *parāvṛ'k*, 2; *bhishák*, 3; *vaník*; *saṁvṛ'k*; *sayúk*; from AV., *ardha-bhā'k*, vi.86.3; *bhishák*, v.29.1: x.4.15; *çatā-bhishak*, xix.7.5; *hīranyasrak*, x.6.4. See also V.s.m.f.

Feminines: *nirník*, 2; *hīranyanirník*, 2.

(a) Here also belongs the form *yūññ (asī)*, VS. x.25; it stands for *yūñk*. Cf. p. 456 and Vāj. Pr. iv.104.

II. Masculines: *ekarā't*; *bhrā't*; *rā't*, 2; *vanerā't*; *vibhrā't*, 2; *virā't*, 2; *viçvabhrā't*; *saṁrā't*, 12; *svarā't*, 5; from AV., *ekarā't*, iii.4.1; *virā't*, or f., 20 times, as ix.10.24; *saṁrā't*, thrice. Cf. *yāt*, V.s.m.

Feminines: *rā't*, v.46.8; *virā't*, twice.

III. The form *avayā's* occurs in i.173.12 as f. (p. *ava-yā'h*); so AV. ii.35.1 (p. *ava-yā'l*); further, *ā'vayās*, m., i.162.5 (p. *ā'vayāh*). Cf. *Ind. Stud.* xiii.96. These forms are referred by BR. and Gr. to stems *avayā'j* and *ā'vayāj*. It is doubtful whether the long vowel is inherent in the stem. The forms of the grammarians, *avayājam* etc., do not occur; and the *ā* of the nom. may be explained as a vicarious lengthening. The genetic series would be: *ava-yag²-s*, *-yaz-s*, *-yaç-s*, *-yā's*. See Johannes Schmidt, *Vervantschaftsverhältnisse*, p. 11; and S. Goldschmidt, *Z.D.M.G.* xxvii.709. Cf. *çveta-vā's*, from *-vaç-s*, *-vagh²-s*. *Sadhā-mā's* and *puro-dā's* are not entirely parallel.

Transition to *a*-declension: *bhrājā-s*, x.170.3; see also p. 462.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong: *āsṛk*, i.164.4; AV. iv.12.4,5; Ait. Br. ii.9; *svā'vrk* (*amṛ'tam*), RV. x.12.3; *suyúk*, as adv., iii.58.2; and perhaps *niník* (see pp. 461, 456). For *āsṛt*, see p. 466 top.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines (61 forms, from 22 stems): (a) *yūñjam*; (b) *uśijam*, 3; *rtvījam*, 11; *jyeshtharā'jam*, 2; *trshnūjam*; *parāvṛ'jam*, 2; *pārvabhā'jam*, 2; *pṛtand'jam*; *prathamabhā'jam*; *prātaryūjam*; *yūjam*, 15; *yuvāyūjam*; *rathayūjam*, 2; *virā'jam*; *çaphārūjam*; *satyayūjam*, 2; *saṁrā'jam*, 4; *sayūjam*; *sutyūjam*; *suyūjam*; *suyūjam*; *svarā'jam*, 5; *svavṛ'jam*; from AV., *āj-am*, xix.50.5; *tribhūjam*, viii.9.2; *virā'jam*, or f., 6 times, as viii.9.7,9; *vanūjam*, iii.15.1; *susrā'jam*, xx.128.15.

Feminines (61 forms, from 10 stems); *upaspījam*; *ā'rjam*, 36; *tūjam*; *nirñijam*, 13; *parivṛ'jam*; *bhūjam*, 3; *manoyūjam*, 2; *virā'jam*; *sahāsranirñijam*; *srā'jam*, 2; from AV., *bhūjam*; *svarā'jam*; *ā'rjam*, 27; *srā'jam*, 2.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *manoyújá*; *yújá'*, 30 times, and i.39.4: viii.85.15; *vacoyújá*; *sahásranirñjá*, 2; *suyújá*, 3; from AV., *bhishájá*, ii.9.5; *yújá*, iv.23.5: v.21.11: xiii.1.3; *sayújá*, v.14.7: vii.108.2.

Feminines: *úrjá'*, 6; *tujá'*, 4; *nirñjá*; *bhrájá'*; from AV., *manoyújá*, v.7.5; 10.8; *virá'já*, xv.14.5.

Neuter: *çvātra-bhā'j-ā* (*vāyasā*), viii.4.9.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *trshnáje*, 2; *rakshoyúje*; *vanúje*; *samrá'je*, 2; *svará'je*, 3; from AV., *mṛtā-bhrá'j-e*, iv.4.1; *yújé*, vi.54.1,2; *virá'je*, *samrá'je*, and *svará'je*, xvii.22,23. Transition-form: *bhrá'jā'ya*, VS. viii.40.

Feminines: *úrjé*, 2; *tujé*, 2; *nirñje*, 4; *bhujé*, 5; from AV., *tujé*, vi.33.1; *úrjé*, twice. Transition-form: *tujáye*, v.46.7 (p. 462).

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *yújás*; *virá'jas*. Feminine: *nirñjas*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *u'jás*; *samrá'jas*; *svará'jas*, 2.

Feminines: *úrjás*, 11; *úrjas*, with voc., 10; *prayújas*; *yújás*; *ratna-bhā'j-as* (p. 462); from AV., *úrjás*, 4; *virá'jas*, 6; *bhráj-as*, vii.90.2.

Neuter: *svará'jas* (*gotrásya*), x.120.8.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *ácçvanirñji*. Feminine: *samś'r'ji*.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *ghṛ'tanirñik*; *samrát*, 3; perhaps *ákr̥ttaruk*, AV. iv.31.4 (cf. RV. x.84.4, *c*-stem).

BR., vi.8, take *yāt*, x.61.21, as a verb; so Sây., *ayāt* | *yaja*. Roth proposed to take it as a vocative, 'O offerer.' Since the *j* of *yaj* represents original *g*², the normal nom. s. would be *yā't*; and corresponding to this, according to the grammarians, the voc. s. would be *yāt* (cf. *prāt*).

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines (44 forms, from 13 stems): (a) *yúnjá*; (b) *ṛtvújá*, 2; *tanūtyújá*; *purubhujá*, 10; *púshkarasrajá*; *prātaryújá*; *brahmayújá*, 3; *bhishájá*, 5; *yújá*; *vacoyújá*, 4; *samrá'já*, 10; *sayújá*; *sākamyújá*; *suyújá*, 3; from AV., *púshkarasrajá*; *bhishájá*; *sayújá*, 2; *manoyújá*, vi.65.1.

Feminine: *sanájá*, i.62.7.

II. Masculines: *apnará'jau*; *bhishajau*; *samrá'jau*; from AV., *sayújau*, vii.53.2; *suyújau*, vi.140.3; *anāv'r'jau*, ix.4.12.

Feminine: *acçvayújau*, AV. xix.7.5.

DATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

Here belongs *bhishágbhyám*, AV. x.6.12.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Gen. masc.: *samrāj̥as*. Gen. fem.: *bhur̥j̥as*, iv.2.14: viii.4.16: AV. xx.127.4. Loc. fem.: *bhur̥j̥as*, ix.26.4: 71.5.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines (63 forms, from 28 stems): *átr̥sh̥n̥ajas*; *ásvap̥n̥ajas*, 2; *u̥c̥j̥as*, 14; *rt̥v̥j̥as*, 4; *krt̥úd̥h̥v̥ajas*; *girib̥hr̥j̥as*; *ghrt̥án̥ir̥n̥j̥as*; *tan̥úty̥j̥as*; *tr̥sh̥n̥j̥as*; *diviy̥j̥as*; *dury̥j̥as*; *dh̥r̥sh̥j̥as*; *nihs̥r̥j̥as*; *pit̥ub̥h̥d̥j̥as*, 2; *p̥úrv̥ab̥h̥d̥j̥as*; *prt̥and̥j̥as*; *brahm̥ay̥j̥as*, 2; *bhi-sh̥j̥as*, 2; *manoy̥j̥as*, 4; *m̥itr̥ay̥j̥as*; *y̥j̥as*, 2; *rath̥ay̥j̥as*, 2; *var̥sh̥án̥ir̥n̥j̥as*, 2; *v̥ám̥ab̥h̥d̥j̥as*, 2; *samr̥j̥as*; *samr̥d̥j̥as*, 3; *suy̥j̥as*, 4; *svay̥j̥as*; *svar̥d̥j̥as*, 3; from AV., *svar̥d̥j̥as*; *y̥j̥as*, 2; *bhish̥j̥as*, 3; *rt̥v̥j̥as*, 7; *rt̥v̥j̥as*, vi.2.1; *áy̥j̥as* and *pray̥j̥as*, xi.8.25; *v̥ig̥vas̥r̥j̥as*, xi.7.4; *h̥árit̥as̥raj̥as*, x.8.31.

Feminines: *abh̥iy̥j̥as*; *u̥c̥j̥as*; *á'r̥j̥as*; *gob̥h̥d̥j̥as*; *t̥j̥as*; *n̥ir̥n̥j̥as*; *pr̥k̥sh̥ápr̥ay̥j̥as*; *pray̥j̥as*, 3; *bh̥j̥as*; *stan̥ábh̥j̥as*; *sud̥y̥j̥as*; from AV., *á'r̥j̥as*, xii.1.12.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

No example. Paradigm: *ḁc̥va-y̥úñ̥ji*. In place of this, a form of transition is used: e. g., *ay̥uj̥āni* (p. 462).

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ád̥hin̥ir̥n̥j̥as*; *ḁc̥vay̥j̥as*; *u̥c̥j̥as*, 2; *catur̥y̥j̥as*; *v̥j̥as*, 2; *çaph̥ár̥j̥as* (and AV. viii.3.21); *say̥j̥as*; *suy̥j̥as*, 3 (and AV., 6).

Feminines: *abh̥iy̥j̥as*, 5; *t̥j̥as*; *pray̥j̥as*; *bh̥j̥as*, 2; *sr̥j̥as* (and AV. xx.127.3).

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *ar̥un̥ay̥j̥gb̥his*; *u̥c̥j̥gb̥his*, 2; *rt̥ay̥j̥gb̥his*, 3; *svay̥j̥gb̥his*; *svay̥j̥gb̥his*, 2 (and AV. ii.5.4). In AV. vii.4.1d, read *n̥iy̥j̥ud̥b̥his* (BR.).

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Dative: *u̥c̥j̥gb̥his*. Ablative: *bhish̥ágb̥his*, AV. xix.2.3; 56.2 ?.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *u̥c̥j̥ám*, 3; *rt̥v̥j̥ám*; *bhish̥j̥ám* (and AV. vi.24.2).

Feminines: *ár̥j̥á'm*, 2; *n̥irm̥aj̥ám*; *bh̥uj̥á'm*. In 5 instances Gr. resolves: *ár̥j̥ádm*, *-ádm*.

LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belong: *sṛakshā*; *prayākshu*, AV. v.27.5,6. For *prayākshu* the TS. (iv.1.8') and VS. (xxvii.14) read *prayātsu*! Cf. *āsrđ* (*d-*), p. *āsrđ*, TS. vii.4.9; *samyāt te* (for *samyāk*), i.2.7'; and the etymology: *yād ādhrīyāta tād ghr̥tām abhavat*, ii.3.10', cited by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.106,107.

STEMS IN RADICAL *T* AND *D*.

No stem ends in *t*. For *raghāt-as*, AV. viii.7.24, BR. suggest *raghāvas* (i. e., *gyend's*).

Two stems end in *d*, *i'd* and *id* (= *ish*). The former occurs only in the I.s.f., *idā*, viii.39.1. The latter occurs as follows: *idā*, 3; *idās*, as G.s., 10. In vii.47.1, Gr. takes *idās* as A.p.; but the accent would then be exceptional. I join it as G.s. with *ūrnīm*. See *sh*-stems.

STEMS IN RADICAL *T*.

A very considerable number of stems are treated here whose final *t* is not radical, but belongs to one of the derivative suffixes *it*, *ut*, *vat*, *tāt*, *at* (p. 327). They are: *taḍit*, *divit*, *yoshit*, *rohāt*, *sarīt*, *harīt*; *marūt*; *arvāvāt*, *āvāt*, *udvāt*, *nivāt*, *parāvāt*, *pravāt*, *saṁvāt*; *uparātāt*, *devātāt*, *vṛkātāt*, *satyātāt*, *sarvātāt*; *veh-āt*, *vah-āt*, *sṛav-āt*, *saçc-āt*. Isolated stand *nāpāt*, *tānūnāpāt*, and *prānapāt*.

It will be observed that some stems admit of a double analysis: either as radical stems from roots ending in *t*; or as stems formed by root + consonant *t*. We may divide: *māla-kr'-t*, or *-kr't* (*kart*, 'cut'); *vṛ't*, or *vṛ'-t* (BR.); *ishu-kr'-t* (Mahīdh. to VS. xvi.46, *ishūn vānān kurvanti te ishukṛtaḥ*), or *-kr't* (Gr.). In *div-it* Gr. sees the suffix *it*; BR., the root *i* + *t*. Cf. *didyūt* and *didyū*; *dyūt* and *dyū*.

Three stems of exceptional formation are supplemented by others: *nāpāt*, by *nāptar*; *yākr̥t*, by *yakān*; *çākr̥t*, by *çakān*.

The forms are alike for the m. and f. There are but four monosyllabic stems, *dyūt*, *nṛ't*, *pr't*, *vṛ't*—all fem. Six neuter stems are found: *akshipāt* and *ānapāvṛt*; *çākr̥t* and *yākr̥t*; *samyāt* (in I.s.); and *trivṛ't*, in the sense of 'amulet.' For *çrāt*, see rad. *th*-stems.

No stems exhibit the distinction of strong and weak cases; but the accusatives pl. *vṛ'tas* and *nṛ'tas* are accented regularly as strong cases.

The stems in *tāt* perhaps owe their origin to forms of transition on the part of the *tāti*-stems to the consonant or *t*-declension. For these transitions the I.s. might serve as a point of departure, the forms *devātātā*, *satyātātā*, *sarvātātā* being easily referable to *t*-stems (as adverbial instrumentals), or to *i*-stems (as locatives): so in x.111.4—see I.s.f. A like transition is seen in the *tā*-stem *avī'ratā*, which makes a D.s. from a *t*-stem *avī'rat-e*; see p. 359 med.

From *sac*, 'stick, stop, cease,'—i. e. *sa-s(a)c*, a reduplicated form of *sac*?—are derived two peculiar formations. We have: 1. the substantive *sac-át* (like *vah-át*), f., 'a stopping,' and concrete, 'a hinderer;' and 2. the participle *sac-at* (ii.16.4, *vṛshabhā'ya śacate*). 1. From the noun *sac-át* we have the bahuvrīhi adj. *a-sacát*, with regular accent (cf. Garbe, in Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* xxiii.512). This appears in the masc. form: *asaścátā*, N.d., vii.67.9; and in the fem. forms: *asaścátam*, A.s., ii.32.3; *-átā*, I.s., x.69.8; *-átā*, N.d., i.160.2; *-átas*, N.p., 10 times. 2. From the participle *sac-at* we have the negative compound *á-sacāt*, with regular accent (cf. Garbe, l.c., p. 494). This appears in the masculine *ásacātam*, i.112.9 (formed without nasal like participles of reduplicating class, *dádat* etc.); and in the fem. forms: *ásacāntī*, N.s., iii.57.6; viii.31.4; *ásacāntī*, vi.70.2 (formed with nasal, the character of *sac* as reduplicated root being obscured by the syncopation of *ā*).

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *anāvṛ't*; *cikít*, 4; *tadít*; *tánūnápāt*, 2; *nápāt*, 14 *prānapāt*; *manascút*; *vipaścút*, 2; *vishāvṛ't*; *suṛ't*, 3; from the Atharvan, *ekavṛ't*, xiii.4.12; *ābandhukṛt* (iv.19.1) and *mālakṛ't* (iv.28.6), from *kart*, 'cut;' *vipaścút*, 4 times; *napāt*, 5; *tánū-nápāt*. For *sāyavasā't*, RV. x.106.10, the *padakāra* writes *suṇyavasa-át*!

Feminines: *didyút*, 8; *parāvát*; *pravát*, 2; *rohít*; *vidyút*, 8; from AV., *apacút*, vi.83.3; *vehát*, iii.23.1; *vidyút*, 6 times.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong: *trivṛ't* (*ánnam*); *śákr't*; *akshipát* (2) and *án-apāvṛ't* (2), as adverbs; from AV., *ekavṛ't*, viii.9.25,26; *trivṛ't*, v.28.4,6,11; *yákr't*, ix.7.11: x.9.16; *śákr't*, xii.4.9.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines (51 forms, from 10 stems): *acítam*; *ghṛta-ścútam*, 2; *tánūnápātam*; *trivṛ'tam*, 4; *nápātam*, 20; *madhu-ścútam*, 10; *vipaścútam*, 6; *vishāvṛ'tam*; *suṛ'tam*, 5; *huraścútam*; from AV., *duścútam*, 2; *vipaścútam*, 3; *nápātam*; *trivṛ'tam*, 3; *ekavṛ'tam*, xiii.4.15.

Feminines: *arvāvátam*; *asaścátam* (ii.32.3); *āvṛ'tam*, 2; *ghṛta-ścútam*, 3; *dyútam*; *parāvátam*, 3; *pravátam*; *yoshítam*; *vicṛ'tam*; *vidyútam*, 2; *vipaścútam*; *vṛ'tam*, 2; *sañyátam*, 5; *sañcṛ'tam*; from AV., *vipaścútam*, 2; *vidyútam*, 3; *parāvátam*, 2; *pravátam*; *yoshítam*; *rohítam*, iv.4.7; *āvṛ'tam*, x.5.37bis; *sañvṛ'tam*, viii.6.4; *vehátam*, xii.4.37,38; *sañvátam*, vi.29.3; 105.2.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *trivṛ'tā*, 4; *divítā*; *suṛ'tā*, 6.

Feminines (36 forms, from 15 stems): *asaścátā* (x.69.8); *ácítā*; *udvátā*; *ghṛta-ścútā*; *trivṛ'tā*; *devátātā*, 3; *dyutā*, 2; *nivátā*; *pracátā*; *pravátā*, 12; *vidyútā*, 5; *vṛtā*, 2; *satyátātā*; *sarvátātā*, 3; *harítā*; from AV., *vidyútā*, 4; *nivátā*, v.3.2.

The forms from *tāt*-stems may also be taken as locatives s. of *tāti*-stems; see p. 466. See also p. 386 top, and *Wb.* 1490.

Neuters: *saṃyātā*, i.151.8: vi.16.21; *trivṛ'tā*, AV. v.28.2,8: xix.27.3 and 9 (m. ?).

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *acāte*; *vipaçcāte*, 2; *sudyāte*.

Feminines: *devātāte*, 3; *vidyāte*, AV, i.13.1: xi.4.2. Here Gr., after Bollensen, puts *ishu-kr't-e va*, p. -ā-iva, i.184.3; see N.d.m. Transition from the *ā*-declension: *avī'rat-e* (pp. 466, 359).

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *vidyātas* (*haskārā't*), i.23.12.

Feminines: *arvāvātas*, 4; *udvātas*, 3; *didyātas*; *nivātas*, 2; *parāvātas*, 35; *pravātas*, 3; *saṃvātas*; from AV., *vidyātas*, 2; *parāvātas*, 3; *pravātas*, iv.25.6. In RV. x.142.4, *udvātas* and *nivātas* may be accusatives pl.

The TS., i.8.14', has *didyón mā páhi* (p. *didyót*); the VS., xx.2, *vidyót páhi* (Mahidh., *vidyutah mām páhi*). Weber would explain *didyót* as standing for *didyós* (stem *didyú*), with irregular phonetic transition of *s* to *t*; see Kuhn's *Beiträge*, iii.388-9. He would accordingly read *didyót* in the VS.; see *Ind. Stud.* xii.101, note. Roth, on the other hand, explains *vidyót* as an ungrammatical formation from the stem *vidyút*, and as due to the parallelism of the formula, *mṛtyóh páhi vidyót páhi* (BR. vi.1066). That such outward parallelism in the sound of a formula could call forth such irregular formations is clear from AV. xvi.4.6, *usháso doshásac ca*. The stem *doshá'* passes into the *as*-declension simply on account of the juxtaposition of *ushás*; see *as*-stems, G.s.n. A similar ungrammatical form is probably *cákshos*, stem *cákshus* (p. 410 top). We need not assume a stem *cákshu*; see p. 412 end. Cf. *pathe-shthá'* (for *pathi*-), an ungrammatical imitation of *rathe-shthá'*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *trivṛ'tas*; *vipaçcātas*, 2; *sacātas*; *sudyātas*, 2.

Feminines: *pravātas*, 2; *vidyātas*; *pravātas*, AV. xii.1.2; *pravatas*, with voc., thrice.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE AND NEUTER.

Feminines: *arvāvāti*, 7; *uparātāti*, 2; *devātāti*, 2; *parāvāti*, 17; *vṛkātāti*.

Neuter: *trivṛ'ti*, AV. v.28.3.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *tanūnapāt*, 5; *napāt*, 17; perhaps *marut* in *evayāmarut*, v.87.1-9.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *asaçcātā*, vii.67.9; *napātā*, 3 times; *nāpātā*, 4; *vipaçcātā*, v.63.7 (and AV. vi.97.2); *ishu-kr'tā*, i.184.3 (? see D.s.f.).

Feminines: *asaçcātā*, i.160.2; *āvr'tā*; *madhu-çcūtā*; *harītā*.

II. Feminines: *vṛ'tau*, 2; *vicṛ'tau*, AV. ii.8.1: iii.7.4: vi.121.3.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

Genitive: *harītos*. Locative: *vicṛ'tos*, AV. vi.110.2.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *āvr'tas*; *ṛshṭividyutas*; *ghṛta-çcūtas*, 3; *nāpātas*, 3; *vidyūtas*; *vipaçcūtas*, 9; *saṁyātas*, 2; *sūriacçvītas*; *svāvidyut-as*; *harītas*; *hrādunīvr'tas*; from AV., *duçcūtas*, v.31.5; *ekavr'tas*, xiii.4.13,21; *vipaçcūtas*. In the Rik, *marūtas* occurs 133 times as N. or A., most often as N. As vocatives occur in the Rik: *indrāmarutas*; *ṛshṭividyutas*; *nāpātas*, 5; *marutas*, 176; *vidyutas*.

Feminines: *asaçcūtas*, 10; *udvātas*; *ghṛta-çcūtas*, 3; *tadītas*; *pravātas*; *madhu-çcūtas*; *vahātas*; *vidyūtas*, 10; *saṁyātas*, 3; *sarītas*; *sraṁvātas*, 5; *harītas*, 12; from AV., *apaçcūtas*, vii.76.2bis; *āpaçcūtas*, vi.83.1; *ādvātas*, 3 times; *vidyūtas*, 4; *parādvātas*; *yoshūtas*, 3; *āvr'tas*, 2; *upāvr'tas*; *harītas*, 7; *sarītas*, xii.2.41.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *acūtas*, 3; *adyūtas*; *ghṛta-çcūtas*; *marūtas*, see N.; *vipaçcūtas*; *huraçcūtas*.

Feminines: *udvātas*, 2; *dakshināvr'tas*; *didyūtas*, 2; *nivātas*, 2; *parādvātas*, 6; *pravātas*, 7; *madhu-çcūtas*; *rohītas*, 3; *vidyūtas*; *vr'tas*, 3; *saṁyātas*, 2; *saṁvātas*, 2; *sarītas*; *saçcūtas* (i.42.7; iii.9.4; vii.97.4); *sraṁvātas*, 2; *harītas*, 11; from AV., *nivātas*; *parādvātas*, 6; *pravātas*, 5; *yoshūtas*, 2; *trivr'tas*; *saṁvr'tas*, 6; *purāvr'tas* and *vishāvr'tas*, x.2.11; *nr'tas*, x.2.17.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *marūdḅhis*, 35 (and AV., 7). Feminine: *pravādḅhis*. Neuter: *trivr'dḅhis* (gender?), AV. xix.27.3,9bis.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Dative: *marūdḅhyas*, 3; *-ḅhis*, 10. Ablative: *marūdḅhis*, i.85.8. Gr. proposes the resolution *-ḅhis* in 11 instances; in only one (x.77.7) is it necessary—the others being at the end of catalectic *pādas*. In v.54.9, read *prayādḅhyas*—root *i*.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *vipaçcūtām*; *marutām*, 2; *marūtām*, 30 (and AV., 6); *marūtādm*, 7 (resolution necessary in all instances but i.3S.10 and viii.83.1).

Feminines: *pravātām*, 2; from AV., *apaçcūtām*, vi.25.1-3; vii.74.1; *vidyūtām*, xix.44.5; *sraṁvātām*, vi.86.2.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *marūtsu*, 8.

Feminines: *udvātsu*; *nivātsu*; *pravātsu*; *prtsū*, 31.

Double ending. Little importance ought to be attached to the oft-mentioned curiosity *prt-sū-shu*. The fact that it occurs in hymn i.129 (verse 4) detracts considerably from its value.

STEMS IN RADICAL TH.

There are five stems in *th*: *páth* and *supáth*, m.; *abhiṣnáth*, adj. m.; *káprth*; *gráth*, n. The final of the last stem is uncertain. BR. set up *grát* or *grád*; Gr. connects *gráth* with the verbal root *grath*. BR. and Gr. regard *káprth* as masculine; but it seems necessary (with A. Ludwig) to consider it as neuter on account of the A.s. *káprt*, x.101.12. In this verse, the stem shows also a form of transition to the *a*-declension, with shift of accent, *kaprthá-m*. The stem *páth* supplements *pánthā* (p. 441) and *pathí*. Gr. explains the *ā* of *páth-ás* at the beginning of ii.2.4*d* as a metrical lengthening; this is hard to believe for the first syllable of the *pāda*. The A.p. of *páth* is accented irregularly as a weak case, *path-ás*. The forms follow.

Singular: N., *káprt*, x.86.16,17; A., *káprt*, x.101.12; *grát*, 8 times; I., *pathá'*, 28 (and AV., 6); *pathá'n a*, i.129.9 (cf. p. 335); *supáthā*, 3 times; D., *pathé*, VS. xviii.54; Ab., *pathás*, 5 times (and AV., 2); *abhiṣnáthas* (*vájrāt*), x.138.5; G., *pathás*, 4 times (and AV. v.30.7); *pathas* (*pate*); *páthás*, ii.2.4; L., *pathí*, 3 times (and AV. xiv.1.63).

Plural: A., *pathás*, 28 (and AV., 5); *pathá'm*, 3 (and AV., 2); *patháám*, vii.73.3.

STEMS IN RADICAL D.

Here belong about a hundred stems, from the roots *ad*, *kshad*, *chad*, *chid*, *trd*, *nid*, *nud*, *pad*, *bhid*, *mad*, *mud*, *rud*, 1*vid*, 2*vid*, *sad*, *sud*, *sād*, *syad*. The most frequent are those with *-vid* and *-sād*. I have not distinguished 1*vid* from 2*vid* in the enumerations. In *dyur-dād-am*, AV. vi.52.3, we have a new formation in which the reduplicated root *dād* (from *dā*) is treated as a primitive verbal.

The stems in which the *d* is suffixal are comparatively few, and are: *drshád*, *dhṛshád*, *bhasád*, *subhasád*, *vanád*, *ṣarád*. For *kákúd*, *kákúd*, see p. 471.

The forms are alike for m., f., and n., except of course in the N.A.n. There are 5 monosyllabic fem. stems: *úd*, *níd*, *bhíd*, *múd*, *vid*; one masc., *pád*; and one neut., *hr'd*. The other neuters are compounds of *pád*, and several with *chid*, *vid*, and *syad*. *Há'rd* also appears in composition with *dus* and *su*. The compounds of *pád* generally form the fem. stem with *ī*.

The distinction of strong and weak cases is seen only in *pád* and its compounds. The *a* is lengthened in the strong cases. There is, however, a curious wavering between the strong and weak stem in the N.A.s.n.; as, *dvipá't* or *dvipā't*. Once in the N.p.m. we have *dvipā'das*, AV. In the D.s. *dvipā'de*, the *ā* is metrical (cf. *abhimātishā'has*, i.91.18, and *satrásā'he*); but not in *pātsu*. Of *sadhāmā'd* and *somamā'd* only strong forms are found; but the *ā* is hardly inherent in the stem.

Irregularly accented are: *sād-ā*, I.s.; *pad-ás* and *nid-ás*, A.p.

Irregular phonetic treatment of the final stem consonant appears only in *padbhís*; see I.p.m.

Transitions to the vowel-declension. Several stems exhibit most interesting forms of transition. *Pád* is the Vedic stem for 'foot.' Undoubtedly its strong A.s. *pá'd-am* was the point of departure for the transition to the *a*-declension. As if the A.s. were *pá'da-m*, the N.s. *pá'da-s* was formed, and the N.p. *pá'dás*. These are the only transition-forms which the Rik shows, and—what is more important—they occur in the latest parts of the whole *samhitá*.

Pá'das occurs in the Purusha-hymn (x.90.3,4)—confessedly one of the very latest interpolations in the Rigveda; it is not N.p. of *pád*, but a transition N.s., and signifies 'one quarter' (a late and derived meaning of the word—Sây., *caturtho 'ñcah, lecah*), thus answering to *tripá'd*, 'three quarters.' *Pá'dás*, N.p., occurs in iv.58.3, and means the 'feet' of a melting-pot. Hymn 58 is the last of the book in our text, and certainly did not belong to the original collection. *Pá'dás*, N.p., occurs also in verse 9 of the mystical hymn to the Sun-horse, i.163. In the well-known modern medley, i.164, verse 12, occurs *pāñca-pādam*, A.s.m.; this might be referred to *pad*; but cf. *yadā . . . catushpādam* (nom. s. n.) *pañcapādam . . bhavati*, Adbh. Br. xii. Finally *nipá'dás*, N.p.m., occurs v.83.7.

The stem *níd* shows a solitary form of transition to the *a*-declension in vi.12.6, *sá tvám no [pāhi] aravan nídāyāh* (BR.), or *sá tvám no arvan [vi muso] nídāyāh* (Gr.). If *níd-a*, the I.s. of *níd*, were the point of departure, the accent ought to be *nídā'yás*; cf. *nāv-a* and *nāváyā*, p. 434.

From *sadha-má'd-am*, felt as *sadha-má'da-m*, may be derived the forms *sadha-má'de*, *-má'deshu*.

The stem *hr'd* is supplemented by *hr'daya*. Instead of *hr'd* (N.A.s.), we find *hr'dayam*; instead of *hr'ndi*, *hr'dayá*. The forms *hr'dayát*, *-e*, *-áni*, and *-eshu* occur almost exclusively in late passages.

Transition from the vowel-declension. The stem *kákuda* does not occur until the AV. and later texts—Ab., *kákudát*, AV. x.10.19; and unless we assume two independent formations in the case of *kaku(b)há* and *kakúbh*, I am strongly tempted to believe, in view of the accent, that the oxytone vowel-stem is the older, and that here the transition has been in the opposite direction, i. e. from the *a*-stem to the consonant-stem. The majority of forms in the older texts can be referred to vowel-stems.

The *d* of *kákúd* and *kákúd* is of problematic nature. Is it radical or suffixal? and if not suffixal, does it represent a radical *bh*?

Fick, indeed, separates *kak-úd* from *ka-kúbh*, and refers the former to root *kak*—the latter to *kubh* (Vgl. *Wb.*³ i.36 and 51). It is, however, by no means certain that *kákúd* and *kakúbh* are not identical. Weber thinks that the dental of *kákúd* is possibly a phonetic alteration of the labial. For this and other instances of equally anomalous changes, with suggestions respecting their significance, see *Ind. Stud.* xiii.108–110.

We have the following forms with the dental: N.s., *kákút*, vi.41.2; *kákút*, viii.44.16; AV., 4 times: TS. i.5.5¹: vii.2.5²–³, q.v.: VS. iii.12; *kákúdā*, viii.58.12; *kákúdas*, Ab., i.8.7; *kákúdi*, AV. iii.4.2: vii.76.3; *áti-kakúdas*, TS. v.6.17¹. It is not entirely clear whether these forms justify our setting up a stem *kákúd*. One does not set up dental stems for *áśrt* and *prayátsu*, p. 466.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. There are 97 forms (from 51 stems).

(a) The stem-vowel is lengthened. Forms: *apá't*, 2; *ékapát*, 7; *cátushpát*, 2; *tripá't* (x.90.4); *dvipá't*; *viçvátaspát*; *sahásrapát*; *sadhamá't*; from AV., *pá't*, xix.6.2; *apá't*; *cátushpát*, twice; *dvipát*, xiii.2.27bis; 3.25 (accent! cf. RV.); *çitipá't*, iii.29.1,2,6; *sárvapát*, x.10.27; *sahásrapát*, vii.41.2.

(b) The stem-vowel is unchanged. Forms (arranged by roots): *karambha-át*; *kravya-*, 2; *viçva-*; *havya-*;— *prathama-chát*;— *ukha-chít* (see N.p.n.);— *adri-bhít*; *ud-*; *gotra-*; *púr-*, 5;— *ákshetravit*, 2; *açva-vít*, 2; *kratu-*, 4; *kshetra-*; *gátu-*, 6; *go-*, 3; *draviṇo-*; *nabho-*; *rayi-*, 2; *vaco-*; *vayuná-*; *varivo-*, 6; *vasu-*, 5; *viçva-*, 7; *çrúta-*; *suar-*, 5; *hiraṇya-*;— *adma-sát*, 2; *antariksha-*; *upastha-*; *ṛta-*; *turāṇya-*; *duroṇa-*; *duvāṇya-*; *prágharma-*; *vara-*; *vioma-*; *susañ-*; *camū-shát*; *dru-*; *nṛ-*; *vedi-*; *çuci-*;— from AV., *gátu-vít*, *nátha-*, *paçu-*, *prajā-*, *vīra-*, xi.1.15; *purāṇa-*; *vasu-*; *sarva-*; *suar-*;— *trikakút*, iv.9.8; *udbhít*, v.20.11; *su-há'rti*, ii.7.5.

Transition to *a*-declension: *pá'da-s*, p. 471.

Feminine. There are 10 forms (from 9 stems).

Forms: (a) *apá't*, 2; (b) *kákút*; *dṛṣhát*; *bhasát*; *çarát*; *samvít*; *samsát*; *sūyavasád't*; from AV., *kakút*, vi.86.3: ix.4.8; 7.5: x.9.19; *dṛshát*, ii.31.1; *bhasát*, 3 times; *çarát*, 3; *sudsát*, xvi.4.2; *nishát*, xx.132.6,7 (ed. *vani*).

Quite isolated stands the form *sadha-má's*, N.s.m., vii.18.7; cf. p. 463. The regular form *sadha-má'd*, p. *-má't*, occurs iv.21.1.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

(a) We have the compounds of *-pad* with lengthened vowel: *dvipá't* and *cátushpát* (the forms with *á* occur together, and those with *ä* together also), iv.51.5: x.27.10; *tripá't*, x.90.3; from AV., *dvipá't* and *cátushpát*, vi.107.1-4: viii.8.14: xix.31.4; 34.1; *tripá't*, ix.10.19.

(b) On the other hand we have: *dvipá't* and *cátushpát*, i.49.3; 94.5; 124.1: x.97.20; *raghu-shyát* (*ánikam*), iv.5.9; *prakala-vít* (? as adv.), vii.18.15.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. There are 58 forms (from 30 stems).

(a) Forms: *apá'dam*, 2; *tripá'dam*; *pá'dam*; *sahásrapádam*; *sadha-má'dam*; from AV., *pá'dam*, 3; *çitipá'dam*, iii.29.3,5.

(b) Forms (arranged by roots): *kravya-ádam*, 2; *viçva-*;— *ud-bhídam*; *gotra-*, 2; *púr-*, 2;— *ahar-vídam*; *kratu-*; *kshetra-*; *gátu-*; *go-*, 3; *varivo-*; *vasu-*, 5; *viçva-*, 3; *saci-*; *suar-*, 12; *hotrá-*;— *garta-sádam*; *vanar-*; *susañ-*, 2; *apsu-shádam*; *dru-*; *dhūr-*, 3; *barhi-*;— *raghu-shyádam*, 3; *havana-syádam*; from AV., *gátu-vídam*; *go-*; *suar-*; *trikakídam*, v.23.9; *durhá'rdam*, viii.3.25.

Transition to *a*-declension: *páñcapáda-m*, p. 471.

Feminine. There are 15 forms (from 14 stems).

Forms: *upasádam*; *kákúdam*; *dṛshádam*; *nídam-nídam*; *nívídam*, 2; *parí-pádam*; *pitrshádam*; *barhiskádam*; *vacovídam*; *viçvavídam*; *çarádam*; *sam-vídam*; *samsádam*; *samádam*; from AV., *dyur-dád-am*, vi.52.3; *bhasádam*; *govídam*; *samvídám*; *parishádam*; *samádam*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *ápadushpadá*; *kshetravídá*; *cátushpadá*; *dvipádá*; *paddá*, 12; *varivovídá*; *suarvídá*; from AV., *paddá*, 3; *sushádá*,

iii.14.1 : ii.36.4 (read *-ām* ?). Here BR. (vii.603) put *sád-ā*,^{iv}iv.4.7. The accent is irregular.

Feminines : *udā*, 2 ; *upavídā*; *drshádā* (and AV., 2) ; *nivídā*, 2 ; *nishádā*, 2 ; *pravídā*; *mudā*; *vidā*; *samsádā*; *suarvídā*.

Neuters : *hrdā*, 21 (and AV., 3) ; *dushpádā*; *dvipádā* and *cátushpádā*, AV. xix.15.2.

Adverbial shift of accent is seen in *sarvahrđā*, for *-hr'dā*, x.160.3. See p. 358 top.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines : *apáde*; *kuhacidvíde*; *kravyá'de*; *cátushpade*; *vedisháde*; *sadanásáde*; *suarvídē*; from AV., *tadvíde*; *sarvavíde*; *suarvídē*.

Feminines : *nídē*, 8 ; *mudē*, 2 ; *pitrsháde*; *ṣaráde*, AV. viii.2.22.

Neuters : *hrđē*, 14 ; *dvipáde*, 11 ; *cátushpade*, 11 ; from AV., *hrđē*, 3 ; *cátushpade*, vi.59.1.

In *cátushpáde náriāya dvipá'de*, i.121.3*d*, the *ā* of the penultimate is purely metrical ; see A.s.n. (a).

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines : *dvipádas*; *padás*, AV. ix.5.3.

Feminines : *uttánápadas*, 2 ; *kákúdas*; *nídás*, 11 ; *samvídás*, AV. iii.5.5. For *nídáyás*, see p. 471.

Neuters : *hrđás*, 6 ; from AV., *hrđás*, 3 ; *shátpadas*, xiii.2.27.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines : *nrshádas*; *yavá'das*; *suarvídás*; from AV., *ékapadas*; *suarvídás*, 5 ; *raghushyádas*; *durhā'rđas*, 6.

Feminine : *samsádás*, AV. vii.12.3 ; *pramúdas*, RV. x.10.12, is A.p.f.

Neuters : *dvipádas* and *cátushpadas*, 2 (and AV. iv.28.1,6) ; *hrđás*, vii.101.5 : viii.18.19 (Gr.—text *hídás*) ; *hrđás*, AV., 9.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines : *padī*, 2 ; *suarvídī*, x.88.1 : AV. xvii.13.

Feminines : *nishádi*, 2 ; *ṣarádi*; *samsádi*, 2 ; *kakúdi*, AV. iii.4.2 : vii.76.3.

Neuter : *hrđī*, 13 ; AV., 12. In vi.53.6, *hrđī* may be an A.s.n. of stem *hrđī* (see BR.) ; and perhaps we have the same stem in x.91.13 and ii.23.16.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong : *viṣvavit*, ix.64.7 ; *sárvavit*, AV. vi.107.4.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines : (a) *pá'dā*, 6 ; (b) *aharvídā*, 2 ; *kavichádā* ; *kratuvídā*; *vasuvídā*; *viṣvavídā*; *suarvídā*.

In AV. xviii.2.12, we have *pathi-shád-i*, an ungrammatical imitation of *pathi-rákshī*, RV. x.14.11.

Feminines: *udbhádā*; *barhishádā*; *rapsúdā*?

II. Masculines: (a) *pádau*; from AV., *pádau*, 5; *pádau*, i.27.4; (b) *átmasádau*, v.9.8. Feminine: *grántasádau*, AV. vii.95.2.

INSTRUMENTAL AND ABLATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

Instr.: *padbhyám*, AV. v.30.13: xii.1.28. Abl.: *padbhyám*, RV., 2.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Gen. masc.: *padós*, AV. xii.4.5. Loc. masc.: *padós*, RV. Loc. fem.: *prápados*, AV. vi.24.2. In AV. i.18.2, *padós*, as well as *hástayos*, does duty for an Abl. See pp. 344 med., 392 med.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine. There are 64 forms (from 33 stems).

(a) Forms: *apádás*; *cátushpádas*; *dvipádás*; *çitipádás*; *sadhámádás*, 8; *somamádás*; from AV., *dvipádás*, xii.1.51; *cátushpádo dvipádó yánti yád mam*, x.2.6 (ð metrical?).

(b) Forms (arranged by roots): *úrja-adas*; *páruśha-ádas*; *madhu-*; *yavasa-*, 2; *soma-*; *havi-*;— *trdas*; *pra-*;— *deva-nídas*;— *ud-bhídas*, 4;— *ahar-vídas*; *níthā-*; *vaco-*, 2; *varívo-*, 2; *vasu-*; *suar-*, 7; *hotrá-*;— *adma-sádas*; *purah-*, 2; *çarma-*, 2; *svádusañ-*; *camū-shádas*, 5; *dhūr-*; *barhi-*, 2; *vanar-*, 2; *barhi-shádas*;— *raghu-shyádas*, 4; *vanádas* (suffix *ad*); from AV., *abhímodamídas*, 2; *svádúsammúdas*, vii.60.4; as voc., xiii.1.3;— *anna-vídas*; *gātu-* (voc.); *ní-*; *ní-*; *brahma-*, 12; *yajur-*; *viçva-*; *suar-*, 2;— *antariksha-sádas*, 2; *upa-*, 2; *divi-*, 2; *sabhā-*, 3;— *raghu-shyádas*;— *suhárdas*, iii.28.5: vi.120.3.

Transition to *a*-declension. For *pádás* and *pádás*, see p. 471.

Feminine. There are 14 forms (from 10 stems).

Forms: *ámádás*; *nídas*; *nishpádas*; *pramúdas*; *múdas*; *viçvasuvídas*; *çarádas*, 5; *sámsádas*; *suhutádás*; *suarvídas*; from AV., *pramúdas*, 2; *upásádas*, 2; *agharíúdas*, 2; *durhárdas*, xiv.2.29.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

Roth suggested as a Vedic canon that compound stems in radical *d* or root + *t* make no plural in *-ndi* or *-nti*, but keep the form of the singular. Thus *ukha-chít* might be taken with *párva*, i. e. *párvāni*, in iv.19.9; so Sây. Compare *dirgha-grát* (*vratá*), viii.25.17; *ádhar* (*divídāni*), i.64.5. The parallelism of ii.15.7c, however, favors our taking it as N.s.m. (cf. viii.68.2c). 'The (broken) decrepit one walked; his members united together.' See BR. vii.1714. The form *hr'ndi* is avoided by the use of *hr'dayá*, *-āni*.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *kravyádás*, 2; *tuánídas*; *devanídas*, 2; *parishádás*; *pastíśasádas*; *báhrukshádas*; from AV., *cátushpádas* and *dvipádas*, 4; *apsushádas*, 2; *sattrasádas*; *durhárdas*, 17 (xix.28 and 29); *suhárdas*, xix.32.6; *padás*, iv.15.14: ix.4.14: and RV. i.146.2 (never *pádas*).

Feminines: *bhīdas*; *nivīdas*, 3; *pramūdas* (x.10.12); *vasu-vidas*; *vinūdas*; *ṣarādas*, 19; *samādas*; *sasyādas*; *havyasūdas*, 2; *nīdās*, 4 (never *nīdas*); from AV., *ṣarādas*, 20.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *gharmasūdbhis*, 2; *ṣatūpadbhis*; *padbhis*, 'feet,' AV. iii.7.2: iv.11.10; 14.9: xix.6.2.

By no phonetic process can *pad-bhis* become *pad-bhis*; but this is the regular resultant of *paç-bhis* (cf. *vid-bhis*, *spāt*, *vīpāt*). From *pāç*, 'glance' (*pāç*: *spāç*: *tār*: *stār*), we have *padbhis*, iv.2.12, *dr̥cyān padbhīh paçyer ādbhutān*: 'With thy glances beholdest thou the visible and the invisible.'

In iv.2.14; 38.3: v.64.7: x.79.2; 99.12: VS. xxiii.13, however, we have *padbhis* evidently meaning 'feet.' The AV. has the regular forms with *d*; cf. also *padbhya'm*. Perhaps those with *d̥* are false forms due to false analogy or to confusion with *padbhis*, 'glances;' but cf. *pādgr̥bhi*, x.49.5, and *pād̥biça*, i.162.14,16: x.97.16.

Feminine: *ṣarādbhis*, 2. Neuter: *hr̥dbhis*, 2; and AV. ix.1.1.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *pr̥thivī-shād̥bhya*s, AV. xviii.4.78; *divi*-, 80; *antariksha-sād̥bhya*s, 79.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *admasādām*; *dvipādām*; from AV., *cātushpadām* and *dvipādām*, 4; *çvāpadām*, viii.5.11: xix.39.4; *sushādām*, iii.22.6; *suhā'dām*, iii.28.6.

Feminines: *paripādām*; *samādām*; from AV., *ṣarādām*, xviii.4.70 (MSS. -*dam*); *çrāntasādām*, i.32.2.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *patsū*, v.54.11: AV. vi.92.1; *-pātsu*!, Ait.Br. vi.2. Feminines: *samātsu*, 32 times; *ṣarātsu*, AV. xii.3.34,41: xviii.2.38-45. Neuter: *hr̥tsū*, 9 times, and AV. viii.8.2: xii.2.33.

STEMS IN RADICAL DH.

Here belong about fifty stems, from the roots *idh*, *kshudh*, *nadh*, *bādh*, *budh*, *yudh*, *ludh*, *2rudh*, *vidh* (i. e. *vyadh*), *sādh*, *sidh*, *sridh*, *ardh*, *mardh*, *vardh*, *spardh*. The last four appear of course with the *r*-vowel. The verbal *-vr'dh* is the most common of all.

There are no stems in which final *dh* is not radical. Gr. derives *çurūdh* from *çardh*, with *svarabhakti*. The stem *ishūdh* seems to be shortened from *nish-shūdh*; cf. (*n*)*i-shkṛti*. *Agnī'dh* is plainly shortened from *agnī'dh*. The word *pr̥kshūdhas* is unclear. *Budh* suffers transfer of aspiration in *ushar-bhūt*.

The forms are alike for m. and f. There are 7 monosyllabic fem. stems: *kshūdh*, *nādh*, *mṛ'dh*, *yūdh*, *vr'dh*, *spr'dh*, *srīdh*.

Masc. are *vr'dham* and *vrđhā'm* (adj.), and *bā'dhas* (subst.). Neuter forms (4 only) are found in the I.s. and G.s.

No stem shows the distinction of strong and weak forms.

Transition to the *i*-declension. The inf. *yudhāye* (accent—cf. *yudh-ī*) is a transition-dative to *yúdh*, entirely equivalent to *yudh-é* in meaning, but not in metrical value. There is no stem *yudhī*.

Irregularly accented are: *sridhás*, A.p., once (but *srídhas*, 15); *nádbhyas*. For *vimr'dhas*, see G.s.m.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *agnī't*, 2; *anúrút*; *ushar-bhút*, 2; *yavyút*; *cvā-vút*, AV. v.13.9: VS. xxiii.56: xxiv.33. Here BR. place *samít-samít*, 'flammend,' iii.4.1; but see I.s.f.

Feminines: *pravr't*; *samít*, 3; from AV., *samít*, 3 times, as x.5.43; *kshút*, ix.7.12; *vīrút*, 8 times, as ii.8.2-4.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *vr'dham*, 2; *anna-vr'dham*; *āhutī*; *girá*; *tugriā*, 2; *namo*; *payo*, 2; *parvatā*; *madhu*; *vayo*; *sadyo*; *saho*, 2; *su*, 2;— *agnī'dham*; *asrídham*; *usharbúdham*, 3; *goshu-yúdhām*; *yajñasā'dham*, 3; from AV., *yajñavr'dham*, iv.23.3; *marmāvídham*, xi.10.26; *hrdayāvídham*, viii.6.18.

Feminines: *asrídham*; *usharbúdham*; *kshúdham*, 3; *nish-khídham*; *yúdhām*; *vīrúdham*; *samídham*, 6; *srídham*; from AV., *samídham*, 5; *kshúdham*, 2; *yúdhām*, 2; *vīrúdham*, 2; *samrúdham*, vii.50.5.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *svvr'dhā*, ii.23.9.

Feminines: *yudhā'*, 19 and i.174.4; *vrđhā'*; *samídhā*, 23; *sushamídhā*, 2; from AV., *samídhā*, 5; *kshudhā'*, iv.7.3; *yudhā'*, i.24.1: x.6.16; *subúdthā*, xiv.2.31,75 (BR. as N.s.f. of stem *-dha*); *svvr'dhā*, ii.13.5 (BR., -ā[s], as N.p.m. of stem *-dha*).

In iii.4.1, *samít-samít sumānā bodhī asmé, cucā'-cucā sumatīm rāsi vásvah*, BR. take the first word as N.s.m. So Sây., *atyartham samiddhas tvam*. The parallelism of *cucā'-cucā* suggests the possibility of its being an I.s.f. without ending. Cf. vi.48.1ab, and *as*-stems, I.s.n.

Neuters: *payovr'dhā*; *yavyúdhā*; *sākanvr'dhā*.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *usharbúdhe*; *rtāvr'dhe*; *purunishshídhe*; *mahi-vr'dhe*; *samr'dhe* (personified—'Bonus Eventus'?), AV. iii.10.10.

Transition-form: *yudhāye* (inf., 7); see above. In i.61.13c, we ought, perhaps, to read this longer grammatical form in place of its equivalent *yudh-é*.

Feminines: *kshudhé*; *vrđhé*, 34; *samídhe*; *yudhé*, AV. iv.24.7.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

Here belong : *kshudhás*; *yudhás*; *sridhás*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *goshuyúdhās*; *vi-mṛdh-ās!*, x.152.2: AV. viii.5.4,22.

Anomalous accent. BR. see a G.s. in x.152.2b, *vrtrahá' vimṛdhó vaçi'*. The only parallels that I can now adduce are *parihvṛtá'*, viii.47.6, and *ádhiá'*, AV. vi.132. For *avadyabhiyá'*, see p. 381 end; the accent of *survahrđá'*, p. 473, is adverbial. Sây. takes *vimṛdhó* as N.s.m.—*saṁgrāmakārī*—and the vowel-stem occurs TS. ii.4.2', *iyám vimṛdhá' (taná's)*. But is it not possible that the original form of the verse was *veretrahá' mṛdhó vaçi'*, and that the *vi* was slipped in from the other verses (*ví mṛ'dho jahí, 3a, 4a*)? The forms of the other texts would then rest upon this error in the Rik. See Aufrecht, *Rigveda*², preface, p. xlii and BR. vi.1143.

Feminine: *kshudhás*. Neuter: *hṛdayávidhas*.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

Here belong : *prabúdhí*; *mṛdhí*; *yudhí*, 4; *spṛdhí*.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *asrídhá*, 2; *ṛtāvṛdhá*, 7; *ṛtāvṛ'dhá*, 4; *namo-vṛ'dhá*; *puroyúdhá*.

Feminines: *ṛdū-vṛ'dhá*; *ghṛtá*; *payo*; *vayo*; *sákam*.

II. Masculine: *ṛtāvṛ'dhau*, i.23.5; as voc., i.2.8: AV. iv.29.1.

Feminine: *samídha*, AV. xi.5.9.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ṛtā-vṛdhas*; *ṛtā-vṛ'dhas*, 12; *tugriá*; *payo*; *parvatá*; *vayo*; *suge*; *su*, 2;—*asrídhas*, 4; *usharbúdhās*, 2; *goshuyúdhās*; *jñu-bá'dhas*; *prayúdhās*; *vṛsháyúdhās*; *ṣurúdhās*; *somaparibá'dhas*.

Feminines: *amitráyúdhās*; *asrídhas*; *ishídhas*; *ṛtāvṛ'dhas* (*dvd'ras*), 2; *nishshídhas*, 3; *paribá'dhas*, 2; *parispr'dhas*; *mṛ'dhas*; *virudhas*; *vīrúdhās*, 4; *ṣurúdhās*, 2; *samídhas*, 2; *spṛ'dhas*, 2; from AV., *kshúdhas*, xi.8.21; *vīrúdhās*, 10 times; *samídhas* (N. and A.), 7.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ṛtā-vṛ'dhas*, 4 (and AV., 2); *tamo*; *rayi*;—*usharbúdhās*, 5; *ṣurúdhās*, 2; *bá'dhas*, vi.11.1.

Feminines: *mṛ'dhas*, 25; *yúdhās*, 2; *vīrúdhās*, 3; *ṣurúdhās*, 5; *samídhas*, 3; *sam-r'dhas*; *savṛ'dhas*; *spr'dhas*, 21; *sridhas*, 15; *sridhás* (! ix.71.8); *paribá'dhas* (text *pári bá'dhas*), viii.45.40: ix.105.6; from AV., *yúdhās*, x.10.24; *sridhas* (MSS. and ed. *sṛ'dhas*), ii.6.5; *mṛ'dhas*, 6 times; *vīrúdhās*, 7.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belong: *samādbhis*, 3; *vīrūdbhis*, AV. v.28.5: viii.7.15.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Dative: *nādbhyas*, at end of catalectic *pāda* x.60.6a—Gr., -*bhis*. BR. refer this to *nāh* (cf. *akshānāhas*, A.p.f.); Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.109, to *nāp*. Ablative: *vīrūdbhyas*, AV. xix.35.4.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ṛtāvṛ'dhām*; *prabūdhām*; *vṛdhā'm*.

Feminines: *nishshīdhām*; *vīrūdhām*, 2; *sprdhā'm*, 2; from AV., *yudhām* (*pate*), vii.81.3; *vīrūdhām*, 13 times; *vīrudhām*, iv.19.8.

LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belong: *yutsú*, 6; *vīrútsu*.

STEMS IN RADICAL N.

Under this category fall: *go-shán*, *tuvi-shván*, *sván*, *tán*, *dán*, *rán*, *ván*, and 35 compounds of -*hán*. The last are the only ones of importance. Almost all the forms are masculine. The stem *tán* (*tánd*, *tand'* *táne*) is feminine. There is but one neuter form, *dasyu-ghn-ā'* (*mānasā*). The compounds of -*gh(a)n* form the fem. by adding *ī*; thus, -*ghnī'*. The fem. *vīrahanī* (*gadā*) occurs MBh. ix.3238. BR. refer this to *vīrahán*, s.v.; but in vol. vii. col. 1513, perhaps better, to *vīrahana*.

The distinction of strong and weak cases appears only in the compounds of *han*, and is here effected negatively by dropping the *ā* in the weakest cases; thus, *pād*: *pād*: (g)*hán*: *ghn*. The syncopated vowel is never to be restored for the sake of the metre, as is the case, e. g., with *somapā'v(a)ne*.

The strong form seems to be used for the weak in Manu xi.101, *cīravāsā dvījo 'ranye cared brahmahano vratam*; so in 128. (Is the anomaly due to the metre? -*ghno* occurs viii.89.). So *raksho-hán-o*, *valaga-hán-o*, A.p., p. 481.

In general, as we saw above, p. 442, the stems from roots ending in *n* go over to the vowel-declensions in *ā* and *ā*; thus from *jan*, *prathamajā'-s* and *jā'-s*. Most of the forms of -*san* and -*tan* belong to the vowel-declension (p. 438, 442). One might expect, *ā priori*, forms like *jā'*, *jānam*, *jān-ā* (*jñā'*), *jñé*, etc.; but there is no evidence for such forms save in the stems mentioned at the beginning of the section.

The Zend *vērēthra-jāo* seems to be the reflex of a Sanskrit **vṛtra-hā'-s*; but no such form occurs, nor do the three instances of metrical hiatus warrant our inferring it (see N.s.m.).

Transition to the *a*-declension. The N.A.s. neuter of stems in -*hán* would properly be -*hā'*. This form seems to have been avoided and its place supplied by a form of transition to the *a*-declension. In the Rik we have: *vṛtrahām* (*cāvas*); *satrahām*

(*parivāsiyam*); and the L.s., *karañjahé* (*vr̥tra-hátye*). In the AV. these transition-forms extend even to the masculine and we have: *arátihām* (*paripád'nam*—or n.), xix.35.2; *çatru-há-s*, i.29.5: vi. 98.3; *sahasra-há-s*, viii.8.17. Further, we find the stems *pāñi-gha* and *táda-gha*, Pân. iii.2.55.

The stem *-ghna* is, as I think, not an independent formation [*gh(a)n-a*], but rather a transition-stem starting from the weak forms of *-han*, which are sometimes ambiguous. Thus Sây. sees in Ait. Br. viii.23, *gañgāyām vr̥traghne 'badhnāt pañca pañcā-çatām hayān*, the Loc.s. of 'Vr̥traghna, a district on the Ganges,' but it is doubtless the D.s.m. of *vr̥trahan* (BR.). In the Rik we have: *ápārushaghnas índras*, i.133.6; *dighghne*, vi.18.14; *āçva-ghnāsya*, x.61.21; *go-* and *pārusha-ghnām*, i.114.10; *parnaya-ghnē*, x.48.8; *sughnā'ya*, viii.59.11; *hastaghnās*, vi.75.14. Each form occurs only once. Cf. *pānighnām*, VS. xxx.20.

The *-ghna*-forms, in general, belong to a younger linguistic stratum. Thus we have *raksho-hān* in the *samhitā*; but *rakshoghnañ ca sūktaiḥ*, Kauç. 126. Indra and Çiva are called respectively *valav̥trahan* and *bhaganet̥rahan* in the old *Vana-parvan* of the MBh.; but *valav̥traghna* and *bhaganetraghna* in the *Amuḍsana-parvan*. The *-ghna*-forms are common in post-Vedic texts (so *artha-*, *paçu-*, *bhrāṇa-*, *yaço-*, *visha-*, in Manu), although, of course, the *-han*-forms do not die out. Both stems stand side by side in Manu viii.89; cf. viii.317 with iv.208.

Transitions also from the strong forms of *-han* are seen in the later texts. Thus, analogous to the A.s.m. *vr̥tra-hān-am* are formed: the neuters *ripu-hana-m* (*çakram*) and *paratejo-hana-m* (*tejas*); and the masc. stem *mahānāga-hana* (epithet of Çiva); see BR. vii.1513.

The root may therefore appear in six forms at the end of a compound: namely, as *ghan*, *han*; *gha*, *ha*; *ghna*, and *hana*; thus, (with *gh* preserved after *j*) *abhog-ghan*, *çatru-han*, *pāñi-gha*, *çatru-ha*, *pāñi-ghna*, *ripu-hana*.

It is not unlikely that the otherwise unauthenticated stem *tānas* is due to a merely formal parallelism in v.70.4c, *mā' çeshasā mā' tānasā*. Cf. *ushāso doshāsaç ca* and *as-stems*, G.s.n. The metre would be good with *mā' tānā mōtā çeshasā*.

The accent of the oblique cases of monosyllabic stems is regular in only two instances: *tānā'*, x.93.12; *vanā'm*, x.46.5 (see p. 353). Elsewhere we have: *tānā*, 19; *tāne*, 7; *rāne*, *rānsu*; *vānsu*; *svāni*?. Since *tānā* is often used as an adverb, we may say that its accent has suffered an adverbial shift—here recessive; cf. *divā*, adv. from the L.s. *div-ā'*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong 105 forms (from 23 stems): *ā-vīrahā*; *-hā'*, with *aghaçaṇsa-*, 3; *adr̥sh̥ta-*, 2; *abhimāti-*; *amitra-*, 4; *amīva-*, 3; *aruça-*; *açasti-*, 5; *asura-*; *ahi-*; *kr̥sh̥ti-*; *go-*; *dasyu-*, 5; *nr̥-*; *puro-*; *musht̥i-*, 3; *raksho-*, 8; *vasar-*; *vr̥tra-*, 55; *çarya-*, 2; *satrā-*; *sapatna-*, 3; *sapta-*; from AV., *durnāma-*; *pr̥çni-*; *mano-*; *musht̥i-*; *yātu-*; *raksho-*, 4; *vr̥tra-*, 9; *sapatna-*, 21; *ā-vīrahā*, 2. See also TS. i.3.2. Scansion of the *pādas* in which these forms

occur shows that *-hā* stands before a vowel with metrical hiatus only in i.186.6 : ii.20.7 : x.74.6.

For *ghrāns*, AV. vii.18.2, see rad. *s*-stems, N.s.m.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

No example. Paradigm : *vr̥tra-hā'*. In place of this a form of transition to the *a*-declension is used (p. 478) : *satrá-hām*, v.35.4 ; *vr̥tra-hām*, vi.48.21*bis*.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong : *áprahanam* ; *abhīmdti-hānam* ; *ahi-*, 2 ; *tamo-* ; *dasyu-* ; *raksho-*, 3 ; *vr̥tra-*, 7 ; *satrá-* ; from AV., *raksho-* ; *mano-* ; *sapatna-*, ix.2.1.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine : *vr̥traghnā'*, i.175.5 : AV. iii.6.2. Neuter : *dasyughnā'*.

Feminine : *tānā'*, x.93.12 ; *tānā*, 19 times.

Tānā is used as an adverb with recessive accent (p. 479) 10 times. With the same accent it is used : as adj., i.38.13 : ii.2.1 ; as subst., vi.49.13 : vii.104.10, 11 : x.148.1 : i.39.4. In i.26.6 : ix.1.6, I would take *tānā* and *śācvatā* both as adverbs separately. As a substantive *tānā* is fem. ; but if we join *śācvatā* (for *-tyā* ?) with it, the anomaly has parallels : i.122.11*d*, *prācāstaye mahīnā' rāthavāte* (the metre favors the grammatically more correct *-vatyi*) ; ix.15.2*b*, *br̥hatē devātātaye* ; so ix.96.4*b*.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines : *asuraghné* ; *ahighné* ; *nr̥ghné* ; *vr̥traghné*, 3 ; *makhaghné*, TS. iii.2.4¹⁻³ ; *bhr̥naghné*, TBr. iii.9.15³ ; further, *rāne*, RV. ix.66.13.

Feminine : *tāne* (accent !), 7.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong : *asuraghnás* ; *vr̥traghnás*, 2, and AV. iv.24.1 : vi.82.1 ; further, *go-shanas*, RV. iv.32.22.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

I. Here belong : *tuvī-shvāni*, 2 ; *svāni*, ix.66.9 (BR. as verb) ; *bhr̥naghné*, AV. vi.112.3 ; 113.2.

II. The ending is dropped in : *rán* ; *dán*, 5.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong : *amitrahan*, 3 ; *ahīhan* ; *vr̥trahan*, 32, and AV., 5.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

I. Here belong : *tamohānā* ; *rakshohānā* ; *vr̥trahānā*, 2 (and AV., 2) ; *vr̥trahānā*, 4.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *tuvishvanas*; *abhogghánas*; *punarhánas*; *çatru-hánas*; *matsyahánas*, Çat.Br. xiii.4.3¹²; *yajnahánas*, TS. iii.5.4.

ACC., INST., GEN., AND LOC. PLURAL MASCULINE.

Accusative: *sátagnás*, AV. iii.15.5; *raksho-hán-o valaga-hán-o vaishnavá'n* (! p. 478), TS. i.3.2 *quinquies*. Instrumental: *vrtrahábbhis*, RV. vi.60.3. Genitive: *vand'm* (*dhīyam dhus*, *aksharapañkti*; Gr., *vanádm*), neut. ?, x.46.5f. Locatives: *rānsu*; *vānsu*, 2; cf. *dānsu*.

STEMS IN RADICAL P.

Here belong the stems: (masc.) *agnitáp*, *abhilápaláp*, *asutr'p*, *ketasáp*, *pariráp*, *paçutr'p*, *prasúp*, *rītiap*; (fem.) *áp*, *átáp*, *kr'p*, *ksháp*, *kshíp*, *patiríp*, *ríp*, *rúp*, *vishtáp*; *rtasáp* and *víp* (m.f.).

The forms are alike for m. and f. There are no neuters.

The distinction of strong and weak forms is seen in the stems: *áp*, *rītiap*; *rtasáp*, *ketasáp*.

The weak form is used for the strong in *apás* (N.p.f.); but the texts show no small confusion in the forms of this word.

The strong form is used for the weak in *d'pas* (A.p.f.); the *d* of *pariráp* is metrical (see A.p.m.).

Irregular accent. The character of hymn x.61 is a sufficient comment on the accent of *vīpas*, verse 3, if it is G.s.m. Gr. takes *kshápas* as G.s.f. twice; but see G.s.f. The frequent A.p.f. of *áp* is almost always accented as a weak case, *apás*, perhaps for the sake of differentiation from *apas*, 'work.' In like manner we have *kshapás* thrice, and *vīpás* once (see A.p.f.). Twice, in the AV., even the N.p. is oxytone, *apás*!

Transitions to the *a*-declension. The *p*-stems do not show a single N.s. in the RV., nor a N.A. p.n. In the only places where these are necessary we find forms of transition: namely, *yátra bradhnásya vishtápa-m* (N.s.n.), ix.113.10; and *imá'ni trī'ni vishtápā* (A.p.n.), viii.80.5. These are the only two forms in the RV. requiring the assumption of a vowel-stem *vishtápa*, and they are plainly used to avoid the unfamiliar *vishtáp* (N.s.n.) and *vishtámpi*, which general analogies would require.

Almost all the later Vedic texts cited by BR. under *vishtápa* contain the very form of the Rik-phrase *bradhnásya vishtápa-m*; but Çat. Br. xii.3.1⁹ has *bradhnasya áste vishtape* (I.s.).

For the transition-forms *kshapá'bhis* and *kshípá'bhis*, see I.p.f.

In the *jagati-páda* i.55.1c, perhaps *átapá-s* is a transition-form, the extended stem being used rather than the N.s.m. *átáp*, to fill out the otherwise short metre: so in iv.5.14b, *prattītyena kṛdhúnā atrpá'sah*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

No example. Paradigm: *sv-ap*. In place of this a form of transition to the *a*-declension is used: *vishtápa-m*, by origin plainly the A.s.f. *vishtáp-am* used as a neuter nominative. See above.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine : *paṣu-tr'pam*. Feminine : *vishtāpam*, viii.32.3 : ix.34.5 ; 41.6 : and viii.58.7 (Gr., as *a*-form) : AV. xi.1.7 ; 3.50.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine : *vīpā'*. Feminines : *kshapā'* ; *vīpā'*, 4 ; *krpā'*, 8 ; *apā'*, RV. viii.4.3.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

Here belong : *ātāpas*, 2 ; *vishtāpas* ; *āpas*, x.95.10.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine : *vīpas* !, x.61.3. Feminines : *āpas*, 5 ; *kshapās*, 2 ; *ripās*, 2 ; *rupās*, 3. If *kshāpas*, i.44.8 : ii.2.2, be G.s., 'by night,' we may consider the accent as adverbially recessive ; but in i.44.8, it is better taken as A.p.f., 'through the nights : ' and in ii.2.2, as object of *d' bhāsi*.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE.

The only example is *vishtāpi*—RV., 5 times and AV., 4 times.

NOMINATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

Here belong : *ritīāpā* ; *asutr'pā u*, p. -*au u*, x.14.12. The AV., xviii.2.13, has the more modern form and consequent sandhi, *asutr'pāv u*. Cf. p. 341,4.a.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines : (a) *ṛta-sā'pas*, 6 ; *keta-sā'pas* ; *riti-āpas*, voc. ; (b) *agnitāpas* ; *asutr'pas* ; *prasūpas* ; *vīpas*, 2 ; *abhilāpa-lāpas*, AV. xi.8.25.

Feminines : (a) *d'pas*, 135 ; *āpas*, 17 ; *ṛtasā'pas* ; from AV., *d'pas*, 94 ; *d'pas*, voc., 7 ; *āpas*, 27 ; (b) *patirīpas* ; *ripas*, 2 ; *vīpas* ; *kshīpas*, 13.

In i.70.7, I regard *kshapās* as A.p.f. ; see p. 422 med. The N.p. of *āp* is oxytone and weak, *āpās* !, in two Atharvan passages : ii.3.6 (ed. *āpās*), and vi.23.3.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

No example. Paradigm : *sv-āmpi* or *sv-āmpi*. In place of **vishtāmpi*, a transition-form is used : *vishtāpā* ; see p. 481.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines : *asutr'pas* ; *parirā'pas*, p. -*rā'pah*, ii.23.3,14. The *ā* is metrically justified in verse 14, but not in verse 3. See Prât. ix.26.

Feminines. I. The accent is that of a strong case (regular) : *kshāpas*, 6 times, and probably in i.44.8 and ii.2.2 (see G.s.f.) ; *ripas*, twice ; *vīpas*, thrice.

The strong form *ā'pas* is used for the weak : in books i. and x. of the RV. (i.23.23 ; 63.8 ; 190.7 : x.4.5 ; 9.9 ; 121.8) ; in the AV., 16 times, as i.25.1 : xiv.1.39 ; in the Ait. Br., viii.17 (*ātapavarshyā āpo 'bhyāniya*).

II. The accent is that of a weak case (irregular) : *apás*, 152 times (and AV., 26) ; *vipás* (also *vīpas*), viii.52.7 ; *kshapás*, iv.16.19 : viii.26.3 : and i.70.7 (p. 422 med.).

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL FEMININE.

The forms falling under this category are particularly instructive as showing the working of linguistic tendencies, which, although unconscious, are none the less real.

There is occasion in the Vedic texts for using the I.p. of the stems *āp*, *saṁsr'p*, *kshāp*, and *kshīp*. The organic forms would be *abbhīs*, *saṁsr'bbhīs*, *kshabbhīs*, and *kshībbhīs*.

I doubt whether the combination *bbh*, although given by Benfey (*Gram.* p. 23, l. 2—I have not access to Böhtlingk's *Bemerkungen*), ever really occurs in Sanskrit. *Abbhra* rests on a false etymology of *abhrá* ; cf. *ābhri*, *abbhri*. The group does not occur once in the AV. ; see Whitney's additional note 3 to Ath.Pr. p. 588 (256). If it occurs at all, it is, at any rate, of the extremest rarity.

This unfamiliar combination, accordingly, is avoided outright by the Vedic language, and that in two ways : either (I.) by phonetic dissimilation of the two labials ; or (II.) by using a form of transition to the *ā*-declension.

I. Here belong : *adbhīs*, 15 (and AV., 5) ; *saṁsr'adbhīs*, TB. i.8.1' (*tāt saṁsr'adbhir ānu sām asarpāt | tāt saṁsr'pām saṁsrp-tvām*) ; cf. *nādbhyas* (Weber, stem *nāp*) ; *kakūd*, p. 471 end.

Disregarding the Hindu systems of duplication in consonant groups, we see that the labial of the stem *āp* would become lost or obscured when pronounced with the labial of the ending (*abbhīs*, *abhīs*). The individuality of the word would thereby suffer greatly. To me it seems certain that the unconscious recognition of this fact motivated the phonetic differentiation of *bbh* to *dbh*. A similar motive has caused the retention in Sanskrit of the old Vedic ending in the I.p. of the pronoun *ā*, *ebhīs* ; if modernized to *āis*, it would scarcely be felt as an independent word. See p. 349 ad fin. ; and Weber, *Ind. Stud.* xiii.109.

II. Forms of transition to the *ā*-declension—*kshapā'bhīs*, *kshīp-ābhīs*—are found in the only passages where a consonantal ("middle") case of the stems *kshāp* and *kshīp* is required.

These are : iv.53.7c, *sā nah kshapā'bhīr āhabhiḥ ca jinvatu* ; and ix.97.57c, *hinvānti dhī'rā daṣābhīh kshīpābhīh*. These forms were undoubtedly made for the occasion. It is no explanation of them to set up the stems *kshapā'* and *kshīpā'*.

The point of departure for the transition-form *kshapā'bhīs* was probably some oxytone weak case of *kshāp* : as, *kshap-ā'* ; and hence the accent (cf. *nāv-ā'*, I.s., with *nāvāyā* ; *vrt-ā'*, I.s., with *vrtāyā* ; *ish-ī*, I.s., with *ishāye*). From *kshīp*, the paroxytone N.p. *kshīpas* was the commonest form, and this may account for the accent *kshīpābhīs*. Cf. *īdābhīs*, *sh*-stems.

ABLATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belong : *adbhyās*, 5 ; *adbhiās*, ii.1.1 : vi.62.6 : x.39.4 ; 63.2 ; *adbhyās*, Gr. *-bhiās*, i.34.6 and 112.5 (at end of *pāda* of 11 or 12 syllables), i.80.2 (at end of *pāda* of 7 or 8). The AV. has the form *adbhyās* 5 times.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *vipā'm*, 3.

Feminines: *kshapā'm*; *vipā'm*, ix.99.1; *saṁsr'pām*, TBr. i.8.1¹; *apā'm*, RV., 85 times (and AV., 48); *āpām* (*napāt*), RV., 2 (and AV. vi.3.1,3); further, *apā'm* has the value of a spondee 8 times (cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.476).

Gr. reads *apāām*, with resolution, in 16 passages; but in x.46.1,2, we have, perhaps, *aksharapañkti*. For 493.14, see *Ueb.* i.580. Bollensen, *Z. D. M. G.* xxii.586, reads *apā'ām*, i.67.10. Finally, the cadence requires *āpāām* or *āpā'm* at the end of i.46.4*a* and viii.25.14*a* (7 or 8 syllables), and at the end of ix.108.10*c* (11 or 12 syllables).

LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Here belongs *apsú*—RV., 81 times, and AV., 43 times. BR., i.292, take *apāsu*, viii.4.14, for *apsú*, with inserted *a*, as in *āp-a-vān*, AV. xviii.4.24. Cf. *saṁsrp-a-ishti*. See, however, *as*-stems, L.p.m.n.

STEMS IN RADICAL *BH*.

Here belong the stems: (masc.) *jīva-gr'bh*, *sute*-, *syāma*-, *rathe-ḡubh*; *gharma-stúbh*, *chandaḥ*-, *vṛsha*-, *sushtúbh*; *trikakúbh*; (fem.) *kakúbh*; *kshúbh*; *gr'bh*; *dābh?*; *nābh*; *ḡubh*; *anu-shtúbh*, *tri*-, *rta-stúbh*; *stúbh* and *parishtúbh* (m.f.).

The forms are alike for m. and f. There are no neuters.

The distinction of strong and weak forms appears in *nābh*. I see no reason why *nā'bhas* (N.p.) and *nā'bhās* (A.p.) should not both be referred to *nābh*. Perhaps *kakúbh* is a transition-stem from *kakubhá*; see p. 471.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *trikakúp*; *stúp*. Feminines: *trishtúp*, 2; from AV., *kakúp*, xiii.1.15; *anushtúp* and *trishtúp*, viii.9.20: xix.21.1.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ratheḡubham*, i.37.1 (see p. 330 ad init.): v.56.9; *sutegr'ubham*.

Feminines: *kakúbham*; *gr'ubham*; *ḡubham*, 6 (and AV. xiv. 1.32); *ṛtastúbham*; *anu-shtúbham*; *tri*-, 2; the last two, AV. viii.9.14.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *sushtúbhá*, 2; *stubhá*'. Feminines: *anushtúbhá*; *kshubhá*; *grbhá*'; *ḡubhá*', 2, and AV. xiii.1.21.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *gharmastúbhe*; *syūmagr'ubhe*. Feminine: *ḡubhé* (as inf.), 17; AV. vii.106.1.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine : *jīvagr'bhas*. Feminine : *trishtūbhas*, AV. xx. 2.1-4.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine : *sushtūbhas*. Feminine : *ṣubhās pāti*, 5 (and AV. vi.3.3); *ṣubhās pāti*, 16 (and AV. vi.69.2 : ix.1.19). Were it not for the accent, we might take *dābhas* as G.s.f. in v.19.4, *ādadbhaḥ ṣāṇvato dābhaḥ* : 'undeceived by the deceit of every one,' 'deceived by no man's deceit.'

NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines : *chandah-stūbhas*, *vrsha-*; *pari-shtūbhas*, *su-*.
Feminines : (a) *nd'bhas*; (b) *ṣūbhas*, 2; *stūbhas*, 3.

ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Accusatives : *kakūbhas*, 4; *nd'bhas*; *stūbhas*; *tri-shtūbhas*, *pari-*. Genitive : *kakūbhām*.

STEMS IN RADICAL M.

Here belong the stems : *ḡām*, n. ; *hīm*, m. ; *dām*, n. ; *sañ-nām*, f. ; *kshām* (*ḡām* and *jām*), f.

The first is indeclinable ; it occurs 84 times as N. or A.s.

The stem *hīm* is posited for the sake of the L.s. *himā*, x.37.10; 68.10 (cf. *zim-ō*, G.s., Vend. ii.22bis); but this form can just as well be referred to the stem *himā* and might be added on p. 334.3.

From *dām* we have the form *damā'm* (Gr. -*ām*), x.46.7 : VS. xxxiii.1 (Mahīdh., *grhānām*). With this compare *dāmpati*, *pātir dān*, *dānsu* ?, rad. *n*-stems, L.s. and p. For *dē*, v.41.1, a possible form of transition to the *a*-declension (L.s.n.—as though the A.s. were *dā-m*), see p. 449.

From *sañ-nām* we have the N.p. *sañnāmas*, AV. iv.39.1,3,5,7.

The stem *kshām* has *ā* in the strong cases. The forms are : *kshāmā*, L.s., 5 (and AV. vi.57.3); *kshāmās*, Ab.s.; *kshām-i* (accent !), L.s., 9; *kshā'mā*, dual; *dyā'vā-kshā'mā*, 7 (and as voc. once); *kshā'mas*, N.p. Gr. proposes *kshā'mam*, text *kshā'm*, A.s., i.67.5; 174.7 : vi.6.4 : x.31.9; *kshā'mas*, text *kshā's*, A.p., iv.28.5; but see *as*-stems, A.s., A.p.

Gr. refers *gmās* and *jmās*, Ab.s., to *gmā* and *jmā*; so *kshāmās* might be referred to *kshāmā* (p. 448).

STEMS IN RADICAL R.

Here belong the stems : (masc.) *gír*, *túr*, *múr*, *vár* ?; *gáv-āḡir*, *trí-*, *dādhi-*, *dūr-*, *yāv-*, *sām-*; *muhurgír*; *a-júr*, *rta-*, *dhiyā-*, *sanā-*; *ap-túr*, *āji-*, *rajas-*, *ratha-*, *radhra-*, *vṛtra-*, *viṣva-*, *supra-*; *sahāsra-dvār*; *dūr-dhúr*, *su-*; *āmúr*; *apasphúr*; *nī-shtúr*; (fem.) *gír*, *dvār*, *dhúr*, *púr*, *psúr*; *āḡir*; *amājúr*, *nijúr*; *nīpúr*, *parāpúr*; *abhīpra-*

mār; *upastūr*, *vishtūr*, *saṁstūr*; *ānapasphur*; *abhisvār*; (neuter) *vā'r*, *sūar*; *pr̥tsutūr*, *viçvatūr*, *rāsāçūr*; *mīthastūr* and *saṁgūr* (m. and f.).

The *ar* of *āhar*, *ū'dhar*, and *vādhār* appears to be suffixal. For *vandhūr* and *yantūr*, see below.

Only in *vā'r*, *dvā'r*, *abhisvār*, and *sūar* is the radical *r* preceded by any other vowel than *i* or *u*. The use of roots in *ar* as stems seems to be avoided in several ways: the root appears with *r+t* (*-vr't*, *-bhr't*); or else with suffixal *a* (*vāra*, *bhāra*, *cārcara*); or a thematic *i* is added and the root-vowel often dropped (*cākri*, *jāghri*, *pāpri*, *pāpuri*, *bābhri*, *sāsri*); or, again, the stem goes into the *a*-declension by dropping the *r* (*pra-hvā-s* from *hvar*; cf. *upahvar-ā*). But if the radical vowel takes some other coloring, the *r* remains as stem-final (cf. *ratham-tarā* and *ratha-tūr*).

The stem *āhar* is supplemented by *āhan*, and this again by forms of transition to the *a*-declension. The stem *ū'dhar* is likewise supplemented by *ū'dhan*, and some forms again must be referred to *ū'dhas*.

The forms are alike for all genders, except N.A. d. and p. n.

The distinction of strong and weak forms is seen in the stem *dvār*—strong *dvā'r*, weak *dūr*.

The weak form *dūras*, N.p.f., is used in place of the strong *dvā'ras*, i.188.5; and the strong form *dvā'ras*, A.p.f., is used in place of the weak *dūras*, i.130.3.

Transitions to the *a*-declension. Starting from the strong cases *dvā'r-am* etc., come the forms *dvā'ra-m dvā'reṇa* (Çat. Br. iv. 6.7¹⁻¹⁰), dual *dvā're*, *dvā'rāni*. See also N.A.s.n. The transition-forms *pā'du-s* etc. begin to appear in the *saṁhitā*; but those of *dvā'ra* occur first in texts of the Brāhmaṇa sort. Starting from the weak cases *dūr-as* etc., come the forms *çatā-durasya*, x.99.3; *-eshu*, i.51.3. In the later language the stem *dvāra* replaces the Vedic *dvā'r*; and in like manner *pura*, the Vedic *pūr*. The masculine stem *pā'd-* remains masculine (*pā'da-*); but the feminines *dvā'r* and *pūr* produce neuters (*dvāra-m*, *pura-m*). *Su-dhūra-s* (N.s.m.) is a transition-form corresponding to *su-dhūr-am*; so *apratidhura-s*, Çat. Br. xiii.4.2¹⁻². Here belongs, perhaps, *ānapasphurām*, A.s.f., vi.48.11. As is known, *vā'r* in the later language goes over to the *i*-declension, *vā'ri*.

On the other hand, *vandhūr-as* (N.p.m.) and *bāndhur-ā* (I.s.) are probably forms of transition to the consonant-declension, the vowel-stem being here the older; cf. *kakūbh*, p. 471.

There is no real justification for a stem *yantūr*. It is supported only by *yantūram*, occurring twice. The origin of the form is as curious as certain. In iii.27.11a, *agnīm yantūram aptūram*, we have, I think, a brilliant example of the working of the tendency to formal parallelism, *yan-tā'r-am* (nomen agentis of *yam*) being thus blindly accommodated to *ap-tūr-am* (in which *tur=tar* is a radical). In viii.19.2b, *agnim īdīshva yantū'ram*, the cadence has asserted its right to a short in the penultimate at the expense of the proper form (*yantā'ram*).

Irregular accent: *durās*, A.p.f., ii.2.7. For the accent of *sā'r-d*, *sū'r-as*, and *sūr-é*, see G.s.n.

The vowel preceding *r* is lengthened when *r* is or was followed by a consonant : thus, *gī'r* (for *gīr-s*), *gīrbhīs*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines : *gī'r*, x.99.11 ; *muhurgī'r* ; *dūrācīr* ; *rajas-tū'r*, 2 ; *ratha-*, *viçva-*, *supra-tū'r*. Here Gr. puts *vā'r* (i.132.3) and *vāar* (x.93.3). The passages are corrupt.

Transition-forms. For *su-dhūra-s*, iii.38.1, see p. 486. For *pra-hya-s* (*tishthan*), Ait.Br. iii.9, see p. 486.

Feminines : *amājā'r* ; *gī'r*, 19 ; *dhā'r*, 3 ; *pā'r*, 5 ; from AV., *dvā'r*, ix.3.22 ; *pā'r*, x.2.31 ; *ācī'r*, ii.29.3 : TS. iii.2.8^o.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong : *āhar*, 6 and i.71.2 ; *āhar-ahar*, 6 times ; *ū'dhar*, 26 (for i.64.5, see A.p.n. ; and for x.61.9, L.s.n.) ; *vādhar*, 11 ; *vā'r*, *vāar*, 11 (and AV. iii.13.3 : iv.7.1 : x.4.3,4 : xx.135.12) ; *sūar*, 90. In the AV., *sūar* has no other declensional forms. Cf. Rik Pr. i.31.32 : iv.13 ; and Weber, *Beiträge*, iii.385.

Transition to the *a*-declension. The language avoids the use of a *r*-stem at the end of a compound in the N.A.s. neuter. Thus we have in AV. x.8.43, *pundārikam nāva-dvāra-m*, not *nāvadvār* ; and in Çat. Br. iii.3.3¹⁸, *sa-ācīra-m* (*etad*).

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines : *tūram*, v.82.1 ; *ap-tūram*, 5 times ; *āji-* ; *rajas-*, 3 ; *ratha-* ; *vitra-*, 4 ;— *ajūram* ; *apasphūram* ; *rtajūram* ; *gāvācīram*, 4 ; *yāvācīram*, 2 ; *sahāsra-dvāram* ; *sudhūram*. BR. take *tūram*, iv.38.7, as an absolutive of *tur*, used adverbially. For *yantūram*, 2, see p. 486.

Feminines : *ācīram*, 13 ; *upastīram* ; *gīram*, 7 ; *dhūram*, 5 ; *pūram*, 11 ; *saṁgīram* ; from AV., *dvā'ram* (*d*), xiv.1.63 ; *dhūram*, v.17.18 ; *pūram*, 26 times.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine : *bāndhur-ā* (see p. 486), AV. iii.9.4.

Feminines : *abhipramūā* ; *abhisvāā*, 2 ; *ācīā* ; *gīā*, 67 ; *gīā-gīā* ; *dhurā* ; *purā*.

Neuter : *viçvatūrā*. In vi.49.3, *str'bhīr anyā pipiçē sū'ro anyā*, p. *sū'rah*, the demands of the parallelism and sense are well met by Grassmann's emendation, *sū'r-ā*, I.s.n. ; but in the ninth place we need a short *ā*. Possibly this was the very reason why the *padakāra* wrote *sū'rah*. Cf. *Beiträge*, iv.204.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines : *gīrē* ; *nishtūre*. Feminine : *upastīre*, 3.

Neuter : *sūr-ē*, iv.3.8 (for accent, see G.s.n.). For *sū're*, viii. 61.17, see G.s.n.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE AND NEUTER.

Feminines: *dhurás*, x.102.10; *nijúras*.

Neuter. Gr., *Ueb.*, takes *ú'dhar*, i.64.5, as Ab.s. See A.p.n.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *gávāciras*; *yávāciras*; *radhratúras*. Feminine: *amājúras*. Neuters: *rásāciras*; *sá'r-as*, 17. For *sá'r-ah*, vi.49.3, see L.s.n. In viii.61.17, *úditā sú'ra á'dade*, p. *sá're*, the *padakára* is doubtless at fault; read *sá'rah*.

In i.66.10; 69.10, *súar* appears as an aptote in a genitive relation.

Since the stem of *sá'r-as* is really a dissyllable (*súar*), the paroxytone accent is perfectly regular; but once we have *súr-é*, as if from a monosyllabic stem. See p. 408 med.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR FEMININE AND NEUTER.

Feminines: *purí*, 2; *dhurí*, 13, and AV. v.17.15.

Neuters. *Súar* is used as a L.s. in i.52.9; 70.8: v.44.2: x.20.2; 61.14. In x.61.9, *ú'dhar* is perhaps a L.s., 'nubilo.' If we regard the first part of *áhar-divi* as representing a case, it might be called a L.s.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *vrtrátúrā*; *sanājúrā*; *sudhúrā*, 3. Feminines: *dvā'rá*, 7; *mithastúrā*.

II. Feminines: *dvā'rau*, 2; *dhúrau*, 2.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *aptúras*, 4; *ámúras*, 2; *gávāciras*, 3; *giras*; *gíras*, 3; *tríāciras*; *dādhiāciras*, 7; *durdhúras*; *dhiyājúras*; *nishtúras*; *múras*; *vandhúras*; *bandhúras*, AV. iii.9.3.

Feminines: *dvāras*, 3; *dvā'ras*, 5 (and AV. v.27.7); *ánapa-sphuras*; *amājúras*; *púras*, 2; *mithastúras*; *gíras*, 64 (and AV., 3); *giras*, AV. i.15.2. In i.188.5, we have the weak form *dúras*; see p. 486.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

In i.64.5, *duhánti ú'dhar divi'd'ni dhú'tayah*, *ú'dhar* appears to be an A.p.n. See p. 474, and cf. Ab.s.n. (*r*-stems).

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ámúras*, 2; *gávāciras*; *giras*, 2; *mithastúras*; *yávāciras*; *sangíras*; *sudhúras*.

Feminines: *gíras*, 80; *dúras*, 24; *dhúras*, 2; *púras*, 44; *psúras*; *vish'túras*, 2; *samstúras*; from AV., *gíras*, 2; *púras*, 3; *nipúras*, *parāpúras*, xviii.2.28.

The strong form *dvā'ras* is used as an A.p., i.130.3.

Irregular accent is seen in *durás*, ii.2.7. In i.41.3, *purás* is an adverb; in vii.21.4, Aufrecht reads *púras*; cf. BR., s.v. *vi han*.

In x.99.11, Roth proposes *sut[á]vā yád yajató didáyad gí'h*, and takes *gí'h* as A.p.f.: 'Als der sehr starke (*su-távás*) Gott die Loblieder vernahm.'

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *ratha-tá'rbhis*. Feminines: *1pārbhis*; *2pārbhis*, 5; *gīrbhis*, 85 (and AV., 4). Neuter: *āhobhis*, 2.

DATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

Here belongs *vārbhyās*, VS. xxii.25.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *sámāḡirām*. Feminines: *gīrām*, 2; *purām*; *purām*, 7; *gīrām*, vi.24.1; *purām*, viii.17.14; *purām*, x.46.5 (or -ām, *akṣharapañkti*).

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculine: *tārshú*. Feminines: *gīrshú*; *dhūrshú*, 11; *pārshú*. Neuter: *prtsutā'rshu*.

STEMS IN RADICAL V.

The stem *div* supplements *diu* and *dió*. The forms are: *div-ā'*, -é, -ás, -í; *āhardiví*; *prādiv-ā*, -as, -i; *sudivas*; see p. 432.

From the stem *di'v*, f., 'play,' we have *divé* and *diví*. The stem *dyu'* furnishes supplementary forms: *dyúvam*, AV. vii.50.9; *dyuvé* (= *divé*), vii.109.5. Cf. *Ekadyá's* and *Kamadyúvam* (pp. 406-7).

STEMS IN RADICAL ḡ.

Here belong the stems: (masc.) *i-dr'ḡ*, *etā*, *tā*, *yā*, *kí*, *ahar-*, *dāre-*, *yaksha-*, *suar-*, *sa-*, *su-*; *sūsadrḡ*; *tveshā-samdrḡ*, *bhīmā-*, *híranya-*; *susamdr'ḡ*; *upari-spr'ḡ*, *divi-*, *ní*, *mandiní-*, *ratha-*, *hrdī-*, *viḡvapīḡ*; *supīḡ*; *upapr'ḡ*; *dārāādīḡ*; *ānarviḡ*; *prātiprāḡ*; *dāddāḡ*; *puroddāḡ*; *i'ḡ*; *spāḡ*; *vishpāḡ*; (fem.) *diḡ*; *dāḡ*; *drḡ*; *nāḡ*; *pāḡ*; *prāḡ*; *vīpāḡ*; *vīḡ*; *vriḡ*; *ādīḡ*; *prādiḡ*; *sukrapīḡ*; *upadr'ḡ*; *samdr'ḡ*; *sudr'ḡ*; *ḡikasaṁdrḡ*; *ānapasprḡ*; (m. and f.) *mīthādr'ḡ*; *piḡcāṅga-* and *ranvā-samdrḡ*; *upa-* and *rta-spr'ḡ*; (neuters) *manānāḡ*; *divispr'ḡ*; *sādanaspr'ḡ*; *dūredr'ḡ*; *etādr'ḡ*; *susamdr'ḡ*.

The forms are alike for all genders, except in the N.A. d. and p. n., of which there is no example.

The distinction of strong and weak cases is seen only in the nasalized forms of the N.s.m., q.v. I can cite no occurrence of forms like *purodobhyām* from a weak stem *purodās*.

Transition to the *a*-declension. The declension of *puro-dāḡ* is commonly supplemented by transition-forms in the later texts. The only Rik-forms, *puro-dā's* and *puro-dāḡ-am*, belong to the ḡ-stem. But later we have: *puro-dāḡa-s*, Ait. Br. ii.9; *-dāḡena*, VS. xix.85; *-dāḡān*, Cat. Br. iv.2.5¹¹; *-dāḡa-vutsā*, AV. xii.4.35. The Atharvan forms *-dāḡau*, ix.6.12 : x.9.25, may be referred to either stem.

As forms of transition are probably to be regarded: *i-drḡcam* (*yad*), Manu i.45; *tādrḡcam* (*enas*) *yādrḡcam*, v.34; *etādrḡcānī*, etc.

The references given by BR. for *idr̥ça*, *etadr̥ça*, *tadr̥ça*, *yadr̥ça*, *sadr̥ça*, are chiefly post-Vedic; those for *idr̥ç* etc., chiefly Vedic. Both vowel and consonant-stems occur side by side: thus, *yā-dr̥çāya* *tadr̥ñ*, Cat.Br. i.3.5¹³; *yādr̥çāt* . . . *tadr̥ññ*, vii.4.1¹. Some forms are referable to either stem: thus, *sadr̥çau*.

Transition to the *i*-declension. The inf. *dr̥çāye* (accent—cf. *dr̥ç-i*) is a transition-dative to *dr̥ç*, equivalent to *dr̥ç-é* in meaning, but not in metrical value. There is no real stem *dr̥çi*.

There is no irregularity of accent. The L.s.f. *prā'çi* is paroxytone because equal to *pra + āçi*.

The forms show inconsistency in the treatment of final ç (=k²) similar to that seen in the verb (e. g. *prānak*, *abhā nat*): thus, *spāt*, *ḍik*; *vidbhyās*, *vikshā*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculine. 1. From the nasalized form of the root *dr̥ç* come: (a) *sadr̥'ñk s-*, TS. ii.2.8²; (b) *kidr̥'ññ i-*, RV. x.108.3; *sadr̥'ññ ā-*, i.94.7: viii.11.8; 43.21; (c) *idr̥'ñ*, *anyādr̥'ñ*, *sadr̥'ñ*, *prātisadr̥'ñ*, VS. xvii.81 (cf. TS. iv.6.5⁵). See pp. 456 and 463, and *Ind. Stud.* iv.305 note.

2. The form commonly ends in *k*. Here belong: *upapr̥'k*; *etadr̥'k* (x.27.24); *tadr̥'k*; *divispr̥'k*; *nispr̥'k*; *yādr̥'k*; *ranvāsam-dr̥k*; *suar̥dr̥'k*; *hīranyasam-dr̥k*; *hr̥dispr̥'k*; *idr̥'k*, AV. iv.27.6.

Feminines: *upadr̥'k*, 2; *nāk*; *ranvāsam-dr̥k*; *samdr̥'k*, 4; *sudr̥'çikasam-dr̥k*; from AV., *ḍik*, iii.27.1–6; *ānapaspr̥k*, xiii.1.27.

II. Masculines: *vishpāt*; *spāt*, 3.

Feminines: *vīpāt*; *vīt*, 3.

III. The form *puroḍā's* occurs twice. Cf. p. 463.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong: *manā-nāk?*; *etadr̥'k*; *susamdr̥'k*; *sadr̥'k*, TBr. i.2.6². In RV. v.44.6, *yādr̥'k* and *tadr̥'k* may be neuters (adv.).

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *upari-spr̥'çam*; *divi-*, 7; *hr̥di-*;—*tveshā-samdr̥ç-am*; *piçāṅga-*; *ranvā-*;—*susamdr̥'çam*, 3;—*dāre-dr̥'çam*; *su-*, 2; *suar-*, 4;—*dūrā-ādīçam*; *puroḍā'çam*, 19; *spāçam*.

Feminines: *ādīçam*, 2; *ṛtaspr̥'çam*; *ḍīçam*; *pradīçam*, 2, and i.95.3: iv.29.3 (text *prāḍīçam*); *vīpāçam*; *vīçam*; *vīçam-vīçam*, 4; *çukrapīçam*; *samdr̥'çam*, 2; from AV., *pradīçam*; *piçāṅga-samdr̥çam*; *ḍīçam*, 19; *prā'çam*, 7 times, as ii.27.1.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *viçvapīçā*; *susamdr̥'çā*; *içā*, VS. xl.1. Feminines: *ḍiçā*, 2; *piçā*; *pradīçā*, 4; *viçā*, 7; *dāçā*, i.127.7. This last BR. take as homophonous I.s.m. of *dāçā*; but see *Beiträge*, .463. Neuters: *divispr̥'çā*; *dāredr̥'çā*.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ánarvīṣe*; *īdr'ṣe*, 4; *divispr'ṣe*; *dāredr'ṣe*; from AV., *īdr'ṣe*, 3; *dādd'ṣe*, i.13.1.

Feminines: *viṣé*, 8; *viṣé-viṣe*, 5; from AV., *samdr'ṣe*; *diṣé*, 6; *viṣé*.

Transition-form: *drṣāye* (inf., 8) is dat. to stem *dr'ṣ*; see p. 490.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *suardr'ṣas*. Feminines: *viṣás*, 2; *samdr'ṣas*; from AV., *samdr'ṣas*, 2; *diṣás*, 55; *diṣḍ-ṣas*, 5.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *divispr'ṣas*; *sudr'ṣas*, 2; *suardr'ṣas*, 2; *hīranya-samdrṣas*; *hrdispr'ṣas*; from AV., *prātiprāṣas*, ii.27.1-6; *īpa-spr'ṣas*, xx.1'7.2.

Feminines: *viṣás*, 4; *viṣás-viṣas*, 2; *viṣas* (pate); *diṣás*, AV. vi.98.3: xv.5.1-6bis. Neuter: *sādanaspr'ṣas*.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *divispr'ṣi*. Feminines: *drṣi*; *pradīṣi*, 2; *vīpāṣi*; *viṣi*, 3; *samdr'ṣi*, 5; from AV., *prā'ṣi* (ed. *prāṣi*), ii.27.7; *diṣi*, 25 times; *pradīṣi*, 4; *viṣi*, 2; *samdr'ṣi*.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belongs *tveshasamdrk*.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *rtasprṣā*; *divisprṣā*; *divispr'ṣā*, 2; *mithādr'ṣā*; *suardr'ṣā*. Feminine: *mithādr'ṣā*.

II. Feminine: *vīṣau*, ix.70.4.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ṛta-spr'ṣas*, 2; *divi-*; *mandini-*; *ratha-*; *hrdi-*;—*dāre-dr'ṣas*, 2; *yaksha-*; *su-*; *susam-*, 2; *suar-*, 3;—*tveshásam-drṣas*, 2; *viṣvapīṣas*; *supīṣas*; *sūsadrṣas*; *spāṣas*, 7 (and AV. iv.16.4); *uparispr'ṣas*, AV. v.3.10.

Feminines: *ādīṣas*; *upaspr'ṣas*; *diṣas*, 3; *pradīṣas*, 8; *viṣas*, 35; *samdr'ṣas*; from AV., *diṣas*, 15; *pradīṣas*, 28; *viṣas* (N. and A.), 18.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

No examples. Paradigm: *grhavinṣi*. Instead of this a transition-form is used: *etādrṣāni* (*duḥkhāni*), MBh. iii.579.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *ahardr'ṣas*; *bhīmásamdrṣas*; *spāṣas*, 3; *suar-dr'ṣas*; *hīranyasamdrṣas*. Feminines: *ādīṣas*; *diṣas*, 7; *pradīṣas*, 3; *viṣas*, 32; *vīṣas*; *samdr'ṣas*, 2; from AV., *diṣas*, 18; *pradīṣas*, 13; *viṣas* (N. and A.), 18.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *susamdr'gbhis*. Feminines: *vidbhís*; *padbhís*, 'with glances,' iv.2.12 (see page 475).

ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE PLURAL FEMININE.

Ablatives: from AV., *vidbhyás*, iii.3.3; *digbhyás*, iv.40.8: x.5.28: xiii.4.34. Genitives: *ādicām*; *dicām* (*pate*); *viçā'm*, 39; *viçāām*, vii.9.2: x.46.6?; from AV., *dicā'm*, 5 times; *viçā'm*, 7; *viçām*, iii.20.2. Locatives: *vikshú*, 48; from AV., *dikshú*, 9; *vikshú*, ii.2.1: ix.5.19.

STEMS IN RADICAL SH AND S.

The character of the final sibilant of the radical stems in *sh* and *s* is in most cases essentially the same. It has therefore seemed advisable not to separate them. Usually the difference is merely one of phonetic surroundings. All the stems ending in *s* preceded by *a* or *ā* are put down as *s*-stems (category B); but those in which any other vowel or *k* precedes are entered with the *sh*-stems (category A).

The derivatives of *çás*, with weakened vowel *i* (*āçís*, *sudçís*, *pra-*, *vi-*, *sañ-çís*), and *bhí's*, and *āprāyus* are put down as *s*-stems by BR. and Gr.

A. The *sh*-stems are: (masc.) *mū'sh* and *máksh* (or *f*); *áksh*, in *an-áksh*; *aram-ish?*, *gavish*, *paçúish*; *brhad-úksh*, *sákamúksh*; *vāta-tvish*; *anrta-dvish*, *asaca-*, *ṛshi-*, *edhamāna-*, *jara-*, *brahma-*, *āvidvish*; *viçvā-prúsh*, *viçvā-*; *ghṛta-prúsh*, *pari-*; *yajna-músh*; *ṛṅga-vr'sh*; (fem.) *ish*, *úsh*, *tvish*, *dvish*, *pr'ksh*, *rish*; *nemann-ish*, *sañ-*; *sákam-úksh*; *vy-úsh*; *sañcáksh*; *patidvish*; *anādhrsh*, *sudhr'sh*; *supr'ksh*; *abhra-prúsh*, *ghṛta-*, *vi-*; *nimish*, *ānimish*; *camrish*; *prāvṛ'sh*; *abhi-çrish*, *doshani-*, *hrdaya-*.

B. The *s*-stems are: (masc.) *hrtsu-ás*; *an-ā's*, *su-ā's*; *jñā's*; *su-dā's*; *anārdhva-bhás*, *dārē-bhás*, *su-bhā's*; *mā's*, *sū'ryā-mā's*; *vās*; *a-çās*, *uktha-çās* (root *çāns*); *sū-sañçās*, *su-āçís* (root *çās*); *āprāyus*; (fem.) *ā-jñās*, *kāā's*, *nās*; *-çās*, *abhi-*, *ava-*, *nih-*, *parā-* (root *çāns*); *çā's*, *ā-çís*, *pra-*, *vi-*, *sañ-* (root *çās*); *vi-srás*, *su-*, *svayam-*; *upās* (unclear). Add *candrāmās*, m.

The neuters are few: *présh*, *ghṛta-prúsh*, *dadhr'sh?*; and *ā's*, *bhā's*, *dós*, *yós*, *çamyós*.

The sibilant is sometimes a mere root-determinative: compare *uk-sh* with *ug-rā*, *āj-as*, *aug-mentum*; *pr'k-sh* with *pr'c*; *prush* with *pru*; *prāyus* and *pra+yu*.

BR., s.v. *dā'svant*, hesitate to set up a noun *dā's*, and do not venture to assume that *s* is a formative element. In the case of *bhā's* and *bhā'svant*, it is true, we may identify the *s* with that of the secondary root *bhās*; and so with *bhī's*: but how shall we dispose of *jñā's*, *ā's* (for *ān-s* according to Fick, Vgl. Wb.³ i.268), and *su-dā's*? *Mā's*, from *mā*, is still more peculiar and is perhaps the relic of some old participial formation (*mādbhís*). Whatever be the character of the final *s* in these words, there is no question that this is the best place to enumerate them.

The distinction of strong and weak cases is seen in the stems: *pūns*, *pūmāns*; *nā's*, *nā's*; *uktha-çā's* (cf. *a-çā's*), *-çā's*. The *pada* has in all cases *uktha-çā's*. The *ā* may indeed be metrical in x.107.6: ii.39.1: iv.2.16 (penultimate of a *trishtubh*), and vii.19.9 (in the eighth place); but the metre actually makes against the *ā* in x.82.7 (seventh place). The long vowel is inherent in *d's*, *jñā's*, *mā's*, *a-yā's*, etc.; and so in *kā's*, *sūsamçās*, and *mā'sh* (but cf. *yajna-mū'sh-as*, N.p.m.).

Examples of consonantal cases are very rare in the sanhitas. We have *anāk*, *dadhr'k*, *edhamānadvīt*, *viprūt*, *viprūdbhis*, *puñsū*, and a few nominatives s. in -s; and from later texts, *viprūdbhyas*, *prāvṛt*, *dor-bhyām*, *dor-bhis*, *doh-shu*, *mās-sū*.

Supplementary themes. In *mād-bhis*, *-bhyās*, we have a supplementary stem *mānt*; but cf. Schleicher, *Comp.*⁴ p. 565, §260. Some think the two stems *mā's* (*mā'ns*, cf. *μῆν*—stem *μηνς*) and *mā(n)t* phonetically reducible to the same original, like the forms of the suffix *vāns*, *va(n)t*; but see *Zeitsch.* xxiv.70.

The stem *dōs* is supplemented by *doshān* as follows: sing., *dōs* (RV. v.61.5); *doshnā* (Rāja-tar. iv.481); *doshnās* (Çat. Br. iii. 8.3¹⁷); *doshani-* (AV. vi.9.2); dual, *doshī* (Kauç. 45) or *doshānī* (AV. ix.7.7: Ait. Br. ii.6); *dorbhyām* (MBh. i.153); plural, *dorbhis* (Mālav. 77); *dohshu* (Bhāg. P. i.15.16).

The defective stem *ish* (*īd*) is supplemented by *īdā* (*īrā*).

<i>ish-am</i> , 75		<i>īdā</i> , 17	<i>ish-as</i> , 9	
<i>ish-d'</i> , 23	<i>id-d'</i> , 3	<i>īdām</i> , 9	<i>ish-as</i> , 63	
<i>ish-ē</i> , 15		<i>īdayd</i> , 5		<i>īdābhis</i> , 6
<i>ish-ās</i> , 11	<i>id-ās</i> , 11	<i>īdāyās</i> , 5	<i>ish-d'm</i> , 8	<i>īdānām</i> , 1
		<i>īde</i>		<i>īdsu</i> , 2.

The stem *ish* is never used for a consonantal case. The occurrence of *sh* at the end of a form or before *s* or *bh* is avoided by using the *ā*-stem; thus, *īde* (voc.), *īdā*, *īdāsu*, *īdābhis*. I hardly venture to call these transition-forms; although the fact that the great majority of the forms of *ish* (147) accent the theme would account for the accent of the stem *īdā* (cf. p. 483). The relation between *kshapās* *kshapābhis*, *kshīpas* *kshīpābhis*, and *ishas* *īdābhis* is one of close analogy. Perhaps the forms *īdām*, *īdayā*, *īdāyās*, and *īdānām* are improper extensions of the *ā*-stem to cases where it does not rightfully belong.

Transitions to the *a*-declension. These occur from the stems *mā's*, *āçās*, *nās*, *kā's*, *nimish*, *ish*, and *d's*.

The language-users formed by false analogy a N.s.m. *pā'da-s* to correspond to *pā'd-am*. In like manner they made for *mā's-am*, as though it were *mā'sa-m*, a N.s. *mā'sa-s*, x.85.5d (Sāryā's wedding—see N.s.m.); so also a N.p.m. *mā'sās*, iii.32.9cd and vi.24.7ab (the passages look like modern reminiscences of old songs—cf. Aufrecht, *Rigveda*², preface, p. xii): vi.38.4: vii.61.4: x.89.13; and also *mā'sān* in two very late passages—iii.31.9 (an unclear and tumid hymn) and v.78.9 (verses 7–9 are a late fragment as the contents and the use of *sarvātāh* show).

The stem *āçās*, f., 'hope,' makes in the later language a complete transition to the *ā*-declension. In the Rik, all the forms come from *āçās*. In the Atharvan we have *āçām*, vi.119.3: xix.4.2 (and so Ait. Br. iii.46). This is by origin perhaps a contract accusative for *āçā(s)am*; it is, at any rate, the starting-point of the transition. As though the acc. were *āçā'-m*, a N.s.f. *āçā'* is formed (Çat. Br. ii.1.3⁴), and so all the later forms from an *ā*-stem. Cf. *as*-stems, A.s.

From *nās* the saṁhitas have *nas-ā'*, -*ī*, -*ós*; and to this same stem I refer *nā's-ā*, RV. ii.39.6, as a regular strong form (see p. 361; Bollensen, *Orient und Occ.* ii.474, reads *nā'se*). I recognize *nā'se* of the AV., v.23.3, as the first transition-form, an A.d.f. of stem *nā'sā*. Just such a strong form as *nā's-ā* mediates the transition from stem *nā's* to stem *nā'sā*.

From stem *kā's*, f., we have *kā's-am*, *kās-ā'*, -*ās*. A transition-vocative *kāse* (stem *kā'sā*) is seen AV. vi.105.1,2,3.

As a transition-stem, from *nimīsh*, we must assume *nimīsha* (distinguished from the organic formation *nimeshá* by its accent and lack of guna). This *nimīsha* we have, with regular *bahuvrīhi* accent, in *a-nimishā-s* (x.103.1), -*ām* (i.24.6), -*ēna* (x.103.2), -*ā's*, (ii.27.9). Cf. Garbe, Kuhn's *Zeitsch.*, xxiii.492. In *ā-nimish-am* and -*ā* we have regular *sh*-forms.

From *ish-ās* comes *ishā-m* (21); from *ās-ā'*, **āsāyā*, adv. *āsāyā'* (2).

Transition to the *i*-declension. The form *ishāye* (accent—cf. *ish-ī*) is a transition-dative to *ish*. See BR. i.826–7, and cf. Delbrück, *Verbum*, § 207. On the other hand, the stem *tvīshi* is probably an organic formation independent of *tvish*.

The stems *mānsā* and *mā'ns*, n., are supplementary; but in this case the vowel-stem is probably the older (cf. *vandhūrā*, *vandhūr*, p. 486); otherwise, its oxytone accent is problematic.

Irregular accent. The following accusatives p. are oxytone: (masc.) *jñāsās*, *puñsās*, *māsās*; (fem.) *ishās*, *ushās*, *dvishās*. The A.s.f. *kās-ām* rests on an error of the MSS. Gr. is wrong in taking *mā'sas* as G.s.; it is a N.s. transition-form, *mā'sa-s*. Adverbial displacement is seen in *ā-* and *upa-vyushām* and *āprāvṛshām*.

The diaskeuasts take account of the metrical value of *y* as a syllable in the accent of the vocatives *dyāus*, *jyā'ke*, etc. (see p. 432); and so also in *vyūsh-i*, pronounced *viūsh-i*. If the stem were a true monosyllable, it should be written *vyūsh-i*. Cf. *prā'ç-i* (= *pra+āç-i*). In *prēsh-ā'*, on the other hand, the dissyllabic character of the stem (*pra+ish-ā*) is disregarded; and so, naturally enough, in *bhaas-ā'*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Masculines: *edhamāna-dvīt* (*īndras*); *an-āk* (stem *an-āksh*). Cf. *dadhrk* (stem *dadhrsh*)=*dhrsh̥tas*, BR. v.1485.

Feminines: *vīprūt*, AV. xx.134.4; *prāvṛt*, Kathās. ii.56. The form *īdā* serves as N.s. to *ish*.

B. Masculines: *sudd's*; *dūrē-bhās*, i.65.10. Gr. refers this to a stem *dūrē-bhās*. Of course, it cannot be a compound of a verbal *-bhā*, because it is barytone; but if taken as *bahuvrīhi* compound of a substantive *bhā*, the accent would be correct, and *dūrē-bhās* a correct N.s.m. of *dūrē-bhā*. See BR. v.234. Here Gr. puts *ayā[s]*, i.87.4b, *ayā' icānāh*, p. *ayā'*; see p. 358 end. *Pūmāñ*, for *pūmāns*, occurs with elided *s* (cf. p. 346 med.), before *iti*, v.61.8; before *e*, x.130.2; before *a*, iv.3.10; *pūmāñc ca*, AV. x.4.8; *pūmān*, RV. x.130.2 and vi.75.14; *pūmān*, AV., 6 times before vowels (as, i.8.1: iii.23.3) and 5 times before consonants. The nom. (*sa ārksho*) *mās* is found; see Weber, Naxatra ii.281. For *ghrāns* (BR. stem *ghrāns*), see *an*-stems, N.s.m.

Feminines: *ājñās*, x.39.6; *āçī's*, x.128.3: AV. ii. 29.3.

Transitions to the *a*-declension. Masc.: *mā'sa-s*, x.85.5d, 'Of years the month is the constituent part;'; *animishā-s*. Fem.: *āçā'*. See p. 494.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong: *bhā's*, *ó* (and AV. vii.14.2); *bhāas* or *bhāās*, 2; *dós*; *yós*, 20; *çaihyós*, i.34.6; *mā's*, 'flesh,' iv.33.4: v.29.8; *dadhṛ'k*, as adv., 3 (see BR. v.1485).

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Masculines: *ghṛtaprūsham*, 2; *jaradvīsham*; *brahmu-dvīsham*; *viçvāpūsham*. Feminines: *ānimisham*, 2; *īsham*, 75; *dvīsham*; *pr'ksham*; from AV., *īsham*, 9; *doshanī-* and *hṛdaya-çīsham*, vi.9.2.

Adverbial shift of accent is seen in: *avyushām*, AV. iv.5.7; *āprāvṛshām*, Çat. Br. v.5.2^a; *upavyushām*, TBr. i.1.9^a; 5.2^a.

B. Masculines: *pūmānsam*, 3 (and AV., 8); *ayā'sam*, 2; *uktha-çā'sam* (p. ā); *mā'sam*; *sudd'sam*, 7; *subhā'sam*; *suāçīsham*; *suā'sam*.

Feminines: *āçīsham*, 2; *praçīsham*, 2 (and AV. xiii.4.27); *kā's-am*, AV. v.22.11 (MSS. and ed. *kāśam*).

Transition-forms: *animishām*; *āçā'm*; see p. 494.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

A. Masculine: *viçvāpūshā*. Feminines: *ā-nimishā*, 2; *ishā'*, 23; *tvishā'*, 2; from AV., *ishā'*, 4; *prāvṛ'shā*, xix.6.11. Neuters: *ghṛtaprūshā*; *prēsh-ā'*, ix.97.1 (should be *prēshā*; see p. 494).

Transition-form: *a-nimishēna*; see page 494.

B. Masculine: *māsā'*, 2. Feminines: *abhiçāsā*; *āçāsā*, 4; *āçīshā*; *nihçāsā*; *çās-ā'*, x.20.2: vii.48.3; from AV., *avaçāsā*, *nihçāsā*, *parāçāsā*, vi.45.2; *āçāsā*, vii.57.1; *āçīshā*, xiv.2.9; *praçīshā*, vi.133.1: xiv.1.53; *nasā'*, ii.27.2: v.14.1; *kāsā'*, v.22.10. Grassmann's article *çāsā'*, f., Wb. 1393, may be struck out: *çāsā'm*, ii.23.12, may be taken as G.p.m. of *çāsā* (see p. 353); and *çāsā'*, vii.48.3 (Gr. *çāsā'[s]*—see p. 363), is an I.s.f., as in x.20.2.

Neuters: *asā'*, 22; *bhāsā'*, 6; *bhaasā'*, 3.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Masculines: *rshidvishe*; *brahmadvishe*, 5; *gavishe*; *paçu-ishe*; *sakam-úkshe*; *avidvishe*, AV. i.34.5. Here belongs perhaps *aram-ishe*, RV. viii.46.17, text *áram ishe*.

Feminines: *tvishé*; *prkshé*, 2; *rishé*, 2; *ishé*, 15 (and AV. vii.73.1).

Transition to the *i*-declension: *isháye*, vi.52.15.

B. Masculines: *sudd'se*, 16; *ápráyushe*, i.127.5; *puñsé*, AV. v.30.3.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

A. Feminines: *abhiçrīshas*; *tvishás*, 2; *dvishás*, 3; *nimīshas*; *rishás*, 12; *ishás*, ix.79.1.

B. Masculine: *puñsás*, v.61.6; AV. iii.6.1; xii.3.1.

Feminine: *kāsás*, AV. i.12.3. Neuter: *āsás*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Masculine: *çrīgavṛshas* (*napāt*). Feminines: *abhra-prūshas*; *ishás*, 10; *ishas* (*pate*); *ushás*, i.69.1,9; vii.10.1 (and AV. xvi.6.6bis); *ushás-ushas*; *dvishás*, 3 times; *prkshás*, 4; *nimīshas*, ii.28.6.

B. Masculines: *açāsas*; *sudá'sas*, 5; *suđ'sas*; *puñsás*, 2 (and AV. vi.70.1-3). The accent forbids our taking *mā'sas* as G.s.; see p. 493, and N.s.m.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Feminines: *nimīshi*, 2; *viúshi*, 5; *právr'shi*, 2 (and AV. xii.1.46).

B. Masculines: *mási-mási*; *mási*, 2; from AV., *mási*, 7; *puñsí*, vi.11.2. Feminines: *upási*, 2; from AV., *áçishi*, v.24.1-17; *praçishi*, v.12.11; *naśi*, VS. xix. 90; xxi.49.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

B. Masculine: *pumas*. Feminine: *kāse*, transition-form (p. 494); similarly, *ide* (p. 493).

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

B. Masculines: *ukthaçā'sā* (p. ā); *sū'ryāmdā'sā*, 5 (can also be referred to stem *-mā'sa*). Feminine: *nā's-ā*, ii.39.6 (p. 494).

Transition-form: *nā'se*, AV. v.23.3; see p. 494.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE DUAL FEMININE.

B. Genitive: *nasós*. Locative: *nasós*, AV. xix.60.1; TS. v.5.9².

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Masculines: *asaca-dvishas*; *anṛta-dvīshas*, *brahma-*; *ghṛta-prūshas*, 2; *pari-*; *gavīshas*, 2; *brhadúkshas*; *mākshas*, 2; *mā'shas*, 2; *vā'tutvishas*; *yajna-mā'shas*, TS. iii.5.4^{quater}.

Feminines: *ishas*, 9; *ghṛtaprúshas*; *tvíshas*; *nemann-ishas*; *patidvishas*; *pr'kshas*, 7; *sanishas*; *sákamúkshas*; *supr'kshas*; from AV., *ándhṛshas*, vi.21.3; *nimishas*, iv.16.5; *vyúshas*, xiii.3.21.

B. Masculines: *ayásas*; *ayá'sas*, 8; *ukthaçá'sas*, p. á (see p. 493), 3; *súsamçásas*, AV. xviii.3.16.

Transition-forms: *má'sás*; *animishá's*; see p. 493-4.

Feminines: *ácásas*, 5; *praçishas*; *áčishas*, 3 (and AV., 4); from AV., *pra-çishas*, vi-, *sañ-*, xi.8.27; *vi-srásas*, xix.34.3; *su-vii.76.1bis*; *svayan-*, 2.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Masculine: *brahmadvishas*, 6. Feminines: *ishas*, 63; *canvishas*; *pr'kshas*, 9; *dvishas*, 39 (and AV. ii.6.5); *viprúshas*, AV. ix.5.19.

Irregularly accented: *ishás*, 7; *ushás*, 2; *dvishás*, 4.

B. Masculines: *and'sas*; *ánúrdhvabhásas*; *ayá'sas*; *acásas*; *hrtsuásas*. Feminines: *ácásas*; *áčishas*, 2 (and AV., 2); *praçishas*.

Irregularly accented: *jñásás*; *másás*, 5 (and AV. viii.9.17); *puñsás*, 3.

Transition-form: *má'sán*, 2; see p. 493.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Feminine: *viprúdbhis*, VS. xxv.9. The form *idádbhis* (6), serves as an I.p. to *ish-*: see pp. 493 and 483.

B. Masculine: *mádbhis*.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Feminine: *viprúdbhyas* (abl.), Cat. Br. ix.1.1¹⁸.

B. Masculine: *mádbhyás* (dat.), AV. iii.10.10; (abl.) xix.27.2.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

A. Feminines: *ishá'm*, 2; *isháám*, 6 (resolution unnecessary in viii.46.2b); *dvishá'm*; *viprúshám*, Cat. Br. iv.2.5¹.

B. Masculines: *ayá'sám*, 2; *vasá'm* (or f.); *másá'm*, x.138.6 (and AV. i.35.4); *puñsá'm*, AV. iv.4.4: vii.13.1: xx.129.14 ?.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Here belong: *puñsú*, AV. xii.1.25; *más-su*, Pañcav. Br. iv.4.1; *mású* (! sic—cf. *as*-stems, L.p.), TS. vii.5.2³. The neuter *doḥshu* occurs Bhāg. P. i.15.16. The form *idásu* serves as a L.p. to *ish-*; see p. 493.

STEMS IN RADICAL H.

Here belong: the compounds of *-dráh*, *-váh*, and *-sáh*; the masculines, *sáh*, *go-* and *prati-dúh*, and *puruspr'h*; the feminines; *áh*?, *gáh*, *dráh*, *náh*?, *náh*, *máh*; *ráh*, *á-ráh*, *upá-*, *pará-*, *pra-*; *sañ-dih*; *ghṛta-* and *sabar-dúh*; *akshá-* and *upá-náh*, *parínáh*; *manomáh*; *gartáráh*; *ánapaspr'h*, *puruspr'h*; *visrúh*; *ushníh*.

Compounds of *-dráh*: *a-*, *akṣṇayá-*, *anabhi-*, *antaka-*, *abhi-*, *asma-*, *puru-*, *vishu-*.

Compounds of *-váh*: *anad-*, *indra-*, *girva-*, *dakṣhīṇá-*, *prṣṭi-*, *madhyama-*, *vajra-*, *vira-*, *saha-*, *sushtu-*, *svasti-*, *havi-*, *havya-*, *hotra-*.

Compounds of *-sáh*: *carshan-*, *dyumná-*, *dhanvá-*, *pra-*, *prá-*, *yajñá-*, *rathá-*, *vibhvd-*, *viçvd-*, *satrá-*, *saddá-*. Compounds of *-sháh*, *p. -sáh*: *abhimāti-*, *abhi-*, *ṛtī-*, *rṣhi-*, *janá-*, *turá-*, *niḥ-*, *nī-*, *nṛ-*, *purá-*, *pṛtand-*, *práçu-*, *bhūri-*, *rayi-*, *vane-*, *vīrd-*, *viçvd-*, *vṛthá-*, *çatrú-*, *satrá-*.

Neuter forms occur from the stems *puruspr'h* and *máh*. For stem *dadr'h*?, see BR. iii.505 : v.1485.

For *saráh*, see *gh*-stems, p. 454; for *náh*, *dh*-stems, p. 478, and p. 483; for *ánh*, see Ab.s.f. The derivation of *uçádahak* (stem *uçá-dah*?) is uncertain.

The peculiar compound of *ánas* and *-váh* makes its strong forms from the stem *anadvá'h*; the weak, from *anadváh*; the middle, from *anadvát*; but see N.s.m.

The distinction of strong and weak forms is seen further as follows: in the compounds of *-váh*, strong *-váh* (*páda* always *-váh*); and in the compounds of *-sáh*, strong *-sáh* (*páda* always *-sáh*). This lengthening occurs in the N. and A.s.m. and N.p.m.; and, besides, in the following forms: *indravá'há*, *anadvá'hau*, *indravá'hau*, *dakṣhīṇávát* (N.s.f.), and *havyavá'ham* (A.s.f.).

One cannot help asking whether we have in *-sáh* a metrical or a declensional lengthening. The long *á* seems sometimes to be due to the metre (e. g. in ii.4.9 : vi.7.3; 69.4, where *á* is penultimate of a *páda* of 11 syllables), and its suppression in strong cases is certainly brought about by the demands of the cadence; but *á* also occurs when not favored by the metre (e. g. i.79.8b), or even when forbidden by it (e. g. viii.81.7a!). Indeed, there seems to be a good deal of arbitrariness about the entire matter (cf. v.10.7c with vi.44.4c); but we must, on the whole, call it a declensional phenomenon. Compare Rik Pr. ix.15.26.

The lengthening of the *a* of *-sah* is suppressed 18 times in strong cases. We can hardly call these "weak forms in place of strong," because the shortening may be referred to the metre in every instance. The *á* occurs: as penultimate of an *anushtubh-páda* (i.8.1 : v.23.2; 35.1 : vi.14.4 : vii.94.7 : viii.1.2; 26.20; 57.1; 77.1; 87.10 : ix.98.1); as penultimate of a *jagatī-páda* (i.119.10 : vi.46.6 : viii.19.35; 21.10); as fifth of an *anushtubh* (i.129.4c : v.10.7); as ninth of a *jagatī* (i.129.4b). In all but the last three *pádas* the short is absolutely required by the cadence.

On the other hand, the long *á* appears in weak cases twice: viz., in i.91.18b, where the demands of the penultimate excuse the long *á* (so *vá'h-e*, vii.24.5a); and in ii.21.2d, where there is no justification whatever for it. Cf. *dvipá'de*, p. 470.

Transitions to the *a*-declension. I am inclined to regard *mahá-s*, *-áśya*, *-é*, *-á'ni*, *-á'*, and *-á'nám* as forms of transition from the weak cases of *máh*. They belong exclusively to the Veda, and are used, especially *mahá-s* and *mahá'ni*, to supplement the defective *máh*. From the weak stem *anadváh* comes the transition-form *dhenv-anadvahayos*, Káty. Cr. vii.2.23.

Transition to the *i*-declension. The solitary inf. *maháye*, x.65.3, is a transition-dative to *máh*, equivalent to *mah-é* (as in viii.56.8). For accent, cf. *mah-é*.

Irregularly accented are *mahás*, N.p.m.; *druhás* and *mahás*, A.p.m. For *gúhā*, see I.s.f.; and for *áñh-as*, as-stems, Ab.s.n. *Mah-e'*, du.n., is regularly accented, as a weak case.

Transfer of aspiration occurs in *a-dhrúk*, *akshnayá*, *antaka*, *abhi*, *asma*; *go-dhúk*, *prati*, *sabar*; *uḡá-dhak*(?). These, with *ushar-bhút* (p. 475), are all the instances of the kind in the declensional forms of the Rik. Somewhat akin to this is the *nati* of the *s* of *-sáh* even after an *ā* when the aspiration disappears at the end of the word. Thus we have *satrá-shā't* and *viḡvā-shā't*; but *satrá-sā'ham*, *-sā'he*, and *viḡvā-sā'ham*. Irregular is *prtānā-shā'ham*, vi.72.5.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *-shā't*, with *abhī*; *rshi*; *janā*; *turā*, 4; *nish*, 2; *purā*; *prtānā*, 5; *prāḡu*; *bhūri*; *rayi*, 2; *vane*; *vīrā*; *vṛthā*; *satrá*; from AV., *abhī*, 2; *turā*; *nī* and *ḡatrā*, v.20.11; *viḡvā*, xii.1.54; xiii.1.28; *vṛthā*?, xx.128.13. Here belong further: *shā't*, RV. i.63.3; *madhyama-vā't*; *havir-vā't*; *havya-vā't*, 9 times; *turya-vā't*, TS. iv.3.3²; *turya-vā't* and *ḡitya-vā't*, iv.3.5¹; 7.10¹. Cf. rad. *j*-stems, N.s.

Feminines: *dukshinā-vā't*; for *sarāt*, see p. 454.

Pashtha-vā't occurs TS. iv.3.3², 5¹; 7.10¹. In explanation of the dental *t*, Weber (*Ind. Stud.* xiii.107) suggests that the second part of the word was confounded with the suffix *-vant*.

To precisely the same confusion he refers the N.s.m. *anad-vā'n*, AV. iv.11.1^{quater}, 2,4,10; v.17.18; viii.5.11; ix.1.22; xi.4.13; 5.18; xii.3.49; xix.39.4; TS. iv.3.5¹; *-vā'ñḡ ca*, VS. xviii.27. Böhtlingk, however, suggests with much plausibility, the analogy of the perf. part. in *-vāns*, whose stems also have a triple form; see *Die Declination im Sanskrit*, § 70.

II. Masculines: *-dhrúk*, with *a*, 3; *akshnayā*; *antaka*; *abhi*; *asma*, 3; *uḡá-dhak*?, 3; *go-dhúk*; *prati-dhúk*, AV. ix.4.4.

Feminines: *gartā-rúk*; *sabar-dhúk*; *ushník*, AV. xix.21.1.

Transition to *a*-declension. *Mahá-s* (18) supplies a N.s.m. for *máh*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belongs *puruspr'k*. For *dadhr'k*, see *sh*-stems, A.s.n.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *-shā'ham*, with *abhimāti*, 2; *rtī*; *nr*; *prtānā*; *-sā'ham*, with *pra*; *yajñā*; *viḡvā*, 3; *satrá*, 4; *-vā'ham*, with *vīra*; *suasti*; *havya*, 20 (and AV., 3); *hotra*; *anad*, x.59.10 and AV. ix.5.29; xii.2.48. Feminine: *havya-vā'ham*, x.8.6.

The lengthening is suppressed: *rtī-shā'ham*, 3 (cf. *rtīshā'ham*); *prtānā*, 2; *carshanī-sā'ham*, 5; *prā*, 2; *vibhvä*, 2; *saddā*. Cf. *carshanī-sāhā*, *-sāhas*, *rathāsā'hā*, and p. 498.

II. Masculines: *adrúham*, 2; *puruspr'ham*, 14.

Feminines: *gúham*; *drúham*; *parīnāham*; *níham*, 6.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *dhanvāsāhā*; *puruspr'hā*; *vishudrūhā*.

Feminines: *druhā'*, 2; *prāsāhā*, 2; *mahā'*, 2 (cf. *mahyā'*); *visrūhā*; *guh-ā'*, i.67.6. *Gūhā*, occurring 53 times, may be an adverb with recessive accent, from *guh-ā'*, like *divā* from *div-ā'*; or a homophonous I.s.f. (see p. 358). Neuter: *mahā'*, 4.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *adrūhe*; *abhīdrūhe*; *carshanīsāhe*; *druhē* (or *f*.); *mahē*, 42 (and AV. ii.5.4: v.11.1); *satrásā'he!*, p. ā, ii.21.2 (see p. 498).

Feminines: *godūhe*; *mahē*, viii.26.2; 46.25: ix.44.1.

Neuter: *mahē*, 33; AV. x.6.8: xix.24.2,3; RV. vii.30.1*d*, text *māhi*. For *vā'he*, see Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 222.

Transition-form: *mahāye* (inf.), x.65.3.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *rtīshāhas*; *druhās*, 3; *mahās*, 5. Feminine: *druhās*, 5, and AV. vii.103.1. For *ānh-as*, vi.3.1, see *as*-stems, Ab.s.n. Neuter: *mahās*, 11, and AV. vii.26.8.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *adrūhas*; *druhās*, 3; *prtānāshāhas*; *mahās*, 61; *abhīmātīshā'has!*, p. ā, i.91.18 (see p. 498); from AV., *anadūhas*, iv.11.8,9,11; *mahās*, iv.1.6: x.7.2.

The transition-form *mahāsya* occurs i.150.1, q.v.

Feminines: *prāsāhas*; *mīhās*, 2; *druhās*, 3 (and AV., 11).

Neuters: *puruspr'has*; *mahās*, 39; *mahas* (with voc.), vii.64.2.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *anadūhi*, AV. iv.11.7. Feminines: *upānāhi*, xx.133.4; *parīnāhi*, xix.48.1. The transition-form *mahē* occurs as m., ix.66.13; and as n., 5 times and in ix.110.2.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *havyavāt*; from AV., *prtānāshāt*, v.14.8; *godhruk*, vii.73.6 (ed. nom.). Feminine: *ādhruk*.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *indra-vā'hā* (*ā*), 2; *carshanīsāhā!*; *rathā-sā'hā!*; *adrūhā*, 2; *ānabhidruhā*; *puruspr'hā*.

Feminines: *adrūhā*; *adrūhā*, 2.

II. Masculines: *indravā'hau*; *anadvā'hau*, x.85.10: AV. iii.11.5: vii.53.5.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

Here belongs *mah-ē'*, i.121.11: ix.68.3.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *abhimātishā'has*, 3; *catrūshā'has*; *-vā'has*, with *indra-*; *vajra-*; *vīra-*; *saha-*; *sushthu-*; *havya-*; *anad-*, AV. xix. 50.2; *pr̥sh̥ti-*, xviii.4.10. Gr. reads *girva-vā'has*, vi.24.6 (see p. 353 med.).

II. Masculines: *carshanāsāhas*; *adruhas*, 3; *puruspr̥has*; *puru-spr̥has*, 2; *godūhas*; *drūhas*; *adrūhas*, 9, and AV. vi.7.1.

Irregularly accented is *mahās*, iii.7.6: x.61.27; 77.8.

Feminines: *adrūhas*, 2; *ghṛtadūhas*; *purudrūhas*; *puruspr̥has*, 3; *mīhas*, 2; *rūhas*; *visrūhas*; from AV., *manomūhas*, ii.2.5; *rūhas*, *ārūhas*, *pra-*, xiii.1.9.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

There are no forms like *-duñhi*, *-vāñhi*. Their place is supplied by transition-forms. Thus instead of *manñhi*, we have *mahāñi* (11), *mahā'*.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *adrūhas*; *puruspr̥has*; *anadūhas*, AV. iv.11.3.

Irregular accent is seen in *druhās* (vii.104.7) and *mahās* (20 times). Perhaps *mahās* is so accented to differentiate it from *māhas*, 'might.' Cf. *apās* ('aquis') and *āpas* ('opus').

Feminines: *akshānāhas*; *adrūhas*; *upārūhas*; *drūhas*, 5; *mīhas*; *saṁdīhas*; from AV., *drūhas*, xix.15.2; *rūhas*, xiii.1.4, 8, 26; 3.26; *prarūhas*, xiii.1.8; *nīhas*, ii.6.5 and VS. xxvii.6.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine: *anadūd̥bhyas*, AV. vi.59.1. Feminine: for *sarād̥bhīas*, see p. 454; for *nad̥bhīas*, pp. 478 and 483.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Genitive: *mahā'm*, iv.5.9: ix.109.7. Roth suggests that *mahā'm* in ii.24.11 may be G.p. of a noun *māh* (root *manh*), 'gift.' 'Und der du dich fröhlich an den Gaben kräftig gestärket hast.' So iv.23.1. In x.46.5b, the resolution *mahāām* is needless. In vi.66.3, Gr. reads *mahāām*, text *mahó*. The transition-form *mahā'naam* occurs five times.

Locative: *anadūtsu*.

STEMS WHOSE SUFFIXES END IN *T*, *N*, AND *S*.

According to the plan proposed on p. 327, we now come to the stems formed by derivative suffixes ending in *t*, *n*, and *s*.

STEMS IN VOCALIC ROOT + *T*.

The stems ending in the quasi-suffix *t* are declined just like those in radical *t*. It may fairly be questioned whether the added *t* ought not rather to be called a root-determinative.

This *t* is added to the roots *kr* (properly *kar*, etc.), *kshi*, *gu*, *ci*, *cyu*, *ji*, *dhr*, *dhru*, *dhvr*, *pi*, *pru*, *bhr*, *mi*, *yu*, *ri*, *vr*, *gri*, *gru*, *su*, *sr*, *stu*, *spr*, *sru*, *hu*, *hr*, *hru*, *hvr*; that is, to roots in *ī*, *ū*, and *ṛ* (*ar*), so that almost all compounds of roots in these short vowels are thus thrown into the consonant declension (pp. 453, 367, 401). It is properly added only to roots in these vowels; but we have the tertiary formation (*adhva-gā'*, *-gā'*) *adhva-gā'-t*, and similarly *dyu-gāt*, *nava-gāt*, and (*saṁ-hān*, *-hā'*) *saṁhā't*. Cf. Benfey, *Gram.* p. 131, l. 26. Neuters are very rare (stems *upashūt*, *tanū-kr't*, *dirghacrūt*, *dyugāt*, *navagāt*, *vicvajūt*).

For the accent of *parihvrtā*, see I.s.f.; for *hrut-ās*, A.p.m.

I do not think that there are any instances of transition to the *a*-declension on the part of the stems here treated. Their last element is almost invariably an active verbal, and if they went into the *a*-declension, they would coincide in form with passive participles and their compounds, but would conflict with them in meaning.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Here belong 79 masc. forms (from 50 stems); and 4 fem. forms (from 3 stems).

Masculines: *-kr't*, with *anukāma*; *abhishti*, 3; *āji*; *īcāna*, 6; *rshi*-, 2; *khaya*-, 2; *jyotish*-, *tanū*; *pathi*-, 4; *puru*-, *bhadra*-, *uloka*-, 2; *vayas*-, 2; *varivas*-, *vijēsha*-, *su*-, 2; *steya*-, *siona*;-— *-jit*, with *apsu*-, 3; *ab*-, *aṇva*-, *go*-, 2; *dhana*-, *ranya*-, *ratha*-, *viṇva*-, 2; *samsṛšta*-, *satrā*-, 2; *samarya*-, *sahasra*-, 2; *suar*-, 2; *hiraṇya*;-— *acyutacyūt*; *ākshūt*; *ṛṇacūt*; *ṛtacūt*, 3; *kūlbiśhaspr't*; *carshanīdhr't*, 3; *dirghacrūt*; *ghanaspr't*; *parihrūt*; *bhārabhr't*; *madacyūt*; *madhushūt*, 3; *yakshabhr't*; *vajrabhr't*, 2; *vājaspr't*; *somasūt*; *svaspr't*; *havanacrūt*; from AV., *āddraspr't* (i.20.1), etc.

Feminines: *upamūt*, 2; *ṛtacūt* (iv.16.10); *praçastikr't*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong: *vicvajūt*; *dirghacrūt* (*śarma*), vii.16.8; *navagāt*, TS. iv.3.11'; AV. iii.10.4;—and, used as adverbs, *upashūt*; *dyugāt*; *sakr't*, 7; *dirghacrūt*, vii.61.2 (so BR.; see A.p.n.).

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Here belong 46 masc. forms (from 25 stems); and 5 fem. forms (from 5 stems).

Masculines: *adhikshūt*; *arṇovr'tam*; *ukthabhr'tam*; *udaprūt*, 2; *ṛṇacyūt*-*am*; *carshanīdhr'tam*, 2; *tivrasūt*; *trshucyūt*; *dirghacrūt*; *dushkr'tam*; *dveshoyūt*; *ghanaspr'tam*, 8; *nadivrt'tam*, 2; *parisrūt*; *prātarjīt*; *madacyūt*, 8; *mīthākr'tam*; *cravajūt*; *samijūt*; *satyadhvr'tam*; *sāmabhr'tam*; *sukr'tam*, 3; *suarjīt*; *havanacrūt*, 2; *haviśhr'tam*, 2.

Feminines: *aramkr'tam*; *upaprūt*; *devacrūt*; *niyūt*; *parisrūt*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *carshanīdhr'tā*; *brahmakr'tā*, 2; *somasūtā*.

Feminine: *niyūtā*, 2. The accent of *parihvrt-ā*, viii.47.6, is quite anomalous; cf. *vimrdhō*, p. 477. It may be L.s. of *parihvr-tā*: 'For in the very act of deceiving you, a man loses the blessing ye already have given.' Stems of this form regularly accent the preposition (*pārihvrti*); but cf. *ā-sakti* and *ā-sutā*.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *-kr'te*, with *aram-*, 2; *dush-*, 2; *dharma-*; *brahma-*; *su-*, 13;— *-jíte*, with *ab-*; *agva-*; *urvará-*; *go-*; *dhana-*; *n-*; *viçva-*; *satrā-*; *suar-*;— *girikshíte*; *parvataçyúte*.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *brahmakr'tas*; *sarvahútas*, 2. Feminine: *abhihrútas*, 2.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *carshanādhrtas*, 2; *sañjítas*; *sukr'tas*, 3; *havishkr'tas*, 2. Feminines: *ishastútas*; *devastútas*; *parisrútas*, AV. iii.12.7.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *madacyúti*; *go-*, *vasu-*, *sañdhanā-jíti* (AV. xiii.1.37).

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines: *acyutacyut*; *urukrt*; *rtacit*; *khayakrt*; *purukrt*, 5; *rañakrt*; *vandanacrut*; *sahasrajit*, 4. Feminines: from AV., *upabhrt*, xviii.4.6; *rāshtrabhrt*, vi.118.2.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Masculines: *gojítā*; *divikshítā*; *parikshítā*, 2; *madacyútā*, 3; as voc., 2; *suçrútā*; *havanaçrútā*; as voc., 3; *páthikr'tā*, AV. xviii.2.53. For *ishukr'tā*, see pp. 466, 468.

II. Masculines: *ádushkr'tau*; *krshnaprútau*; *sakshítau*; from AV., *sa-kr'tau*, xi.1.10; *su-*, xii.3.44; *bhadra-* and *su-çrútau*, xvi.2.4.

Feminine: *ugrajítau*, AV. vi.118.1.

GENITIVE DUAL FEMININE.

Here belong: *sukr'tos*; *parikshítos*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Here belong 49 masc. forms (from 32 stems); and 24 fem. forms (from 7 stems).

Masculines: *-kr'tas*, with *aram-*, 2; *icāna-*; *dudhra-*; *dush-*; *dhāniā-*; *brahma-*, 3; *yajña-nish-*; *vayas-*, 2; *su-*, 8; *havish-*;— *-cyútas*, with *dhanua-*; *dhruva-*; *parvata-*; *mada-*, 2;— *-kshítas*, with *apsu-*; *upa-*; *sa-*;— *udaprútas*, 3; *kr̥chreçrítas*; *grāmajítas*; *carshanādhrtas*; *dveshoyútas*; *nigútas*; *pítubhrtas*; *manodhrtas*; *satyaçrútas*, 2; *satrájítas*; *suçrútas*; *somasútas*; *svastás*; *havanaçrútas*, 2; as voc., 1; *hrútas*; from AV., *adhva-gāt-as*, xiii.1.36,43; *diviçrútas* (xi.7.23–27), etc. For *devastútas*, see G.s.f.

Feminines: *udaprútas*; *niyútas*, 14; *parisrútas*; *pítubhrtas*; *mítas*; *sasrútas*, 2; *stútas*, 4.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

See page 474. Here we may put *dirghacrút*, viii.25.17 (*vratā'*); vii.61.2 (*mānmāni*).

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculines : *apítas* ; *gojítas* ; *jyotishkr'tas* ; *dushkr'tas*, 3 ; *nigútas* ; *madacyútas* ; *sukr'tas*, 3 ; *hrútas* ; with irregular accent, *hrutás*, AV. vi.51.1.

Feminines : *úpastutas* ; *dīrghaprútas* ; *niyútas*, 9 ; *balikr'tas*, 2 ; *rítas* ; *varuṇadhrútas* ; *visr'tas* ; *samhátas* (cf. p. 502) ; *sasrútas*.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Masculine : *somasúdbhis*, 2.

Feminines : *antarikshaprúdbhis* ; *niyúdbhis*, 10.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Datives masc. : *pathikr'dbhyas* (Gr. -*bhías*) ; *bandhu-kshádbhyas*.

Ablative neut. : *tanúkṛ'dbhyas*.

GENITIVE AND LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Genitives masc. : *mantrakr'tām* ; *sukr'tām*, 2 ; from AV., *ishubhr'tām*, iv.28.2 ; *agnihotrahútām*, iii.28.6.

Genitives fem. : *abhihrútām* ; *niyútām* ; from AV., *rathajútām*, vi.130.1 ; *upa-*, *pari-*, *prati-mútām*, ix.3.1.

Locatives : m., *sukr'tsu* ; f., *paricr'tsu*, Çat. Br. ix.1.1'.

PARTICIPIAL STEMS IN *NT* AND *T*.

A. The suffix *ant* or *nt* forms participles of the present, future, desiderative, causative, and denominative. The nasal appears only in the strong cases. In the weak it is regularly dropped, and if the last syllable of the stem had the accent, this is shifted to the case-ending. The category under which these participles fall I call for convenience "A." Many forms which, if simple, would be oxytone become barytone when compounded with *a-*, *an-*. *Sthá*, although a reduplicating root, has gone over to the *a*-conjugation, and we have the stem *tishthant*, with nasal.

B. There is, however, a very considerable number of participial stems, which do not show the nasal even in the strong cases. These are the participles from reduplicated verb-stems, excluding the desideratives. They are regularly accented on the syllable of reduplication ; e. g. *mé-mi-at*, *bá-ps-at*. Accordingly, they can not shift the accent to the ending in the weak cases. These I regard as making up category "B."

Besides these there are a few stems embraced in this section which are not properly participles. *Brhánt*, *ṛhánt*, *pr'shant*, *rúcant*, and *jágat* have exchanged their participial function for one almost purely adjectival or substantival ; but they retain the participial inflection. *Mahánt* (*sú-mahant*) has lost its participial meaning, and deviates markedly from the declension of participles in the strong cases, where it shows a long vowel. For *dánt* and its compounds, see below. The four stems *iyant* and *kīyant*, *īvant* and *kīvant*, although in no wise participles, are yet declined like them, and so are treated here.

There are several participles which I have included in category B, because they appear in the strong cases without a nasal. They are: *ḍā'cātas*, N.p.m., 2; *ṣā'sat*, N.s.m., 4; *-atā*, N.d.m., 2; *-atas*, G.s.m.; *vāghāt*, N.s.m.; *-āte*, 3; *-ātas*, G.s.m., 5; *-ātas*, N.p.m., 5; *-atas*, V.p.m.; *-ādbhis*, 4; *-ātām*, 3. Here also is to be placed *ḍā'sat*: it occurs only in G.s.m., *ḍā'satas*; but the N.p.m. ought to be *ḍā'satas*. Finally, the aorist participle of *dah*, *dhākshat*, omits the nasal: *dhākshat*, N.s.m., 3; *-atas*, G.s.m.; and similarly *ubhayā'd-dat*, N.s.; *-datas*, N.p.

Vāghāt is doubly peculiar: the nasal is lacking in the strong cases; and the accent, although resting upon the final syllable of the stem, is not shifted to the ending in the weak cases. Grassmann regards *dāc*, *dās*, and *ṣās* as reduplicated forms of *dāc* (vii.3.7, *ḍā'cema*), *dās*, and *ṣās* (*cañs*), and interprets the absence of the nasal in the strong cases as evidence in support of his view. Possibly *vāgh* of *vāgh-āt* is to be referred in like manner to *vā(g)h*; but see Roth in Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* xix.220.

On the other hand, one unquestionably reduplicated form, *vavrdhāntas*, admits the nasal contrary to rule. Even this is perhaps due to the metre and the formal parallelism of the verse (iv.2.17, q. v.). There are two other forms, *cakrān* and *cākān*, in regard to which there is much uncertainty.

The N.s.m. *ca-kr-ān* (x.95.12,13—referred by BR. v.1253, to *cakrānt*) is in both verses followed by *n*-, and, if we allow a mistake on the part of the *padakdra*, may stand for *cakrāt*. The oxytone accent is still anomalous: might not *cakrāt* (cf. for accent *rārān*, i.122.12) be a conditional subjunctive, 'if he remember'?

In x.29.1 occurs *cākān*. Delbrück, *Verbum* § 225, takes it as N.s.m. of the participle of *kan*, and regards its *n* as radical. In this case it is a shortened form for *cākanat*, and is comparable only with *kānikerat* (for *kānikradat*, from *krand*); but the accent is wrong. Gr. takes it as N.s.m. of the participle of *kā*, with *stomas*, in which case both accent and nasal are anomalous. Both anomalies are avoided by taking it with Roth as 2 or 3 p. sing. aor. of *kan*: 'Wie (der) welcher in der Kufe (ist), so ist er niedergesetzt;' i. e. So wie der Soma, so ist der Lobgesang hier aufgetragen; 'er möge Gefallen erregen' (*cākān*). See *Erl. zum Nirukta*, p. 94. The passage seems to have been a *crux* since the time of Çākalya.

These participial stems are declined only in the masculine and neuter, both genders being alike, save, of course, the N.A.n. The feminines are formed by adding *i* to the weak stem; see p. 367. In category A, the masculines are very numerous, the neuters very few; in B, the masculines are considerable, the neuters only about half a dozen.

The etymology of *dānt*, 'tooth,' is uncertain (from *ad*, *da*=*day*, *dañs*?). It seems to have been declined originally as a participle. Like participles and unlike nouns, it shifts the accent to the ending in the A.p. *dat-ās*; but it is unlike participles and like nouns, in shifting the accent to the ending in *dadbhīs*, *dadbhyās*. Cf. *a.dāt-e*, like nouns. The forms are given under the different cases; *dān* (x.115.2), *dānt-am* (iv.6.8), etc.

In the later texts this stem shows forms of transition to the *a*-declension; for this the A.s. *dānt-am* serves as point of departure. The Rik has only one transition-form, *dānta-s* (vi.75.11—a late hymn). The AV. has: *dāntās*, *dāntais*.

Besides *vāghāt*, there are only two instances—quite sporadic—in which an oxytone stem does not shift the accent to the ending; they are *acodāte* (in the miserable hymn v.44), and *rathirdyātām*, ix.93.4. For *śrav-āt-as* and *saṅc-āt-as*, see pp. 466, 467; does not *vāgh-āt-as* perhaps belong in the same category with them?

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCUINE.

A. Here belong 753 forms (from 228 stems). Examples are: *ārcan*, 19; *sān*, 38; *yān*, 32; *ichān*, 15; *kr̥nvān*, 24; *janāyan*, 27; *jānān*, 24; *sī'dan*, 17; *pācyān*, 19; *ghnān*, 17. Furthermore occur: *mahā'n*, 77; *sū-mahān*; *a-dān*; *dān*, x.115.2; *catā-dān*, AV. xiv.2.68; *hiranyadān*, Ait. Br. iii.6; from RV. again, *śūcidān*, v.7.7; vii.4.2; *gr̥nīdān*, x.20.3.

When the form in *-an* occurs before *c-* or *j-* in the Rik, the usual method of sandhi is *-añ c-* (e. g. iii.54.2: vii.87.1), *-añ j-* (e. g. i.173.11: x.45.6). In regard to the "inserted *t*" before *s-* (e. g. *minvānt sādma purā eti*, x.20.5), see Rik Pr. iv.6; Aufrecht, *Rigveda*², preface, p. vi; and Whitney, to Ath. Pr. ii.9. Instances of the collision of *-an* with initial *t* are comparatively rare: the method of sandhi in the Rik is *-an t-* (e. g. i.117.22: ii.3.2); in the Atharvan, there are six instances of *-ans t-* (vii.13.1; 18.2: xiii.1.32.39: xvii.10: xviii.2.20) to three of *-an t-* (xiii.2.33: xiv.1.5: xix.28.4); in the TS., there are but two cases of *-ans t-* (iv.7.13^b: v.4.12¹); the sandhi is generally *-an t-*. See Whitney, note to Ath. Pr. ii.26: and note to TPr. vi.14. If the *s* is here the historical relic of the case-ending, we ought to find it oftenest in the Rik; but the Rik has but one example of it, *āvadāns tvām* (Prāt. iv.33), and that in the last verse of the second book, a very late passage. Is it not rather (unlike the *s* of *tā'ns*) the product of phonetic dissimilation (*-ant t-* to *-ans t-*)? so Böhtlingk, *Die Declination*, § 22, Anm. 2, and note 38, q.v. For the forms in *-ann*, cf. Curtius, *Studien*, ii.165.

In 46 instances *mahā'n* appears as *mahā'n*: 31 times before *a-* (e. g. viii.90.11,12: so *sūmahān*, vii.8.2); 6 before *i-* (e. g. i.8.5); 6 before *u-* (e. g. iii.36.5); in iii.59.5 and iv.8.2 before *ā-*; in iii.53.9 before *r-*. We find *mahā'n* before *c-* in iii.55.9: vi.38.3: viii.33.8: x.4.2 (Prāt. iv.32). The resolution *mahāan* is inadmissible: in vi.25.1*d*, vii.52.3*c*, and x.46.1*a*, the sixth syllable is syncopeated.

Transition-form: *dānta-s*, as N.s. to *dānt*, vi.75.11.

In vii.4.2 and x.20.3, the metre is out of order. It is rectified, if we substitute the longer transition-form in *-dantas* for the equivalent shorter grammatical form in *-dan*; thus, *sām yō vāmā yuvāte śūcidantah* (but cf. p. 348 top); and *yām [id] āśā' krpā-nīdam | bhāśā'ketum vārḍhāyanti | bhrā'jate [sā] gr̥nīdantah* (trochaic—cf. *Ueb.* ii.514).

Quite irregular are: *ubhayā'd-dat*, TS. ii.2.6³*bis*; *-dam*, AV. v.19.2. Benfey takes *mahā'm* as N.s.m. in ii.24.11: iv.23.1: ix.109.7; see *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1878, p. 190.

B. Here belong 178 forms (from 48 stems).

Enumeration: *ābīhyat*; *cārkr̥shat*, 2; *cā'kaçat*, 9; *kārikrat*, 2 (cf. *ācārikrat*, AV. xi.5.6); *kānikradat*, 32; *cīkyat*; *cēkitat*; *tāvīvat*; *dādrat*; *dādat*, 5; *dēçicat*; *dī'diat*, 6; *dī'diat*; *dāvidyutat*, 3; *dādhat*, 18; *dōdhvat*, 3; *dāvidhvat*, 2; *nā'nad-at*, 4; *nānnamat*; *pānīphaṇat*; *bā-ps-at* (*bhas*), 3; *bībh̥yat*, 2; *jārḥhurat*, 2; *bībh̥rat*, 17; *bhārībh̥rat*; *mēmīat*; *mārm̐rat*; *mārm̐rat*, 2; *rā'r̥rajat*; *rērihat*, 3; *rōruvat*, 11; *rōruvat*, 2; *vā'vadat*; *vēvidat*, 2; *vēvishat*, 4; *vār̥v̐rat*, 2; *çōçuat*, 10; *cāniççadat*; *sēshidhat*; *sānīshyadat*; *jānghanat*, 2; *ghāmighnat*; *jāhat*; *jūhvat*, 2; from AV., *jā'grat* (vi.115.2: xvi.7.10), etc.; from the Rik, further, *kānikrat*, ix.63.20; *dhākshat*, vi.3.4; *dāl-shan nā*, p. *dhākshat nā*, i.130.8; *dākshat*, p. *dh-*, ii.4.7; *vāghāt*, ix.103.5; *çā'sat*, 4 times.

Gr. considers *kānikrat* as a shortened form of the usual *kānikradat*; cf. *kānikran-ti*, 3 p. sing.

Here belong, according to Gr., *cākán* and *cakrán*, which, although reduplicated, yet have the nasal. See p. 505.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. Here belong 272 forms (from 31 stems).

Enumeration: *anát*; *vianát*; *áminat*; *ávanat*; *sát*, 30; *ásat*, 4; *á'sat*, p. á', 2; *yát*, 2; *ishpát*; *í'shat* (x.89.14); *éjat*, 5; *éshat*?; *kuláyáyat*; *cárat*, 3; *citáyat*; *trpát*, 5; *dhrshát*, 10; *pátat*; *patáyat*; *brhát*, 148; *mahát*, 26; *minát*; *raghuyát*; *rúcat*, 14; *várdhat*; *cánsat*; *číkshat*; *cváyat*; *sákshat*; *sunvát*; from AV., *bhav-ishyát* (6 times, as x.7.9), etc.; from the Rik, further, *íyat*; *í'vat*, 2; *kiyat*, 2. For *dyugát*, see p. 502.

As adverbs, with adverbial shift of accent, occur: *dravát* (*dráv-ant*), 5; *drahyát* (! *dr'hyant*), once.

B. Here belong: *dávidyutat*, x.43.4; *pépiçat*, x.127.7; *jágat*, 16 times; *yóyuvat*, AV. xix.47.2.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong 315 forms (from 121 stems). Examples are: *sántam*, 28; *yántam*, 11; *cárantam*, 24; *brhántam*, 35; *uçántam*, 8. Furthermore occur: *mahá'ntam*, 8; *dánt-am* (Gr. *dánta-m*), iv.6.8; *híranyadant-am*, v.2.3. For *mahá'm*, see *an*-stems, A.s.m.

B. Here belong: *á-saçcatam* (i.112.9—see p. 467); *gánigmatam*; *dádatam*; *dí'diatam*; *ná'nadatam*; *pánipnatam*, 4; *bíbhratam*, 5; from AV., *kárikratam*, x.4.13; *bíbhratam*, xiv.2.30: xix.32.9; *róruvatam*, xi.10.26.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculine. Oxytones: *satá'*; *jánatá'*; *tujatá'*, 2; *brhatá'*, 11; *bhindatá'*; *mahatá'*, 5; *vanushyatá'*; *datá'*, x.115.2: AV. vi.56.3. Barytones: *ághnatá*; *avatá*; *ásunvatá*, 3; *cáratá*; *púshyatá*; *rúcatá*, 2; from AV., *gyávádatá* (vii.65.3), etc.

Neuter. Oxytones: *gavyatá'*, 3; *tuáyatá'*; *dhrshatá'*, as adv., 18 (and perhaps Vâl. 4.3); *brhatá'*, 7; *mahatá'*, 3; *uçatá'*, 2; *çucatá'*; *çravasyatá'*, 2; *samaryatá'*; *sumnáyatá'*. Barytones: *ádrpyatá*; *á'satá*, p. á'; *ásredhatá*; *áhedatá*, 3; *rúcatá*.

B. Masculines: *dádatá*; *çócucatá*. Neuter: *jágatá*, i.164.25: AV. iii.12.7.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculine. There are 187 oxytone forms (from 38 stems), and 39 barytone forms (from 26 stems).

Oxytones: *avasyaté*; *avishyoté*; *acvdyaté*; *saté*, 5; *yaté*, 9; *ishayaté*; *ishudhyaté*; *ishūyaté*; *rjūyaté*, 3; *rtāyaté*, 5; *řhaté*; *křṇvaté*, 2; *gavyaté*; *grnaté*, 29; *juraté*; *jānaté*; *tuáyaté*; *devayaté*, 5; *dvishaté*, 2; *dhiydyaté*; *dhūnvaté*; *prnaté*, 3; *prchaté*; *brhaté*, 16; *brahmanyaté*; *mahayaté*; *mahaté*, 4; *mānavasyaté*; *yajñāyaté*; *vanvaté*; *uçaté*, 6; *vidhaté*, 15; *çravasyaté*, 3; *çṇvaté*, 3; *sakhīyaté*, 3; *siñcaté*; *sunvaté*, 33; *stuvaté*, 21.

Barytones: *ághnate*; *acodáte* (sic, v.44.2); *áminate*; *árcate*, 3; *árhate*; *tyakshate*; *cárate*; *cétate*; *lúrate*; *tr'shyate*, 2; *dácate*; *pácate*; *pípishate*; *púshyate*; *yáyate*; *yúdyhate*; *rá'jate*; *rí'shate*, 2; *vádate*, 2; *cánsate*, 3; *cárdhate*, 4; *sishásate*; *haryate*, 4; and, *í'vate*; *kíyate*; *adáte*, i.189.5.

The utterly incorrect and impossible accent *acodáte* is particularly appropriate for hymn v.44; *á-codate* would be correct. If we grant a stem *acodánt*, the D.s. would be *-até*, never *-áte*.

Neuter. Oxytones: *brhaté*; *mahaté*, 10; *çucaté*; *sanáyaté*.
Barytone: *í'vate*.

B. Masculines: *jújoshate*; *dádgate*; *bíbhate*; *sáçcate*; *gháni-ghnate*; *júhvate*; *vághate* (accent! see p. 505), 3. Neuter: *jágate*, AV. i.31.4.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *krñvatás*; *prñatás*; *brhatás*, 13; *vanushyatás*, 4; and, *ábhuñjatás*; *avadatás*; *rí'shatás*, 3; *jíghānsatás*. Neuters: *brhatás*, 3; *mahatás*; and, *ásatás*; *kí'vatas*.

B. Masculine: *kánikradatás* (*vájrat*), ii.11.9.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculine. There are 127 oxytone forms (from 33 stems), and 53 barytone forms (from 34 stems).

Oxytones: *aráttyatás*; *satás*, 10; *yatás*; *undatás*; *rgháyatás*, 3; *ritáyatás*, 3; *krñvatás*, 2; *karishyatás*, 3; *kshiyatás*; *grñatás*, 5; *tujatás*; *turatás*; *turanyatás*; *túdyatás*; *durhañdyatás*; *dvishatás*, 2; *dhr'shatás*, 2; *prñatás*; *píttyatás*; *brhatás*, 26; *brahmanyatás*, 2; *mahatás*, 11; *mishatás*; *minatás*; *rudhatás*; *vapushyatás*; *uçatás*; *vidhatás*, 9; *çucatás*; *saparyatás*; *sunvatás*, 21; *stuvatás*, 9; *huvatás*.

Barytones: *ághnatás*; *ájyryatás*, 2; *ábhuñjatás*; *árcatás*, 2; *ásunvatás*, 3; *ínakshatás*; *cáratás*; *cétatás*; *járatás*, 2; *jáyatás*, 2; *jí'vatas*, 2; *jéydsatás*; *tú'rvatas*; *tr'shyatás*; *diásatás*; *drávatás*, 2; *dhámatás*; *dhrájatás*, 2; *pí'yatás*; *bhú'shatás*, 2; *yúdyatás*, 4; *rébhatás*, 2; *rírikshatás*; *rūcatás*; *váyatás*; *várdhatás*; *vénatás*; *cárdhatás*, 3; *çocatás*; *sí'datás*; *sishásatás*; *jíghānsatás*, 2; *hárshatás*; and *í'vatas*, 3.

In ii.27.3, *ádabdhāso dīpsanto*, Roth conjectures *dīpsato*: 'Undeceived of him that would fain deceive.'

Neuters: *prānatás*, 2; *satás*, 4; *krpayatás*; *brhatás*, 5; *mahatás*; *mishatás*; *yátás*; and, *d'satás*, p. ā-, 2; *cáratás*, 2; *bhāvatás*; *rūcatás*; *vénatás*; *sishāsatas*.

B. Masculines: *jígatás*; *táritratás*; *dhákshatás*; *dádatás*, 2; *dā'satás*; *dódhatás*, 4; *dádhatás*; *bápsatás*, 2; *vághatás*, 5; *vévishatás*; *çā'satás*; *jāñghnatás*.

Neuters: *vā'vadatás*; *jágatas*, 29; *ávārvatatás*, AV. v.1.8.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *yatí*, 10; *mahatí*; *sunvatí*; and, *íráyati*; from AV., *ubhayā'dati*, v.31.3. Neuters: *mahatí*, 2; and, *ásatí*. At the beginning of i.113.10a and ii.30.1d, we have with metrical lengthening, *kíyati d'*, p. -*āti*; see Rik Pr. ix.29.

Neuter: *jágatí*, i.164.23.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Grassmann takes *çatāvan*, vi.47.9, as a compound of *avant*; but see stems in *vant*, V.s.m. The word *bhos* is explained as a contracted form of *bhavas*. If this be vocative of *bhav-ant*, we must regard it as formed after the analogy of the stems in *vant*, as though the stem were *bha-vant*. See stems in *vant*, V.s.m.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. There are 79 *ā*-forms (from 52 stems), and 13 *au*-forms (from 11 stems).

I. The *ā*-forms: *açnāntā*; *sāntā*, 4; *yāntā*, 4; *gmāntā*, 2 (and see below); *gavyāntā*; *dapasyāntā*, 3; *diçāntā*; *duhāntā*; *punāntā*; *prñcāntā*; *brhāntā*, 4; *bhujāntā*; *mishāntā*; *mināntā*; *irajyāntā*; *vanvāntā*; *uçāntā*, 2; *vasmayāntā*; *vājyāntā*; *viāntā*; *vṛdhāntā*; *çṛṇvāntā*; *saparyāntā*; *sumnayāntā*;—*amardhāntā*; *āyatāntā*; *ārhanāntā*; *ishāyāntā*; *kshāyāntā*; *cārāntā*, 2; *codāyāntā*, 2; *janāyāntā*; *jārāntā*; *drāvāntā*; *dhāmāntā*; *pārāyāntā*, 2; *pibāntā*; *mādāntā*, 4; *rādāntā*; *vājāyāntā*; *vādāntā*; *vāpāntā*; *vāhāntā*, 6; *venāntā*; *sādāntā*; *sāpāntā*; *sāhāntā*; *sādhāntā*; *hāyāntā*;—*pā'ntā*; *yā'ntā*; *mahā'ntā*, 3; *brhāntā*, voc.

II. The *au*-forms: *açnāntau*; *sāntau*, 2; *yāntau*; *ishāyāntau*; *krī'dantau*, 2; *kshāyāntau*; *tirāntau*; *vājāntau*; *rā'd'antau*; *vṛdhāntau*; and *mahā'ntau*. The A.V. has *mādantau*, xviii.1.54c, a slight modernization of RV. x.14.7c.

In i.122.11, *gmāntā*, the *pada* has *gmāntā*; cf. Prāt. viii.15. The *pada* sometimes has a dual in *-ā* against *-ā* of the *saṃhitā* (p. 342); but not *vice versa*. The sense requires a plural; see N.p.m. and Benfey, *Abh.* xix.260.

B. Here belong: I. *tārītratā*; *bāpsatā*; *bībhratā*, 3; *çā'satā*; *anuçā'satā*;—II. *dādhatāu*; *bībhratau*, 2.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

A. Here belong: *yatī'*, 2; *brhati'*; and perhaps *pr'shatī*, i.162.21—see p. 391.

DATIVE AND GENITIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. Datives: *mahādabhyām*; *mṛdayādbhyām*, i.136.1bis (Gr. *-bhiām*). Genitive: *jāratos*. *Samyatós* (accent), A.V. xvi.8.22, is G.d.n.

B. Genitive: *pīpratós*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. There are 428 forms (from 166 stems). Examples are: *sāntas*, 9; *yāntas*, 15; *krāntas*; *krñvāntas*, 8; *grñvāntas*, 21; *devayāntas*, 26; *bhidāntas*; *bhindāntas*, 2; *mādāntas*, 10; *vājāyāntas*, 13; *ghnāntas*, 9; *uçāntas*, voc., x.30.2. Not included above are: *satómahāntas*; *mahā'ntas*, 2; *mahāntas*, voc., 2.

Gr. proposes *gmānto*, text *gmāntā*, i.122.11; see N.d.m. For *dīpsāntas*, see G.s.m.

We find *ubhayā'dātas*, x.90.10; and *ubhayatodātas*, Manu i.43. In each case, the absence of the nasal may be due to the metre, since the syllable *āt* is penultimate in an *anushubh-pāda*. The

AV. has the transition-form *dántás*, iv.3.6 : v.18.8, etc.; similarly the Çat. Br., -*dantás* (instead of -*datís*), i.6.3³⁰.

B. Here belong 53 forms (from 20 stems).

Enumeration: *kárikatas*; *já'gratas*; *jagatas*, voc.; *títratas*; *dádatas*, 9; *dá'çatas*, 2; *dódhatas*; *dádhatas*, 5; *dī'dhiatas*; *dāvidhvatas*, 3; *nónuvatas*; *pīpratas*, 2; *bāpsatas*, 2; *bībhṛatas*, 12; *mārmṛjatas*; *vāghátas*, 5; *vāghatas*, voc.; *çōçucatas*; *sīsratas*; *jūhvatas*; *jōhvatas*.

For the irregular nasal of *vavṛdhántas*, iv.2.17 (= AV. xviii.3.22, *vāv-*), see p. 505.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. We have the forms *mahā'nti*, p. *mahā'nti*, 3 times, and AV. ix.5.1: x.4.23; *iyānti*, p. *iyānti*, RV. vi.23.4 (Prât. ix.30); *brhā'nti*, AV. viii.9.3.

The only real participle in the N.A.p.n. is *sā'nti*, ii.28.1: viii.8.23. The *pada* reads *sā'nti*; Prât. ix.25.

In i.140.13cd, *gávyaṃ yávyāṃ yánto dīrghā' áhā[ni]* | *ishāṃ váraṃ aruṇo varanta*, Roth takes *áhāni* and *aruṇo* as coordinate subjects of *varanta*. 'Mögen die lange sich dahinziehenden Tage und die Morgenröthen uns Vieh, Korn, und Lebensfrische schenken.' We might (1) read *yā'nti*; or (2) we might consider the masculine *yántas* as the general gender before two different ones following (n. and f.); or (3), in view of the extreme unfamiliarity of the neuter form, we may make the masc. do duty outright for the neuter, as in the case of *haricṛiyam*, p. 377.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. There are 65 oxytone forms (from 24 stems), and 24 barytone forms (from 15 stems).

Oxytones: *satás*, 3; *yatás*, 4; *rgháyatás*, 2; *grṇatás*, 7; *tarushyatás*; *tuáyatás*, 2; *prṇatás*; *prṇanyatás*, 9; *brhatás*, 3; *bhandanáyatás*; *manáyatás*; *mahatás*, 2; *rudatás*; *vanushyatás*, 6; *uçatás*, 11; *vājayatás*; *vidhatás*; *çravyatás*; *çṛṇvatás*, 2; *çrudhīyatás*; *sakhīyatás*; *sasatás*, 2; *stuvatás*; *datás*, vii.55.2: AV. v.29.4: vi.56.3.

Barytones: *áprṇatas*, 2; *áprayuchatas*; *árcatas*; *ksháyatas*; *dhā'vatas*; *dhṛájatas*; *pātatas*, 2; *rá'yatas*; *rīshatas*; *rūrukshatas* (*ruh*); *vādatas*; *vṛd'dhatas*, 5; *çārdhatas*, 4; *sīsrpsatas*; *ē'vatas*; *çyāvādatas*, AV. xi.9.17.

B. Here belong: *jákshatas* (*ghas*); *dā'satas*; *çd'çvasatas*; from AV., *jā'gratas*, vii.108.2; *dódhatas*, xii.1.58: and so iii.6.2; *çōçucatas*, viii.3.13. For *sacçátas*, see pp. 469, 467.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. The oxytone stems (except *dánt*) do not shift the accent to the ending. There are 33 masculine forms (from 21 stems), and 7 neuter forms (from 5 stems).

Masculines: *ánimishadbhis*; *áprayuchadbhis*; *ásredhadbhis*; *citáyadbhis*; *tujáyadbhis*; *devayádbhis*, 2; *dhā'vadbhis*; *patáyadbhis*; *brhādbhis*, 3; *mahādbhis*, 5; *rēbhadbhis*; *riçādbhis*, 3; *vādadbhis*; *uçādbhis*; *vājayádbhis*; *vṛjadbhis*, 2; *çōcādbhis*; *çucādbhis*; *çucáyadbhis*, 2; *çubháyadbhis*; *daḍbhis*, 2.

Neuters: *brhādbhis*; *mahādbhis*, 2; *riçādbhis*; *çucáyadbhis*, 2; *stanáyadbhis*.

Transition to the *a*-declension: *dántais*, AV. xi.3.37. The Çat. Br. has *daḍbhis* by the side of *dántás*, iii.5.4²⁴.

B. Here belong: *nā'nadadbhis*, 2; *pōpruthadbhis*; *vā'vadadbhis*; *vāghādbhis*, 4; *śā'śvasadbhis*.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Datives: *kshūdhyadbhyas*; *tuāyādbhyas*; *brhādbhyas*; *mahādbhyas*; *vādadbhyas*; *uśādbhyas*; *vāhadbhyas*; *pāgyadbhyas*; *prayādbhyas* (Gr. *-bhias*), v.54.9; *grnādbhyas* (Gr. *-bhias*); *sunvādbhyas*, i.132.4; *dadbhyās*, AV. xi.2.6.

Ablative: *parāyādbhyas*, x.34.5.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculine. There are 50 oxytone forms (from 22 stems), and 10 barytone forms (from 7 stems). Here Gr. puts *sthātām*, i.70.3; but see p. 423 med.

Oxytones: *adhvāryatām*, 3; *satām*, 3; *yātām*; *rjāyatām*; *grnatām*, 3; *juratām*; *devayātām*, 4; *dvishatām*; *brhatām*; *mahatām*, 5; *yātām*, 13; *vanushyatām*; *uśatām*; *śatrūyatām*, 3; *śravasyatām*; *śrṇvatām*; *sakhiyatām*; *sasatām*; *sunvatām*; *stuvātām*; *ghnatām*; *vājyātām* (Gr. *-āam*), vi.45.29; *satām*, vi.67.1. The AV. has *datām*, v.23.3.

Barytones: *āsunvatām*; *cāratām*; *jāyatām*, 4; *nr'tyatām*; *pātātām*; *vivāsatām*; *śārdhatām*.

Neuter: *rathirāyātām* (accent!!), ix.93.4; see p. 506.

B. Masculines: *jāgatām*, 2; *vāghātām*, 3; *bībhyātām*, AV. viii.8.20.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *grṇātsu*, 2; *devayātsu*; *patāyatsu*; *mahātsu*, 2.

Neuter: *jā'ryatsu*.

PARTICIPLES IN *VAṆS*.

For Brugman's view touching the *original* form of the *vaṇs* and *yaṇs*-stems, see *Zeitsch.* xxiv.54.

About 75 stems, simple and compound, end in *vaṇs*. They have a three-fold form. In the strong cases the stem ends in *vāṇs*; in the weak, in *ush*; and in the middle, in *vad* (only three such forms in the Rik). They are declined only in the masculine and neuter; the feminine is formed by adding *i* to the weak stem (p. 367). The accent is always on the final syllable of the stem, save in negative compounds.

Even in the Veda there are several instances in which the weak form of the stem seems to be used in strong cases: *cakrūsham*, *enuśhām*, *proshūsham*, *ābibhyushas* (see A.s.m. and N.p.m.). It is possible to consider these as simple forms of transition to the *α*-declension (*cakrūsha-m*, etc.). Indeed, we have one plain case of such transition in Çat. Br. xiv.1.2¹¹: *tām emāshā (ā!) iti varāhā ājaghāna*. Cf. *Devamīdhusha* and *Mīdhusha*.

In the Epos, similar anomalies are by no means rare. We have: *divyāstra-vidushau*, N.d., MBh. iv.1847; *vidushas*, N.p., iii.15850; *vedavidushas*, Bṛhat Samhitā, xvi.24. For other citations, see BR. vi.1068; and cf. Kern, Translation of Bṛh. S., p. 100.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

The N.s.m. in *-vān* occurs 240 times (from 44 stems). It appears in the *samhitā* as *-vāñç* once (iii.44.2, *vidvāñç* c-, Prāt. iv.32); cf., moreover, *ācikitvāñç* c-, AV. ix.9.7, with *ācikitvāñ* c-, RV. i.164.6, and see Whitney to Ath. Pr. ii.27 end. It appears as *-vāñ*, the regular elided form of *-vāñs* (see p. 346), before a vowel, but only in the interior of a *pāda* (Prāt. iv.26).

The form *-vāñ* occurs 70 times: before *a-*, 42 times, as v.2.8; before *ā-*, in i.94.6: ii.6.8: iii.14.2: iv.8.4; 19.10; before *i-*, i.37.8; 174.6: v.29.3,14; 30.11; 32.2: ix.105.6: x.112.5; 160.2; before *ī-*, i.145.1; before *u-*, i.52.8; 190.7: iii.29.16; 35.4: x.11.5; before *ṛ-*, i.145.5: iii.31.1; 50.3: viii.81.9: x.2.1; 28.5; 138.3; before *e-*, ix.96.2.

Furthermore, *-vāñ* occurs before *y-* (ii.4.5: ix.107.1), and *v-* (x.132.3). The Prāt. enumerates all the cases at iv.28. The VS. reads *-vā y-* (Prāt. iii.135)! In ii.12.4, *jīgvāñ* (*ñ*=nasalized *l*) occurs before *l-*; Prāt. iv.4.

At the end of a *pāda* we have *-vān* before a vowel (23 times): so before *a-*, e. g. vii.7.5; before *ā-*, e. g. i.169.3; before *i-*, e. g. x.8.8; before *u-*, e. g. iv.7.8; before *ṛ-*, x.148.3. In three exceptional cases we have *-vāñ*, even at the end of a *pāda*: in i.59.6c and iii.32.6a (see Prāt. iv.26), and in i.69.1a (*akṣharapañkti*).

Enumeration: *ācikitvān*; *āproshvān*; *ārarivān*; *āvidvān*, 3; *cakrvān*, 2; *jaganvān*, 6; *cikitvān*, 32; *jīgvān*, 2; *jujurvān*, 3; *jujushvān*, 2; *jāgvān*; *jajñivān*; *tatanvān*, 2; *dadācvān*; *dadasvān*; *dadvān*; *dācvān*, 5; *dādivān*; *dadr̥cvān*; *dadhavān*, 3; *dadr̥shvān*, 3; *papivān*, 8; *pupushvān*; *paprivān*, 2; *bibhivān*; *babhivān*, 3; *mādhvān*, 5; *mamrvān*; *yayivān*; *rariivān*; *rurukvān*; *vavanvān*; *vivikvān*; *vividvān*, 2; *vidvān*, 98; *vividhvān*; *ṣṣukvān*, 3; *ṣṣurvān*; *sasavān*, 6; *sāsahvān*, 2; *sāhvān*, 9; *tasthvān*; *jaghanvān*, 17. Here Gr. puts *ṣvāstván*—BR. stem *ṣvāstvant*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong *tatanvāt* (vi.21.3) and *samvavṛtvāt* (v.31.3)—both accusative.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong 66 forms (from 27 stems).

Enumeration: *tyivāñsam*, 2; *cakrvāñsam*; *jāgvāñsam*; *cahvāñsam*; *cikitvāñsam*; *jāgvāñsam*; *dācvāñsam*, 9; *dādivāñsam*, 11; *dūrvidvāñsam*; *papivāñsam*; *papivāñsam*, 3; *papivāñsam*, 2; *paprivāñsam*; *mamrvāñsam*; *rir̥hvāñsam*; *vidvāñsam*; *vavrivāñsam*, 5; *vāvṛdhvāñsam*, 2; *ṣṣcvāñsam*; *sasavāñsam*; *sāsahvāñsam*, 2; *sushvāñsam*; *sūvidvāñsam*; *sasrvāñsam*; *tasthvāñsam*; *tasthvāñsam*, 7; *sushvāñsam*.

There are several remarkable instances in which the weak form seems to be used for the strong. They are: *cakrūsham* (for *cakrvāñsam*—Śāy., *kṛtavantam*), x.137.1 (=AV. iv.13.1); *varāhām emushām* (for *emivāñsam*), viii.66.10; *pitṛam proshūsham* (for *proshvāñsam*), Cat.Br. xii.5.2^o. The accent of *emushā* is perhaps due to a misconception of the form (BR.).

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *ābibhyushā* (i.6.7); *cikitūshā*; *vidūshā*, 3. Neuters: *ābibhyushā*; *bibhyushā*.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *ārarushe*; *ācūshe*, 2; *cakrūshe*; *jagmūshe*; *cikitūshe*, 6; *jigyūshe*, 2; *dadācūshe*, 4; *dācūshe*, 111; *bibhyūshe*; *mādhūshe*, 11; *vidūshe*, 5; *sedūshe*.

ABLATIVE AND GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Ablatives: (masc.) *árarushas*; *jujurúshas*, 2; (neut.) *tasthúshas* (i.6.1?).

Genitives: (masc.—63 forms, from 19 stems) *ádācushas*, 2; *árarushas*, 6; *vyúshas*; *jagmúshas*; *cikitúshas*; *jigyúshas*, 4; *jānushas*; *tatarúshas*; *dadúshas*, 2; *dācúshas*, 21; *didiyúshas*; *papúshas*; *bibhyúshas*; *mīdhúshas*, 9; *vividúshas*; *sedúshas*, 2; *sushuvúshas*; *tasthúshas*, 6; *jaghnúshas*; *manrúshas*, AV. vi. 18.2; (neut.) *vavavrúshas*.

Delbrück, *Verbum*, p. 235, says that *dadhanvátas*, vi.48.18, may be G.s.m. of *da-dhan-váns*, for *da-dhanv-úsh-as*; cf. p. 516.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *cikitvas*, 11; *titirvas*; *didivas*, 6; *mīdhvas*, 10. The AV., at vii.97.1 (=RV. iii.29.16), has *cikitvan*, a modernization of the Rik-form *cikitvas*; cf. *vant*-stems, V.s.m.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

I. The *á*-forms: *okivd'nsá*; *jaganvd'nsá*; *jágrvd'nsá*; *didivd'nsá*; *papivd'nsá*; *vavanvd'nsá*; *vidvd'nsá*, 3; *çucuvd'nsá*; *çucruvd'nsá*; *tasthivd'nsá*, 2. II. There is but one *au*-form, *vidvd'nsau*.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong 43 forms (from 22 stems).

Enumeration: *ávidvánsas*; *cakrvd'nsas*, 2; *jaganvd'nsas*; *jágrvd'nsas*, 3; *cikitvd'nsas*; *jigivd'nsas*, 4; *titirvd'nsas*; *dadrvd'nsas*; *dācvd'nsas*, 2; *paptivd'nsas*; *mīdhvd'nsas*; *ririkvd'nsas*, 2; *vidvd'nsas*, 3; *çucukvd'nsas*; *çācvvd'nsas*; *sasavd'nsas*, 5; *sāsahvd'nsas*; *sāhvā'nsas*; *sasrvd'nsas*, 2; *tushṭivd'nsas*, 3; *tasthivd'nsas*, 5; *sushupvd'nsas*. For *bhaktivd'nsas*, AV. vi.79.3 (cf. vii.97.3), see BR. v.168.

Weak form for strong. In i.11.5 (=SV. ii.601), *ábibhyushas* can hardly be construed otherwise than as N.p.m. (for *ábibhivānsas*) with *devā's*. Müller, Translation, p. 3, takes *pári tasthúshas*, i.6.1, as equivalent to *paritasthivd'nsas*; cf. Mahīdhara to VS. xxiii.5: *tasthushaḥ vibhakter vyatyayaḥ tasthivdānsaḥ karmārthan sthitā rtvijah*; but the antithesis seems to be between *pári car* and *sthā*. See A.p.m. Under this category Bollensen, *Z.D.M.G.* xxii.604, puts *cikitúshas* (i.73.1) and *dadúshas* (i.54.8—Sây., *havirdattavantas* . . . *yad vā* . . .). Both forms are genitives s. m.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

There seems to be no example of a form in *-vānsi*.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *jagmúshas*; *cikitúshas*, 2; *jigyúshas*, 2; *dācúshas*; *mīdhúshas*, 3; *vidúshas*; *sedúshas*; *tasthúshas*, v.53.2: ix.19.6: and i.6.1 (A.p.m. rather than Ab.s.n., on account of *pári*).

INSTRUMENTAL AND GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Instrumental: *jāgrvādbhis*, 3.

Genitives: *āddṛṣhām*; *jigyūshām*; *dadūshām*; *mīdhūshām*; *vidūshām*; *ṣuṣruvūshām*, Çat. Br. ii.2.2°.

COMPARATIVES IN YAÑS.

These stems have the form *-yañs* in the strong cases, and *-yas* in the weak. No middle form occurs. They are declined only in the masculine and neuter; the feminine is formed by adding *ī* to the weak stem (p. 367). We find *tāvīyañs* and *tāvīyas*, *nāvīyañs* and *nāvīyas*, *pānīyañs* and *pānīyas*, *sāhīyañs* and *sāhīyas*, side by side.

Benfey, *Gram.* p. 310, note 5, mentions *kanīyas-am* as a strong case-form from a weak stem (for *kanīyañs-am*). It occurs thrice in the MBh. Like it is *kanīyasau*. BR. refer both forms to an *a*-stem (*kanīyasa-m*). Both are at all events by origin transition-forms. Compare the stems *ṣreyāñsa*, *ṣreyasa*, and compounds.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

The N.s.m. in *-ān* occurs 56 times (from 20 stems). It appears in the *samhitā* as *-āñç* once (x.90.3, *jyā'yāñç ca*); cf. the sandhi of the AV. at xiii.4.46,47. For the rest, it is treated just as the N.s.m. of *-vañs*, and appears as *-āñ* before vowels in the interior of a *pāda* four times (before *a*, iv.30.1: vii.98.1; before *i*, v.41.12: viii.1.6); but as *-ān* before vowels at the end of a *pāda* nine times (e. g., before *r*, i.110.7: vi.12.5).

Enumeration: *ātavyān*, 2; *ōjīyān*, 2; *kānīyān*; *jāvīyān*, 5; *jyā'yān*, 7; *tārīyān*; *tāvīyān*, 3; *tāvīyān*, 3; *dāvīyān*; *nāvīyān*, 3; *mānīyān*; *yājīyān*, 15; *yōdhīyān*; *vānīyān*, 2; *vārīyān*; *vāsyān*, 2; *vēdīyān*; *ṣrēyān*, 2; *sāhīyān*, 2; *skābhīyān*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

Here belong 82 forms (from 16 stems): *r'jīyas*; *ōjīyas*; *kānīyas*, 2; *jyā'yas*, 2; *tāvīyas*; *dāvīyas*; *drā'ghīyas*, 5; *nāvīyas*, 12; *nāvīyas*, 7; *nēdīyas*, 3; *ṣrēyas*; *bhā'yas*, 7; *bhā'yas-bhāyas*; *vārīyas*, 14; *vārshīyas*; *vāsyas*, 20; *svādīyas*, 3.

In i.105.15*d*, the metre calls for the longer grammatical form *nāvīyas* instead of the shorter equivalent *nāvīyas*; similarly, in vi.80.1*a*, for *bhāvīyas* (not *bhā'īas*—cf. i.83.1), instead of *bhā'yas*. For *nāv[ī]yas* in i.61.13*b*, see p. 338 med.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *jyā'yānsam*; *tāvīyānsam*; *drā'ghīyānsam*; *nāvīyānsam*; *pānīyānsam*; *śācīyānsam*; *ṣrēyānsam*; from AV., *vārshīyānsam*, ix.6.19: xv.11.5; *sāhīyānsam*, xvii.1-5. For *kanīyas-am*, see above.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *jávyasā*, 2; *návyasā*, vi.6.1; *bhū'yasā*.

Neuters: *tējīyasā*; *tvákshīyasā*; *návyasā*, 3; *návyasā*, 4; *pányasā*, 2; *bhāvīyasā*; *bhū'yasā* (iv.24.9bis); *vásyasā*; *vásyasā-vasyasā*; *sáhīyasā*, 2.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *távīyase*; *návīyase*; *pánīyase*; *pányase*; *sányase*; *sáhīyase* (read *sáhyase*, i.71.4c); *sáhyase*; *báhiyase*, AV. iii.29.3.

Neuters: *návīyase*; *návyase*, 10; *sányase*, 2.

ABLATIVE AND GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Ablatives: (masc.) *távīyasas*; *rábhyasas*; *sáhīyasas*, 2; *sáh-yasas*, 2; (neut.) *bhū'yasas*.

Genitives: (masc.) *kánīyasas*, 2; *jyđ'yasas*; *távīyasas*; *návī-yasas*; *návyasas*; *bhū'yasas*; (neut.) *návyasas*, 2.

LOCATIVE AND VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Locative: *sáhīyasi*, 2. Vocatives: *đīyas*; *jyđ'yas*.

NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *gréyānsas*; from AV., *tī'kshnīyānsas*, iii.19.4bis; *bhū'yānsas*, vii.60.7.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

Here belongs *návyāñsi*, nom., i.38.3a (catalectic?).

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *kánīyasas*; *nédīyasas*, 2; *bhū'yasas*, 4; *vásyasas*, 14; *váhīyasas*; *vārshīyasas*, AV. vi.136.2.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Instead of the masc. *návyasām*, we find the fem. form *návyas-īndām* (*marútām*) at the end of v.53.10b (7 syll., catalectic—Gr. -aam), and of v.58.1b (11 syll.). The metre is chargeable with the irregularity.

STEMS IN VANT AND MANT.

The stems formed by the suffixes *vant* and *mant* are declined entirely alike, and it has therefore seemed best not to treat them in separate sections. The forms from stems in *vant* are given case by case under category A; and those from stems in *mant*, under category B.

These stems are declined only in the masculine and neuter. The feminine is formed by adding *ī* to the weak stem (p. 367). The stem in *vant*, *mant* seems, however, to be used sometimes as a feminine; thus, according to Gr., we have: *śáçvatātānā*, i.26.6: ix.1.6 (I have taken the two words adverbially—see p. 480);

havishmatā devātātā, i.128.2c; *rāthavate prācastaye*, i.122.11d (the metre demands *-vatyai*). It may be questioned whether these are syntactical or formal peculiarities; or due to a simple disregard of grammatical gender (cf. *brhatē*, ix.15.2; 96.4 : AV. xiv.2.72; *nāmabibhratī ātithis*, xv.13.6).

These stems show the distinction of strong and weak in the retention of the nasal in the strong cases and its rejection in the weak. Several instances of the confusion of this distinction are probable.

Weak form for strong. The most probable instance seems to me to be *kshumāti yāthā'* (for *kshumānti*, A.p.n.), iv.2.18. Not improbable is x.59.1, *sthā'tāreva krātumatā rāthasya* (for *krātumantā*, N.d.m.): 'Discerning are the two guides as it were of the wagon;' figuratively for the eyes of the body. Gr. makes *indrāvato* a N.p. in iv.27.4, *rjipyā im indrāvato nā bhujiyūm | crenō jabhāra*; see Ueb. i.134.

Strong form for weak. There is no certain instance. The possible or supposed ones—*prāyasvantas*, *havishmantas*, *vadhā'mantas*, *dyumantās*—are discussed below; see A.p.m. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.475, proposes *vā'java[n]tas* in vi.50.11a, taking it, I suppose, as G.s.m. This form is certainly demanded by the cadence, and perhaps it once stood in the text as N.p.m. with *tē*, being displaced by the formal parallelism of the genitives. Rather than *rāthava[n]te*, i.122.11, read *-vatyai*.

Unlike participles, these stems do not shift the accent to the ending when oxytone; e. g. *nrvātā*, *revātas*—cf. *jānatē*, *tujatās*.

Transition to the *a*-declension. I have met with no instance of this from *vant* or *mant*-stems; but cf. the Pāli, *himavanto va pabbato* (*parvato*), Dhammapada 304, and Kuhn, *Pāli-gram*. p. 76.

Transitions (?) from the *an*-declension. The stem *maghāvan* has several supplementary middle forms from *maghāvanti* in the Rik: *maghāvān*, once; *-vadbhis*, once; *-vadbhyas*, 19; *-vatsu*, 8. So *sahā'van* makes *sahā'vān*, 2.

Similarly the stem *yūvan* has the supplementary form *yūvat* (A.s.n., i.111.1: x.39.8), both times in places where the regular form *yūvā* would be excluded by the metre: e. g. *tākshan pitṛ'bhyām ṛbhāvo yūvad vāyah*. Cf. *an*-stems, N.A.s.n. So in *Suparnādhya*, vii.4 (*Ind. Stud.* xiv.6), occurs *yuvātas*, A.p.m.

The I.s.m. *varimātā*, i.108.2, is rightly referred by BR., vii. 1800, to *varimān*. The Sanskrit form *varimṇā* would not fill out the verse. Cf. *da-dhan-vāt-as*, p. 513.

Some of these supplementary forms are probably forms of transition to the *vant*-declension. For some, the N.s.m. may have served as the point of departure. Cf. *maghāvā* with *maghāvān r-*; *svāvāñ y-* (i.35.10) and *dadhanvāñ y-* (ix.107.1) with *-vā y-* of the VS. (xxxiv.26 : xix.2)—Pr. iii.135. See also *Zeitsch.* xxiv.53.

Conversely, the stem *ārvant* has two forms from *ārvan*: *ārvā*, 21; *ārvānam*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. The N.s.m. in *-vān* occurs 192 times (from 89 stems).

B. The N.s.m. in *-mān* occurs 100 times (from 29 stems).

These forms are treated in the *saṃhitā* quite like those from stems in *-vāns*; see p. 512.

The form *-vān* occurs in the interior of a *pāda* 50 times: before *a-*, 22 times, as v.28.4 (and at the end of i.70.5a, *aksharapahkti*); before *i-*, 7 times, as iv.4.1; before *u-*, 11 times, as vi.47.1; before *r-*, i.189.6: ii.25.3: iv.16.1; 26.1: x.64.16; before *ā-*, i.84.9: viii.86.4; before *e-*, iv.2.5: x.3.7; before *o-*, i.173.6. At the end of a *pāda* we have *-vān* before vowels, 8 times, as iii.39.4: vi.37.1; and exceptionally in the interior of a *pāda* (Prāt. iv.31) at i.23.23: iv.16.9: x.9.9; 90.3. The sandhi is *-vāñ* before *c-*, *j-*, *ç-* (*ch-*); e.g. vii.20.1: ix.90.3: i.95.1: and *-vān* before *t-*; as i.30.14.

In like manner, *-māñ* occurs in the interior of a *pāda* 47 times: before *a-*, 22 times, as iv.2.5; 41.1; before *i-*, 12 times, as ix.2.9; before *u-*, 4 times, as vii.71.4; before *r-*, vi.18.2: ix.96.13; 97.48; 110.11: x.89.5; before *ā-*, i.12.9: ix.44.4: x.98.3; before *ā-*, ix.68.8. At the end of a *pāda*, we have *-mān* before vowels in ii.12.12: vii.85.4: x.8.2. We find *-māñ* before *c-*, i.55.1.

The fact that *ārvān* stands in the *saṃhitā* as *ārvāñ* (i.163.13, before *a-*; ix.97.25, before *i-*) does not seem to me to justify the assumption that *ārvā* is the nominative to *ārvant* (Müller, Translation, p. 56). The sandhi is perfectly regular. We have, to be sure, the supplementary nom. *ārvā*; so *maghāvān* and *maghāvā*; *sahā'vān* and *sahā'vā*.

A. The forms are: *akṣhaṇvā'n*; *agnivā'n*; *āṅgirasvān*, 2; *ānnavān*; *āpavītravān*; *āmavān*, 4; *ārvān*, 2; *āç'rvān*; *īdāvān*; *ishāvān*; *r'ghāvān*, 2; *etā'vān*; *kakṣhī'vān*, 4; *kṣhapā'vān*, 2; *kṣhāpāvān*, 3; *ghṛ'nīvān*; *jānivān*; *tāpasvān*; *tarshīd'vān*; *tāvasvān*; *tāvishvān*; *tā'vān*; *tuvirāvān*, 2; *tvā'vān*, 9; *daṇśānd'vān*, 2; *dākṣhīnāvān*, 2; *dākṣhīnāvān*, 2; *dātravān*; *dā'navān*; *dā'svān*, 3; *durhānāvān*, 2; *devāvān*; *devā'vān*; *dyumnāvān*; *nāmasvān*, 6; *niyūtān*, 12; *nī'lavān*; *pāyasvān*, 2; *pavitravān*; *pāvīravān*; *pastīvān*; *pūramdhīvān*; *pūṣhaṇvā'n*; *prajā'vān*, 4; *prāyasvān*, 6; *pravātān*; *prahā'vān*; *bhāgavān*, 2; *maghāvān*; *matāvān*; *matsarāvān*; *mānasvān*; *marūtāvān*, 12; *māhasvān*; *māyā'd'vān*; *mā'hindāvān*, 2; *mehānāvān*; *yācasvān*; *yātumā'vān*; *rābhasvān*; *rāsavān*; *revā'n*, 10; *vā'javān*; *vājīnīvān*, 3; *vivakvā'n*; *vivāsvān*; *vṛ'shaṇvān*, 3; *vṛ'sh-ṇīvān*; *cācīvān*, 2; *çarādāvān*; *çāçvān*; *çipravān*; *çiprinīvān*; *çimīvān*, 5; *sākhīvān*; *sabhā'vān*; *sārasvān*; *sāhasvān*, 3; *sahā'vān*, 2; *sāhāvān*, 2; *sutā'vān*, 2; *sūnṛtā'vān*; *stavā'n*, 3; *svadhā'vān*, 9; *svādhitīvān*; *sūarvān*, 3; *hārīvān*, 4; *hitā'vān*; *hemidā'vān*.

B. The forms are: *abdimā'n*; *āvimān*; *açānimān*; *īshumān*; *udanimā'n*; *r̥bhumā'n*, 2; *kakūdmān*, 2; *krātumān*, 4; *garūtān*, 2; *gomān*, 3; *tūvishmān*, 12; *tvāshṭrmān*; *tvishīmān*; *dyumā'n*, 11; *dhṛājīmān*, 2; *nadanumā'n*; *paraçumā'n*; *paçumā'n*; *pītumā'n*, 4; *barhishmān*; *mādhumān*, 20; *vāsūmān*; *virūk-mān*; *vṛshṭimā'n*, 2; *çarumān*; *çocishmān*; *sushumā'n*; *havishmān*, 19; *hīvīmān*.

It seems necessary to read i.110.9b with elision and crasis: *r̥bhumēndra citrām ā' darshi rā'dhah*, text *mā'n indra*.

The resolution *havishmaan*, i.127.10d, is inadmissible; the *pāda* is catalectic (7 syll.).

If we refer *tuvirāvān*, with BR., to *tuvirāvānt*, for *tuvirāvāvant*, the shortened form would be paralleled by *kānikrat* etc. (p. 505); but see *as-*stems, N.s.m.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

There are 204 forms in *-vat* (from 51 stems), and 81 forms in *-mat* (from 21 stems).

A. The forms are: *apāsthāvat*; *ānavat*, 6; *arcivāt*, 2; *āc̐vavat*, 2; *āc̐vāvat*, 14; *ātmanvāt*; *ār'vat*; *īrvāt*, 2; *r'ghāvat*; *etā'vat*, 5; *kshait̐vat*; *gopā'vat*; *grābhaṇavat*; *ghr̥tāvat*, 9; *candrāvat*; *tā'vat*, 4; *tokāvat*; *tvā'vat*; *dākshīṇāvat*; *dyumnāvat*, 2; *dhānā'vat*; *dhvasmanvāt*; *nāmasvat*; *nī'lavat*; *nr̥vāt*, 12; *padvāt*, 2; *pāyasvat*, 2; *pastīvat*; *pr'shadvat*; *prajā'vat*, 10; *barhāṇāvat*; *yā'vat*, 7; *yūvat*, 2 (p. 516); *rāthavat*, 3; *rāsavat*; *revāt*, 23; *vayūnavat*; *vayūnāvat*; *vā'javāt*, 4; *vīpr'kvat*; *vivāsvat*; *vishāvat*; *virāvat*, 18; *catāvat*, 4; *çaphāvat*, 2; *çāc̐vat*, 22; *çāc̐vat-çāc̐vat*; *sahāsravat*, 3; *sāhasvat*; *sinavat*; *sūarvat*, 6; *hiraṇyavat*, 11.

B. The forms are: *abhish̥timāt*; *r̥bhumāt*; *ketumāt*; *krātumat*; *kshumāt*; *gōmat*, 23; *jyōtishmat*; *tvish̥mat*; *dasmāt*; *dā'numat*; *dyumāt*, 16; *nidhīmāt*; *paçumāt*, 2; *pitumāt*; *pusht̐māt*, 2; *mādhumat*, 18; *manyumāt*; *yāvamat*, 3; *rayimāt*; *vāsumat*, 2; *suastimāt*, 2.

BR. take *gnā'vas* as N.s.n. with *sajātīam*, ii.1.5, for *gnā'vat*; Weber would read *gnāvas*, as voc.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

There are 86 forms in *-vantam* (from 43 stems), and 93 in *-mantam* (from 19 stems).

A. The forms are: *apīdhānavantam*; *apūpāvantam*, 2; *ārvantam*, 7; *āc̐vāvantam*, 4; *asthanvāntam*; *ātmanvāntam*; *īndrasvantam*; *ūr̥jasvantam*; *ūr̥jāvāntam*; *etā'vantam*; *ēnasvantam*; *ōjasvantam*; *ōmanvantam*; *omīd'vantam*; *kakshī'vantam*, 4; *ghr̥tāvantam*, 8; *dā'svantam*; *devāvantam*, 2; *dhānā'vantam*, 2; *dhī'vantam*; *nr̥vāntam*; *padvāntam*; *pārasvantam*; *prajā'vantam*, 3; *bhā'svantam*; *marūtvantam*, 7; *māhishvantam*; *rātnavāntam*; *revāntam*, 2; *vapd'vantam*, 2; *vayā'vantam*; *vā'javāntam*, 2; *vā'ravāntam*; *vīvasvantam*; *virāvantam*, 7; *vī'shanvantam*; *catāvantam*, 2; *çāc̐vantam*, 2; *sacandā'vantam*; *sārasvantam*, 2; *hārīvantam*, 2; *hāstavāntam*; *hiraṇyavāntam*.

B. The forms are: *r̥bhumāntam*; *kārvamāntam*; *ketumāntam*; *kshumāntam*, 5; *gōmāntam*, 23; *jyōtishmāntam*, 2; *tāvish̥māntam*; *dyumāntam*, 16; *nidhīmāntam*; *pitumāntam*; *bāndhumāntam*; *bhānumāntam*; *mādhumāntam*, 25; *vāsumāntam*, 7; *vāçimāntam*; *vīr̥çimāntam*; *crusht̐māntam*, 2; *havishmāntam*, 2; *hōtrmāntam*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. There are 25 masculines (from 14 stems), and 10 neuters (from 8 stems).

B. There are 14 masculines (from 9 stems), and 5 neuters (from 3 stems).

A. Masculines: *ārvatā*, 10; *āc̐vāvatā*; *udānvatā*; *r'kvatā*; *kakshī'vatā*; *niyūtvatā*, 2; *nr̥vatā*; *marūtvatā*, 2; *yāçasvatā*; *revātā*; *viçvādevīdvatā*; *vishāvatā*; *çubhrā'vatā*; *sāhasvatā*.

Neuters: *etā'vatā*; *candrāvatā*; *prajā'vatā*, 2; *barhāṇāvatā*; *vivāsvatā*; *sūnrtā'vatā*; *hārīvatā*; *çāc̐vatā*, 2.

B. Masculines: *gōmatā*; *jyōtishmatā*; *divitmatā*; *dyumatā*; *bhr̥sh̥timātā*; *varimātā* (see p. 516); *vāsumatā*, 4; *virūkatā*, 2; *havishmatā*, 2.

Neuters: *divitmatā*; *virūkatā*; *havishmatā*, 3.

In i.26.6 and ix.1.6, I take *çāc̐vatā* as neuter, adverbially—not with *tānā*, which as a noun would be fem. In i.128.2c, however, *havishmatā* seems to go with the fem. *devātātā*; see p. 516 top.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. There are 51 masculines (from 21 stems), and 4 neuters (from 3 stems).

B. There are 13 masculines (from 7 stems), and no neuters.

A. Masculines: *árvate*, 10; *áçvátate*; *kakshí'vate*, 3; *dákshinátate*; *dákshinátate*; *datvátate*; *dá'svate*, 2; *niyútate* (i.185.1); *pūshanvátate*, 2; *marútate*, 8; *má'vate*, 6; *yuvátate*; *ráthavate*; *vivásvate*, 2; *vivasvate*; *çácivate*; *çáçvate*, 3; *sáhasvate*, 3; *sánrtátate*; *súarvate*; *hárivate*.

Neuters: *padvátate*, 2; *revátate*; *çáçvate*.

B. Masculines: *gómate*; *cákshushmate*; *tvishimate*; *divítate*; *dyumátate*; *barkishmate*, 3; *havishmate*, 5.

In i.122.11d, both grammar and metre favor the reading *ráthavatayai*; and this I would suggest in place of *ráthavate* (*práçastaye*). In vi.17.14, Gr. reads *dyumátate* i-, p. -taḥ i-.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong: *tuá'vatas* (viii.45.35); *vivásvatas*; *vr'shñiá-vatas*.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. There are 88 masculines (from 30 stems), and 6 neuters (from 4 stems).

B. There are 24 masculines (from 4 stems), and one neuter.

A. Masculines: *árvatas*, 9; *áçvátatas*, 2; *kakshí'vatas*; *já'vatas*; *tvá'vatas*, 8; *dadhanvátas*; *dá'svatas*; *devátas*, 2; *dhí'vatas*; *dhí'vatas-dhí'vatas*; *niyútatas*; *nrvátas*, 2; *prajá'vatas*, 4; *marútatas*, 2; *má'vatas*, 3; *mehánátatas*; *yáçasvatas*, 2; *revátas*, 7; *váyasvatas*, 2; *vá'javatas*; *vivásvatas*, 19; *vivasvatas*, 2; *vírátas*; *çácivatas*; *çáçvatas*, 3; *sárasvatas*; *sáhasvatas*, 2; *sutá'vatas*, 4; *súarvatas*; *svadhá'vatas*; *hr'shívatas*.

Neuters: *etá'vatas*, 3; *yá'vatas*; *vishúvátas*; *çáçvatas*.

B. Masculines: *kshumátas*, 2; *gómatas*, 19; *dyumátas*; *havishmatas*, 2. Neuters: *gómatas*.

For *dadhanvátas*, cf. p. 513.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. There are 18 masculines (from 9 stems): *árvati*, 2; *dákshinátati*; *nrvátati*; *pasthívati*; *yáçasvati*; *vānanvati*, 2; *vivásvati*, 3; *vivasvati*; *çaryand'vati*, 6.

Neuters: *áçvátati*; *çimí'vati*; *súarvati*.

B. There is but one example, *gómati*, masc., 8.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

I. In the Rik, the vocative of stems in *-vant* and *-mant* ends in *-vas* and *-mas*—and not, as in Sanskrit, in *-van* and *-man*. The like ending in *-as* is seen elsewhere only in the vocatives *cikítvas*, *titírvas*, *diádivas*, *mídhvas* (p. 513), *ojíyas*, *jyáyas* (p. 515), *rtávas*, *evayávas*, *prátarítvas*, *mātariçvas*, *khidvas*, and *pumas*.

A. Here belong 107 forms (from 14 stems): *rshívas*; *gnávas*; *tavishívas*, 2; *niyútvas*, 2; *marútvas*, 3; *rayívas*, 3; *vajrívas*, 15; *víravas*; *çaktívas*; *çácívas*, 13; *sarasvas*; *sahasvas*, 7; *svadhávas*, 19; *harívas*, 38. Here Gr. puts *vibhávas*, i.58.9; it ought to be referred to *vibhá'van*. For *gná'vas*, ii.1.5, see A.s.n. In x.74.5, BR. read *çáci vas* for *çácívas*.

In the following repetitions of Rik-passages, we find the form *-vas*: VS. xxvi.21 (RV. i.15.3): vii.35 (iii.51.7): xviii.74 (vi.5.7). It is interesting to see how the Sāmaveda, at i.351, in its rendering of RV. vi.44.1, avoids the antique and no longer understood form (*yó*) *rayivo*—namely, by the bad variant, (*yó*) *rayim vo*. In genuine Atharvan verses, there is not a single vocative in *-vas* or *-mas*: *svadhāvas* occurs in a Rik-passage (xviii.1.26=RV. x.11.8): and for *bhagavas*, xix.34.8 (??), the ed. reads *samābhavas*. The form *bhagavas* occurs VS. xvi.52-3: TS. iv.1.10²: Ait. Br. iii.20: v.14: viii.24; *bhagos*, Çat.Br. xiv.5.4²: 7.3². Cf. *bhos*, p. 509; and *aghos* (*aghavas*).

B. Here belong 8 forms (from 6 stems): *tuviśmas*; *dyumas*; *bhānumas*; *cuciśmas*; *havishmas*; *mantumas*, i.42.5: vi.56.4: x.134.6=SV. ii.441.

II. A. The modern form in *-van* occurs also sporadically in the Rik as follows: *arvan*, i.163.1,3,4,8,11 (a well-known late hymn): vi.12.6; *çavasāvan*, i.62.11; *çatāvan*, vi.47.9. Since the *pada* reads *çatā-van* (cf. Prāt. ix.10), it is better to take this word from *çatā-vant*, and not, with Gr., from *çata+avant*.

Excepting x.11.8 (above), the only Rik-verses containing a vocative in *-vas* which are repeated in the Atharvan are RV. v.42.4 and x.84.1; and in both, the later text modernizes the form to *-van* (cf. p. 513), and reads *harivan* (AV. vii.97.2) and *marutvan* (AV. iv.31.1). Besides these the AV. has: *vājīnīvan*, iv.38.6,7; *vrshnyāvan*, v.25.8; *svadhāvan*, v.11.4,5,11.

B. There is no example of a voc. in *-man*.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

I. A. Here belong 20 forms (from 18 stems): *āṅgirasvantā*; *ānasvantā*; *ārvantā*, 2; *īndravantā*; *kāçāvantā*; *kēçavantā*; *dhārmavantā*; *nāmasvantā*; *niyātavantā*; *pavītravantā*; *marūtavantā*; *mitrā-vārunavantā*; *vā'javantā*; *vīshṇuvantā*; *vyāçasvantā*, 2; *çāçvantā*; *çā'tavantā*?; *sāptīvantā*.

B. Here belong: *arcimāntā*; *ṛbhumāntā*; *krātumantā*; *va-dhā'mantā*.

II. A. Here belong: *ashthīvāntau*; *rōmanvantau*; and from AV., *ashthīvāntau*, 5; *yā'dvantau*, xii.3.1; *sāhasvantau*, xix.32.5; *svādhāvāntau*, voc., v.9.8.

Weak form for strong: *krātumatā*, x.59.1; see p. 516.

ABLATIVE AND GENITIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

A. Ablative: *ashthīvādbhyām*. Genitives: *vājīnīvatos*; *çīmīvatos*; *sārasvatīvatos*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. There are 91 forms (from 46 stems).

B. There are 53 forms (from 17 stems).

A. The forms are: *akṣanvāntas*; *ānasvāntas*; *āmavāntas*, 3; *ārvāntas*, 11; *āpōdvāntas*; *āçīrvāntas*; *īdāvāntas*; *īndravāntas*, 7; *ā'rjasvāntas*; *ēnasvāntas*; *kakṣhīvāntas*; *kārnavāntas*; *ghṛtāvāntas*, 2; *çashā'lavāntas*; *dākṣhīnāvāntas*, 2;

dd'manvantas, 2; *drāvīṇasvantas*; *dhī'vantas*; *nāmasvantas*; *niyūtavantās*; *nr̥vāntas*; *pātnīvantas*, 3; *padvāntas*; *pavītravantas*, 2; *pā'jasvantas*; *pushī'd'vantas*; *pāshaṇvantas*; *prajā'd'vantas*, 2; *prāyasvantas*, 10; *pravātavantās*; *bhāgavantas*, 3; *marūtavantās*; *yajñāvantas*; *vacanā'd'vantas*; *vīrmanvantas*; *vīravantas*; *vrcī'vantas*; *çaktīvantas*; *çāpvantās*, 4; *çimīvantas*; *sāptīvantas*; *sutā'd'vantas*, 7; *svadhāvantas*, voc.; *sūarvantas*; *himāvantas*; *hr̥shīvantas*.

B. The forms are: *ahjīmāntas*; *īshumāntas*; *ṛshīmāntas*, 3; *kshumāntas*, 2; *jyōtishmāntas*, 2; *tvīshīmāntas*; *dyumāntas*, 4; *mādhumāntas*, 12; *mīdhūshīmāntas*; *yāvamāntas*; *rayīmāntas*; *vadhū'māntas* (i.126.3); *vā'çimāntas*, 2; *çicumāntas*; *sthivīmāntas*; *harshumāntas*; *havishmāntas*, 18.

Weak form for strong: *indrāvatas*, iv.27.4; see p. 516.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

The paradigms end in *-vānti*, *-mānti*. We find *ghṛtāvānti*, ix.96.13c; *paçumā'nti*, 97.1.d; 92.6a. In every case, the *ā* is eighth in a *pāda* of eleven syllables, and the *pāda* reads *-ānti* (Prāt. ix.27.30). The SV. variants (i.532,526) of the first two passages also read *-ānti*. Cf. p. 510.

Weak form for strong: *kshumāti* (*yāthā'*), iv.2.18; see p. 516. The AV. reads *ā' yāthēva kshūm āti* (!) *paçvō akhyat*, xviii.3.23.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. There are 54 forms (from 28 stems).

B. There are 16 forms (from 8 stems).

A. The forms are: *ārvatas*, 13; *indrāvatas* (x.101.1); *ṛtvīyāvatas*; *kṛçand'vatas*; *jānīvatas*; *tāpasvatas*, 2; *ṛshyā'd'vatas*; *tvā'd'vatas*, 2; *nr̥vātas*, 2; *pātnīvatas*, 2; *pastīdāvatas*, 2; *poshīd'vatas*; *prajā'vatas*, 2; *bhaṇgurā'd'vatas*, 3; *yāçasvatas*; *yātumā'd'vatas*; *rābhasvatas*; *rayīvātas*; *revātas*; *vānanvatas*; *vrcī'vatas*, 2; *çar-yānā'd'vatas*; *çāpvasatas*, 6; *çimīvatas*; *sutā'd'vatas*; *sāmr̥tā'd'vatas*; *hiraṇyavatas*; *hēshasvatas*.

B. The forms are: *gómatas*, 8; *jyōtishmatas*; *prāshīmatas*; *mādhumatās*; *vadhū'matas* (vi.27.8: viii.57.17); *vīrūkmatas*; *sūnumātas*; *suastimātas*. For *dyumāta* i-, p. -*taḥ*, read -*te*, vi.17.14.

Strong form for weak. Possibly *prāyasvanto* (*nā satrā'd'ca ā' gata*), x.77.4d, is an A.p.: 'Come hither to (us), who are united, (and) who have, as it were, your favorite morsels ready for you.' Still less probable is it that *havishmanto* in verse 1 is an A.p. Has not an effort at formal parallelism (cf. 1b, 3c, 4d, 5b) disturbed the text in 4d, and displaced an original *prāyasvato*? At vi.27.8, Müller's first and second editions and Aufrecht's first have indeed *vadhū'mantas*; but Aufrecht's second reads *vadhū'matas*, and so BR. The Atharvan, at xviii.1.57c, reads *dyumān dyumantā* (! so MSS. and ed.) *ā' vaha*—a curious imitation of verse 56c and RV. x.16.12. The impossible accent seems to be a blind imitation of *uçatās*; we must read *dyumāntas* or *dyumātas*.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *ārvadbhis*, 10; *dākshināvadbhis*; *pātnīvadbhis*; *maghāvadbhis*; *rābhasvadbhis*; *revādbhis*; *vā'djavadbhis*; *çāp-vadbhis*; *çimīvadbhis*; *sutāśomavadbhis*. Neuter: *ghṛtāvadbhis*, 2.

B. Masculines : *rshtimádbhis* ; *krídumádbhis* ; *gómádbhis* ; *barhíshinádbhis* ; *bhānumádbhis* ; *vidyúnmadbhis* ; *havíshmadbhis*. Neuter : *mádhumádbhis*.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines : *maghávadbhyas*, 19; from AV., *bhágavadbhyas*, v.31.11; *má'javadbhyas*, v.22.14; *sómavadbhyas*, xviii.4.73.

B. Masculines : *yátumádbhyas* (Gr., *-bhias*), vii.104.20,25; from AV., *mātrmádbhyas*, xii.1.60. Neuter : *vibhumádbhyas*.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belong : *árvatām*, 4; *dákshināvatām*; *bhaṅgurá'vatām*; *yátumá'vatām*, 2; *yágvatām*, 4; *śīmīvatām*; *sutá'vatām*; from AV., *datvátām*, iv.3.4; *himāvatām*, vi.95.3.

B. The Rik has no example. The AV. has *gómatām*, iv.36.6.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belong : *ámavatsu*; *árvatsu*; *yushmá'vatsu*; *maghávatsu*, 7, and x.93.14 (Gr., *maghóshu*).

B. Here belongs *dyumátsu*.

STEMS IN VAN, MAN, AN.

The stems formed by the suffixes *van*, *man*, and *an* are declined alike, and it has therefore seemed best to treat them in a single section. The *man*-stems, however, show peculiarities not shared at all, or only to a slight extent, by those in *van* and *an*: viz., the ecthipsis of *m* in the I.s., the dropping of the ending in the L.s., and the long *-ā* of the *samhitā* in the N.A.p.n.

These stems are declined for the most part only in the masculine and feminine. For the few feminine forms from *n*-stems and for the regular ways of forming the feminine, see below. The masculine and neuter forms from stems in *van* are given case by case under category A; those from stems in *man*, under category B; and those from stems in *an*, under category C.

The A-stems. The stems in *van* are chiefly verbal adjectives and the forms are almost exclusively masculine. Only about a dozen stems show neuter forms: two adjectives, *pátvan* and *vivásvan*; and the substantives *túgvān*, 1 and 2 *dhānvan*, *pārvan*, *a-parvān*, *snā'van*, *turvān*, *dāvān*, *an-arvān*, and *somapārvān*.

The B-stems. The stems in *man* may be pretty equally divided between masculines and neuters. The latter are verbal abstracts; the former, *nomina agentis* and compounds of the neuters.

The C-stems. The stems in *an* are masculines and neuters. They are not numerous.

The formation of several stems is not wholly clear: e. g., *rjīgvān* (A?); *śīrshān* (C), whose *sh* is perhaps a part of the suffix. Since the *v* of *yúvān* (A) is of merely phonetic origin (*yu-v-an*) the stem ought to be put under C. Under C belongs *śu-án*; so *vi-bhv-án*, *pári-jm-an*.

Supplementary themes. The forms of the *n*-stems are supplemented oftener than any others by forms from auxiliary themes. This fact is remarkably illustrated in the N.A.s.n. of C-stems. Cf. Pân. vi.1.63. The *an*-stems are generally oxytone; the others, barytone.

One stem appears in quadruple form: *ásia*, *ásán*, *á's*, and *ásá'* (a transition-stem, seen in the adverbially accented *ásayá'*). Two stems appear in triple form: *áhan*, *áhas*, *áhar*; *ú'dhan*, *ú'dhas*, *ú'dhar*. With *ásia*, *ásán*, *á's*, cf. *yúshá*, *yáshán*, *yá's* (TS. vi.3.11¹⁻⁴); *udaká*, *udán*, *úd*; *uśán*, *uś* (*Orient und Occ.* ii.242); *doshán*, *dós*. Analogous, moreover, are the groups: *akshán*, *ákshi*; *asthán*, *ásthi*; *dadhán*, *dádhi*; *sakthán*, *sákthi*; and likewise *śakán*, *śákrt*; *yakán*, *yákrt*; *asán* and *ásrt* (cf. p. 463, and TS. vii.4.9¹; the irregular *t* may be due to the false analogy of *śákrt* and *yákrt*). Further, we may add: *ár-van*, *-vant*; *ṛ'k-van*, *-vant*; *maghā-van*, *-vant*; *sahā-van*, *-vant*; *dadhi-krā'-van*, *-krā'*. The feminine *yóshan* is supplemented by *yóshand* and *yóshā*.

The stems in *van*, *man*, and *an* distinguish the weak cases from the strong by lengthening the *a* of the suffix in the strong.

Weak form for strong. Several stems, however, are constant exceptions to this rule and always keep the short vowel in the strong cases. They are: *aryamā'n*, *pāshā'n*, *indrāpāshā'n*, *somā-pāshā'n*, *ṛbhukshā'n*, and the fem. *yóshān*. Moreover, a few other stems show now the short vowel and now the long.

A. The N.d.m. *yá'nā*, ix.68.5, points to an exceptional weak form *yúvān-ā*, rather than to *yúvānā*. Similar is the N.p.m. *maghónas*, vi.44.12, which stands for *maghāvān-as*. In x.92.14, Roth takes *anarvā'n-am* as A.s.f. with *áditim*. The *ā* may be justified on metrical grounds, as penultimate of a *jagatī*. In AV. xix.35.5, we have *yé kr'tvāno devákṛtās*; but *krtnāvo* has been suggested.

B. The stem *tmā'n* makes *tmā'n-am*, *-ā*, *-e*, *tmā'ni* and *tmā'n* (but cf. *tmā'nam* and *ātmā'nam*); so *jémānā*.

C. The stems *ukshán* and *vr'shan* waver between *ā* and *á*. See A.s., N.d., and N.p.m. From the stem *tákshān* I can cite no strong form with *ā*.

Besides the strong forms with *ā* in the written text, the metre points to forms with *ā* where the text has *á*. This fact was touched upon by Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.121. I have looked through all the 642 passages in which the forms of the A.s.m., N.A.V.d. m., N.p.m., and N.A.p.n. occur with written *á* in the penult, and found some 19 *pádas* whose cadence demands a short *ā*. These are given under the proper cases: e. g. *purutmā'nam*, text *á*, viii.2.38b.

Strong for weak. There is no certain instance. Possibly *jarimnās* stands for *jarimnās*; see Ab.s.m. Cf. *mahātmānas*, A.p.m.; and *ushā'sas*, *as*-stems, A.p.f.

These stems show another important peculiarity, namely, the syncopation of thematic *ā* in the following vocalic weak cases: the I, D., and Ab.G.s., G.L.d., A.p.m. and G.p. In the L.s. and

in the N.A.d.n. this syncopation is optional in Sanskrit, and never occurs (with one exception—see L.s.) in the Rik, so that we may leave these cases out of view.

In Sanskrit, the *ā* of the suffix *ān* is syncopated in the above-named cases. This rule holds good also for the Rik. There are but two exceptions in the written text (*ukshānas* and *vr'shanas*), and several disclosed by the metre (see below). The *v* (*ū*) of *vi-bhv-ān* is, indeed, radical rather than suffixal; nevertheless, the word is treated as a *van*-stem so far as syncopation is concerned; similarly *pāri-j(a)m-an*, etc. The combinations of consonants resulting from syncopation of C-forms are: *kn*, *jñ*, *dn*, *dhn*, *vn*, *gn*, *shn*, *sn*, *hn*, *kthn*, *sth*, *rdhn*, *kshn*, *rshn*, *jñ*.

In Sanskrit, the *ā* of the suffixes *vān* and *mān*, when these are preceded by a vowel, is syncopated. This rule holds good neither for the written text of the Rik, nor for the text as the metre shows it to have been pronounced. The diaskewasts have sometimes written the word without syncopation, as it was also spoken, e. g. *mahimānas*, x.54.3; they have sometimes written it with syncopation, conformably to the later orthography, but not to the spoken text, e. g. *sōmah kalāge śatáyāmnā pathā'*, ix.86.16*d* (for which the AV., xviii.4.60, has the orthography conformable to the spoken text, *śatáyāmanā*); or they have written it with syncopation, conformably also to the spoken text. There are, then, three cases:

Case I. The text has *van*, *man*, *an*, and the metre confirms it.

Case II. The text has *vn*, *mn*, *n*, and the metre requires or admits the restoration of the syncopated vowel—*v(a)n*, *m(a)n*, *(a)n*.

Case III. The text has *vn*, *mn*, *n*, and the metre confirms it.

The fourth possible case,—that the text should have more than enough syllables, i. e. *van*, *man*, *an*, and the metre require *vn*, *mn*, *n*,—does not occur.

There are, in the Rik, 65 A-forms (excluding *maghōnas*, -os, -ām), 59 B-forms, and 238 C-forms in which the thematic *ā* would be syncopated according to the rules of the later language. The sum is 362.

Case I. In 48 instances the *ā* appears in the written text. These are: (A) *dāvāne*, 28;— (B) *omānā*; *pravādyāmanā*; *bhāmānā*; *bhā'manā*; *syā'manā*; *hemānā*; *trā'mane*; *dā'mane*; *bhā'manas*; *mahimānas*, 2; *dā'manas*; *bhā'manas*, 3; *yā'manas*; *nōmanas*;— (C) *ukshānas*; *vr'shanas* (RV. iv.2.2 and AV. xi. 2.22); *uśāne*?

Case II. In (362—48=) 314 instances, the *a* is syncopated in the written text. In 46 of these 314 instances, Gr. proposes to restore the syncopated *a*.

II. *a*. In only 12 instances is this restoration imperative. These are: (A) *rtā'v(a)ne*, viii.92.8; (B) *śatáyām(a)nā*, ix.86.16; *nā'm(a)nā*, x.77.8; *aryam(a)ne*, text -*mné*, iv.3.5; *dhā'm(a)ne*, v.48.1; *dā'm(a)nas*, vii.86.5; *dhā'm(a)nas*, vii.58.1; *sā'm(a)nas*, ii.23.16; *sā'm(a)nas-sām(a)nas*, ii.23.17; (C) *mah(a)nā*, text *mahnā'*, iv. 2.1: x.6.7; *vr'sh(a)nas*, viii.7.33.

II. *b*. The remaining 34 of the 46 restorations proposed by Gr. are at the end of catalectic *pādas* of 7 or of 11 syllables, which are thus converted into acatalectic *pādas* of 8 or of 12. Like the resolutions of *-ām* etc. in similar situations, they are not imperatively necessary; but they are admissible. Thus in vii.31.1c, the text has *sákhāyāḥ somapā'vne*; *a* and *b* are *pādas* of 8 syllables, and all three may be made uniform by reading *sákhāyāḥ somapā'v(a)ne*. Cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iv.195. There are 27 restorations at the end of *pādas* of 7 syllables: (A) *árāv(a)ne*, vii.31.5; *vr'shaprayāv(a)ne*, viii.20.9; *somapā'v(a)ne*, vii.31.1; 32.8; *árāv(a)nas*, i.36.15; *somapā'v(a)nas*, viii.67.7; *árāv(a)nas*, A.p., ix.13.9; 61.25; 63.5; *rárāv(a)nām*, viii.39.2; *vājadd'v(a)nām*, i.17.4; *sahasradd'v(a)nām*, i.17.5; *somapā'v(a)nām*, i.30.11; (B) *dhā'm(a)nā*, ix.39.1: x.166.4; *sā'm(a)nā*, viii.84.7; *usrá'yām(a)ne*, iv.32.24a; *ánusra-*, 24b; *sā'm(a)ne*, viii.4.17; 6.47; *sushā'm(a)ne*, viii.23.28; 24.28; 26.2; *dhā'm(a)ne*, viii.52.11; 81.25: ix.24.5; (C) *rā'j(a)nā*, text *rā'jñā*, x.97.22;— further, from the AV., *dhā'm(a)nā*, x.5.7-14; *sthirādhām(a)nas*, x.4.11; *nā'm(a)nā*, N.d.n., iv.9.10.

II. *c*. There are 7 restorations at the end of *pādas* of 11 syllables: (A) *svadhā'v(a)ne*, vii.46.1; *árāv(a)nas*, viii.49.10; *árā'v(a)nas*, A.p., i.36.16; *evayā'v(a)nas*, ii.34.11; (B) *suhāvitunā'm(a)ne*, ix.85.6b (cf. *a*); *dhā'm(a)ne*, x.76.8; *dhā'm(a)nas*, i.87.6.

Case III. In 268 instances the *ā* is syncopated. The forms are: (A) *grā'vnā*, 2; *-as*, 2; *-ām*, 2; *dadhikrā'vna*s, 6; *prātaryā'vna*s; *bhāridā'vna*s; *yuktāgrā'vna*s; *sutapā'vne*; *-as*; *svadā'vne*; *svadhā'vne*;— (B) *aryamnē*, 2; *-ās*, 6; *jarimnē*; *nā'mnā*; *āhināmnām*; *māhimnā'*, 3; *-é*; *-ās*, 2; *lōmnas-lōmnas*;— (C) *akshnās*; *ācnā*, 3; *-as*; *āhnā*, 3; *-e*, 3; *-as*, 17; *-ām*, 28; *āsnā'*; *-é*; *-ās*, 3; *indrāpūshnós*; *ukshnās*, 3; *udnā'*, 5; *-ās*, 6; *ū'dhna*s; *janarā'jñas*; *dadhna'*, 3; *-ās*; *pāshnā'*; *-é*, 4; *-ās*, 6; *prati-dā'vne*; *māhnā'*, 32; *mārdhna*s, 2; *yaknās*; *yamārājñas*; *yāsh-nās*; *rā'jñe*, 3; *-as*, 9; *vr'shna*, 2; *-e*, 34; *-as*, 43; *-ām*, 2; *gīrshnā'*, 3; *-é*; *-ās*, 3.

In 60 instances out of 362, the *ā* is written, or required by the metre. If we consider only the A and the B-forms (124), we find that in nearly half of them (54—from I. and II.*a*), the *ā* is written or required, and that in the rest (70) it is syncopated. That is, in tabular form:

	I.	II. <i>a</i>	II. <i>b</i>	II. <i>c</i>	III.	Sum
A	28	1	13	4	19	65
B	17	8	13	3	18	59
C	3	3	1	—	231	238
	48	12	27	7	268	362

Transition to the *a*-declension. This is common in Pāli; cf. Kuhn, *Pāli-Gr.* pp. 73-5. Thus from the form *addhān-am* (*adh-vān-am*) comes the stem *addhāna*—I.s. *addhānena*, Dhammapada, page 263.

A. In i.37.1, we read *śárdho* (neut.) *má'rutam anarvā'nam*: we may regard the last word as a form of transition to the *a*-declension (*anarvā'na-m*, A.s.n.); but another explanation has been offered on p. 330 top. Cf. also Müller, Translation, p. 56.

If Roth is right in taking *anarvā'n-am*, x.92.14, with *ádítim* ('the inviolable Aditi'—see p. 523), we may regard this form as the point of departure for the nominative *anarvā'na-s*, v.51.11: viii.31.12. Here, however, *Anarvāna-s* seems to be personified as a deity, 'The Inviolable,' so that the mythology as well as the transition-form would indicate that these two passages belong to the upper strata of the Vedic deposits. The stem *satvaná* occurs but twice (*-ám*, x.115.4: *-ais*, v.37.4), and as entirely equivalent to the common *sátvan*; its accent, however, makes its relation to *sátvan* doubtful. If these are not regarded as transition-forms, we must assume the stems *anarvān-a*, *satvan-á*, as secondary derivatives from *van*-stems; but these are very rare (*nivāná*, *vagvaná*, *śucukvaná*).

In ii.40.6. and vii.40.4, occurs (*ádítir*) *anarvā'*; this may be regarded, without undue violence to Vedic grammar, as a *feminine* nom. sing. to the stem *anarvān*; and if so, it may be the point of departure for the *neuter* form *anarvā-m* (i.164.2, *cakrá-m*; 185.3, *dátrám*), *anarvā'* being felt as N.s.f. to a stem *anarvā'*, and a N.A.s.n. being formed after the analogies of the *a*-declension. BR. and Gr., however, refer these forms directly to a stem *anarvā*.

Six or more stems in *van* have subsidiary *a*-forms. Thus beside *r'kvan*, *r'bhvan*, *tákvan*, *śíkvan*, *vákvan*, *vibhā'van*, we find: *r'kvá-s* (x.36.5), *r'bhvā-m* (vi.49.9: x.120.6), *takvā-s* (viii.58.13), *śikvā-s* (AV. x.6.3), *vákvās* (N.p.f., RV. x.148.5; A.p.f., iv.19.7), *vibhā'va-m* (i.148.1). The *a*-forms are infrequent. Their relation to the *van*-stems is somewhat problematic, and perhaps they are, after all, independent formations. Nevertheless, the relation of the nominatives *r'bhvā* and *vibhā'vā* to the accusatives *r'bhvam* and *vibhā'vam* is strikingly like that of the *Pāli* nominatives *yuvā* and *muddhā* to the accusatives *yuvam* and *muddham* (Dhammapada, verse 72).

B. There exist beside the *man*-stems a number of equivalent *ma*-stems, which are of sporadic occurrence or of later date. Compare *darván* with *darmá-s* (iii.45.2); *dháрман* (RV.) with *dharma* (not till after RV.); *éman* with *éma-s* (VS. xviii.15); *hóman* with *hómāya* (VS. viii.58); *ájman* with *ájma*; *viśvákarmān-ā* etc. with *viśvákarmēna* (only RV. x.166.4) and *Vissakarmēna* (Dhammapada, p. 117 end); *vrśha-karman* with *vīrá-karma-m*; *priyá-dhāman* (AV. xvii.10) with *priyá-dhāmāya*. The stem *yá'man* is Vedic only; *yá'ma*, Vedic and post-Vedic.

C. Transition to the *a*-declension is most frequent with the *an*-stems, particularly in the N.A.s.n. (q.v.), where *a*-forms are exclusively used. In the masc., corresponding to the A.s. *pāshān-am*, we find the transition-nominative sing. *pāshāna-s* (x.93.4), and the G.s. *pāshanāsya* (with possibly false accent in the unclear hymn x.5, verse 5). For the incorrect *a-śirshānās*, N.p.m., Khila to x.103, the AV. has *-nās*, vi.67.2. In other instances, the N.A.p.n. may serve as the point of departure; see p. 347. Thus *śirshān* makes its N.A.p.n. *śirshā'ni* or *śirshā'*; and correspondingly, its L.s. *śirshāni* (RV.) or *śirshé* (AV. vii.56.6: xiv.1.55); its dual (*dué*)

çirshé (RV.), and its N.A.s. *çirshá-m* (cf. *sisam*). Just so *áhan* makes *áháni* and *áhá*; and correspondingly, *áhn-ám* and *áhánám* (viii.22.13). Similarly *yáshán* makes *yáshá'ni* (TBr. Comm. II.668—BR. stem *yásha*); but in the L.s. we find *yáshná'* (VS. xxv.9) and *yáshéna* (TS. v.7.20). Starting from the weak forms *áçn-as*, *ahn-ás*, -é, etc., come the transition-stems *áçna*, *ahná* (accent), and the forms *pūrváhné*, L.s., x.34.11; *áçnaís*, viii.2.2. Just as the Skt. *dharma* usurps the place of the Vedic *dháрман*, so *vrsha* (cf. *vusa*) supplants *vr'shan*.

With especial frequency do *a*-stems take the place of *an*-stems at the end of compounds: thus, *akshán*, -*akshá*; *ukshán*, *mahokshá-m* (Çat.Br. iii.4.1³); *vr'shan*, -*vrshá-s* (AV. v.16). Compare, further, *an-asthán* with *an-asthá-s* (RV. viii.1.34) and *úrv-asthá't* (Çat.Br. viii.7.2¹⁷); *brhád-ukshá* (N.s.m., RV.) with *brhád-uksháya* (VS. viii.8); *rájan* with *adhirájá-m* (x.128.9); *saptábhís* with *tri-saptáís*; etc.

Transitions from the *a*-declension. See *níkámabhis*, I.p.m., and above p. 347.

Accent. In the weak cases of oxytone stems, if the *ā*' is syncope, the accent is thrown forward upon the case-ending. A. Nearly all the *van*-stems are barytone, and no instance of an accented case-ending occurs. B. Of the *man*-stems, the neuters are barytone; but the masculine verbal abstracts and nomina agentis are oxytone, and accented case-endings are not infrequent: e. g. *mahimn-á'*, *aryamn-é*, *klomn-ás*. C. Of the *an*-stems, some 15, masculine and neuter, are oxytone, and accented case-endings often occur: e. g. *mājñ-á'*, *pūshn-é*, *mārdhn-ás*, *indrāpūshn-ós*, *ukshn-ás* (A.p.m.); *udn-á'*, *āsn-é*, *yakn-ás*, etc.

Since *yā'n-e*, *yā'n-as*, *çūn-as* stand for *yávan-e*, -*as*, *çván-as*, their accent is perfectly regular; so *tmán-á'*, for *ātmán-á'* (p. 341 end). Compare p. 408 med.

THE FEMININE FORMS.

A. The forms that serve as feminines to the stems in *van* are regularly made from other stems in *varī*.

The RV. has 25 such stems: *abhībhá'varī*; *ṛtá'varī*; *evayá'varī*; *talpaçí'varī*; *nishshídhvarī*; *pí'varī*; *pūrvajā'varī*; *prasá'varī*; *bahusá'varī*; *bhūridá'varī*; *mātarībharī*; *yáy'varī*; *vákvarī*; *vibhá'varī*; *çákvarī*; *çárvarī*; *çrúshṭivārī*; *çvetayá'varī*; *sañçí'varī*; *sajī'varī*; *sayá'varī*; *sumnāvārī*; *sūnrtāvārī* (also -*vatī*); *sr'tvarī*; *svadhá'varī*. Further occur: *agrétvarī*, AV. xii.1.57; *abhikr't-varī*, ii.8.2; *abhi'tvarī*, TS. iv.1.10²; *uttānaçí'varī*, AV. iii.21.10; *kr'tvarī*, iv.18.1; *mātarīçvarī*, v.2.9 (cf. RV.); *vahyaçí'varī*, iv.5.3; *vimr'gvarī*, xii.1.29,35,37. For *pretvarī* and *Godāvārī*, see BR. Cf. Bollensen, *Z.D.M.G.* xxii.604. I know of no Vedic stem in *vanī*. Exceptional is *atharvī'* (*ātharvan*).

Only a few sporadic feminine forms are made from stems in *van*, and these I regard as irregular extensions of the *van*-stems beyond their proper field (p. 515-6), due perhaps to the false analogy of the *man*-stems. These forms are: *sayágvā* (*gáyatrī'*), x.130.4; *anarvā'* (? *ādītis*), ii.40.6: vii.40.4; *anarvā'n-am* (? *ādi-*

tim), x.92.14; *sa(n)sthā'vānā* (*rōdasī*), viii.37.4; *indhanvabhis* (*dhenūbhis*), ii.34.5; *sahasradā'v(a)nām* (*sumatind'm*), or *m*, i.17.5.

B. So far as the evidence goes, it seems to show, on the other hand, that stems in *man* originally served for all three genders. Forms like *sutārmānam* (*nā'vam*), therefore, I regard as regular. The stems in *man* seldom offer occasion for the formation of feminines, save at the end of compounds.

There is not a single certain example in the Rik of a feminine formed by adding *ī* to the stem in *man*; but the AV. has several: *durā'v'mā*, iv.17.5: xix.36.6; *pāñcanāmnī*, viii.9.15; *mahā'-*, xi.7.6; *viśvā'-*, vii.75.2; *sahāsra-*, viii.7.8. Gr. refers *tmāniā* to *tmānī*, fem. of *tmān*; cf. BR. Doubtful is *duradmanī'* (cf. *ādman*), VS. ii.20. The entirely exceptional fem. to *brāhman*, namely *brāhmī*, is found only in a play upon words with *yahvī'* (BR.), ix.33.5.

The feminine forms from *man*-stems are: *sālakshmā*, x.10.2; 12.6; *dyutādyāmānam* (*ushāsam*), v.80.1; *sutārmānam* (*nā'vam*), viii.42.3; *sutrā'mānam* (*prthivī'm*), *sugārmānam* (*āditim*), x.63.10 (=AV. vii.6.3); *ārishtabharman* (*adite*), viii.18.4; *prthuyāman* (*duhitar*), vi.64.4; *sujānmanī* (*dhishāne*), with neuter ending!—cf. p. 433 top, i.160.1; *gūcijanmanas* (*ushāsas*), vi.39.3; *vā'jabharmabhis* (*ātībhis*), viii.19.30; *sukārmabhis* (Sāy. *āngulībhis*), ix.70.4; *gukrásadmanām* (*ushāsām*), vi.47.5; from AV., *ushā'mā*, vii.46.2 (Gr. and BR., stem *-mā*).

C. The word *yōshanas*, 'women,' occurs 8 times; aside from this there are 6 feminine forms from *an*-stems. These are: *vr'shā*, (*kāśā*) viii.33.11: (*vā'k*) x.115.8; *vr'shānam* (*tvācam*), i.129.3; *vr'shanā* (*dyā'vāprthivī'*), x.66.6; *pārijmānas* (*vidyūtas*), v.10.5; *rappādādhabhis* (*dhenūbhis*), ii.34.5.

The *an*-stems appear at the end of feminine compounds with the suffix *ī* as follows: in the Rik, *āchidra-ādhnī*; *samrā'jñī*; *sōmarājñī*; *hatāvṛshnī*; *rūru-ṣīrshnī*; *saptācīrshnī*; in the AV., *ekamārdhnī*, viii.9.15; *sindhurājñī*, vi.24.3.

THE MASCULINES AND NEUTERS.

The feminines being thus enumerated, we may proceed to the masculine and neuter forms.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. There are 308 forms in *-vā* (from 73 stems). B. There are 207 forms in *-mā* (from 49 stems). C. There are 376 forms in *-ā* (from 18 stems). Sum, 891.

According to Curtius, *Studien*, ii.163, *ācmā* and *pītā'* presuppose the forms *ācmān* and *pītā'r*. Continuing, then, the search begun on p. 424 top, I examined every one of these 891 forms as it stands in the *samhitā* and obtained the results here given. Collision of final *-ā* with a vowel occurs 99 times in the interior of a *pāda*, and about 25 times at the end of a *pāda* (e.g. iii.1.23: iii.5.9: vi.22.7: vi.12.4).

In the interior of a *pāda*, the vowels are written as coalescing in 74 instances, and the metre also shows that they must be combined. Thus *-ā* unites with *a*-28 times: as in i.32.3; with *i*- (especially the *i* of *iva*) to *e* 42 times: as in ii.26.1; with *u*- to *o* in i.167.8: iii.27.14: v.46.5; with *e*- to *ai* in x.61.26.

The vowels are written as coalescing, where the metre demands hiatus, in 18 instances: i.69.9b; 87.4c; 91.5b; 174.1a; 178.2a: ii.20.3a?; iv.40.2d; 57.7b; v.31.12c; 44.3d: vi.20.3b; vii.40.4b; 93.7d: viii.16.7a: ix.86.45a; 88.3d: x.6.2b; 117.7c.

In only four passages have the diaskeuasts taken due account of the metrical value of *-ā a-* as two syllables and written them with hiatus: namely, in the combination *pāshā' a-*, v.51.11: vi.50.5: x.26.1,9, covered by the Prāt., ii.28. There are only three instances in which *r-* follows. They are

- iv.33.3. *té vā'jo vibhvāñ r̥bhūr indravantah*, p. -vā
iv.36.6. *yām vā'jo vibhvāñ r̥bhāvo yām ā'vishuk*, p. -vā
vii.48.3. *indro vibhvāñ r̥bhukshā' vā'jo aryāh*, p. vā.

The precept of Çaunaka (ii.31) excepts *vibhvā* from the influence of ii.11, whereby we should have *vibhvā r-*. According to the metrical canon (p. 423-4), the combination *-ā r-* results regularly in *ar*, except . . . “(3) when . . . *-ā* stands for . . . *-ās, -e, -ai, -ān, or -ār.*” Since the metre here demands hiatus or at least forbids the fusion *vibhvar̥bhūr* etc., Grassmann (*Wb.*, p. vii) would “restore the original form *vibhvān.*” To these may perhaps be added *r'bhvān*, vi.34.2, text *r'bhvāñ* at the end of a *pāda* (before *ēkañ*); see Prāt. ii.31, r. 61, clxvi.

A. The forms are: *agrayā'vā*; *ātharvā*, 5; *admasādvā*; *ādhvā*, 8; *anarvā'*, 7; *abhiçastipā'vā*, 2; *abhīsatvā*; *abhiardhayājvā*; *amatīvā'*; *ārtīvā'*, 4; *ārādvā*, 5; *ārādvā*, 20 times, and vii.58.4; *ācupātīvā*; *ugrādhanvā*; *r'kvā*, 2; *r'ghādvā*; *r̥jivā*, 2; *r̥ṇayā'vā*; *r̥ṇādvā*; *r̥tā'vā*, 31; *r'bhvā*, 7; *kṛshnāādhvā*, 2; *kratuygrā'vā*; *kshīprādhanvā*; *grā'vā*, 16; *tākvā*; *dadhikrā'vā*, 3; *devayā'vā*; *drushādvā*; *nṛshādvā*; *pātharvā*; *pātīvā*; *purukr'vā*; *pūrvagātīvā*; *pūrvayā'vā*; *prarīkvā*; *prātaritvā*; *bādhasr'vā*; *bhāridā'vā*; *maghādvā*, 68; *mādvā*; *mrakshakr'vā*; *yājvā*, 3; *yā'vā*; *yuktāgrāvā*, 2; *yūdhvā*, 3; *yūvā*, 30; *raghupātīvā*; *rārādvā*; *vākvā*, 2; *vasudā'vā*; *vājadā'vā*; *vijā'vā*; *vibhā'vā*, 19; *vibhr'vā*; *vṛshaparvā*; *ṣubhamyā'vā*; *ṣubhvā*; *cyenāpatvā*; *crutār[a]vā*?; *crushtīvā*; *satīnāsātīvā*; *satyāmadvā*; *sātīvā*, 10 times, and v.33.5; *samādvā*, 2; *sahā'vā*, 4; *sūtīvā*; *sudhānvā*; *sr'vā*; *somapdā'vā*; *somasūtīvā*; *stūbhvā*; *hūtvā*?

B. The forms are: *akarmā'*; *ābrahmā*, 2; *aryamā'*, 77; *ācāmā*, 4; *asremā'*; *ātāmā'*, 15; *ācuhēmā*, 4; *iṣtāyāmā*; *usrāyāmā*; *kṛtābrahmā*, 3; *jarimā'*, 6; *jātū'bharmā*; *trpālaprabharmā*; *darmā'*; *dādmā'*; *durṇā'mā*, 2; *durmānmā*; *dyutādāyāmā*; *dvijānmā*, 3; *dharmā'*; *dhvasmā'*; *pākāsthāmā*, 2; *prthūpragāmā*; *brahmā'*, 24; *bhujmā'*; *bhā'rījanmā*; *mahimā'*, 16; *yajñāmanmā*; *raghuyā'vā*; *vadmā'*, 2; *varimā'*; *viçvākarmā*, 3; *vṛshaprabharmā*; *çatā'tmā*, 2; *satyādāharmā*, 3; *satyāmanmā*, 2; *çaptānāmā*; *sahāsrayāmā*; *sādhūkarmā*; *sukārmā*; *sujanīmā*, 3; *subrā'mā*, 4; *sudyōtmā*; *subrāhmā*; *sumāntunāmā*; *sumānmā*; *suwāhmā*; *sushthā'mā*; *svāduksādhmā*.

C. The forms are: *anasthā'*; *āyahçirshā*; *açirshā'*; *ukshā'*, 9; *tāksā*; *tāpurmārdhā*, 2; *trīādihā'*; *dvibārhamā*; *pārjymā*, 13; *pāshā'*, 56; *brhādūksā*; *mātarīçvā*, 19; *mārdhā'*, 8; *rā'jā*, 99; *vibhvā*, 10; *vṛ'shā*, 150; *çvā'*, 2; *sahāsraçirshā*; from AV., *mañjā*, iv.12.3,4; from VS., *pūthā'*, xix.86.

Besides the regular nominatives *ārādvā*, *maghādvā*, and *sahā'vā*, there are subsidiary forms in *-vān*; see p. 516. In some cases *ārādvā* is only a metrically suitable way of writing *ārā* (cf. *hārīçmaçāru*, x.96.8, with *çmāçru*); so in vii.68.7; and perhaps in x.40.7, *yuvōr ārādvā*, text *yuvō rārādvā*. In ix.21.5, *c* is catalectic (not *ārādvā*). In viii.63.4, read *crut-ār[a]vā*? In AV. iv.35.5,

the reading *prānadā'vān* seems to require a correction to *-vā*. For *bhūjma*, RV. i.65.5, BR. propose *bhūjmā'*. For *krānd'*, see pp. 334, 329.

The word *ghrāns* occurs AV. vii.18.2, *nā ghrāns tatāpa*. BR. set up a stem *ghrāns*. Whitney, second marginal note to Ath. Pr. ii.26, regards the *s* as inserted. Is not the stem formed with suffix *an* (*ghār-an*, *ghr-ān*)? Its monosyllabism after syncopation might then account for the anomalous case-form.

Transitions to the *a*-declension. For *anarvāna-s*, *pāshāna-s*, etc., see p. 526.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

The *pada*-form of the case always ends in *-ā*; but the final is sometimes lengthened in the *saṁhitā*, chiefly for the sake of the metre. See Whitney's note to Ath. Pr. iii.16. I shall give under I. the forms having *-ā* in both texts; and under II., such as are lengthened in the *saṁhitā*.

I. A. Here belong: *dhānva*; *dhānva*, 6; *vivāsva*; from AV., *pārva*, i.12.2; *snā'va*, xi.8.11,12.

B. There are 420 forms (from 35 stems).

The forms are: *ājma*, 4; *ādma*; *éma*, 3; *kārma*, 5; *kā'rshma*; *kshādma*, 2; *cārma*, 6; *jānima*, 4; *jānma*, 9; *tōkma*; *dā'ma*, 2; *dhārma*, 3; *dhā'ma*, 31; *nā'ma*, 78; *pātma*; *brāhma*, 78; *brāhma-brahma*; *bhā'ma*, 17; *mānma*, 33; *mārma*, 3; *yā'ma*, 2; *vārma*, 11; *vāsva*; *vē'ma*, 2; *vioma*, 2; *çākma*; *cārma*, 84; *sādma*, 14; *sā'ma*, 10; *sā'ma*, 3; *sthā'ma*; *syā'ma*; *svā'dma*, 2; *hōma*. For *bhūjma*, see N.s.m.; for *vṛ'shānd'ma*, see below.

C. My collections yield the interesting negative result that not a single neuter stem made by the derivative suffix *an* forms a N.A.s.

If we derive *kshā'man* from *ksham* (*kshā'm-an*), we shall have to admit one exception, for *kshā'ma* occurs five times; but it may come from *kshā*=*kshi* (*kshā'-man*), and at any rate the word was felt as a *man*-stem—not as an *an*-stem.

It is no mere accident that these forms do not occur, since the occasion for them is not infrequent. It may be that a form like *çrshā'* was to the apprehension of the language-users too much like a naked stem and was accordingly avoided. But whether we can motivate this avoidance or not, there is no question about the fact that they were avoided. The forms from stems in *man*, on the other hand, are frequent and familiar.

The N.A.s.n. in *-a* from *an*-stems is avoided by recourse to other stems. The stems *āhan* and *ū'dhan* have as a N.A.s.n. *āhar* and *ū'dhar*; *akshān*, *asthān*, *dādhan*, and *sakthān* have *ākshi*, *āsthi* (AV. iv.10.7), *dādhi* (TS. ii.5.3'), and *sákthi* (TS. v.3.12'); *āsān*, *udān*, *çirshān*, and *yūshān* have *āsia-m*, *udakā-m*, *çīras* (and *çirshā-m*, AV. iv.34.1), and *yūsha-s* (Schol. to VS. xxv.9); *yakān*, *çakān*, and *asān* have *yákr̥t* (AV. x.9.16), *çákr̥t*, and *ásr̥t* (TS. vii.4.9'). The last form (for *ásr̥k*) has been regarded as a purely phonetic anomaly (p. 466); but see p. 523. Instead of *yāvā* from *yūv-an* we find *yūvat* as if from *yū-vant*; see p. 516. Furthermore, the form *vṛ'shā* as a neuter adjective is avoided in several ways: either by putting the masculine form with a neuter

noun (*vr'shā vānam*, ix.64.2—cf. *gotrām harigrāyam*, p. 377); or by using the derivative *vr'shniam* (with *śavas*, viii.3.8: ix.64.2: Vāl. 3.10); or by using the otherwise unheard-of *vr'shñi* (paroxytone—with *śavas*, v.35.4: viii.3.10; with *pañsiam*, viii.7.23). For *vr'shand'ma* (ix.97.54—corrupt), Gr. suggests *vr'shaṇo ná*; see *Ueb.*

These surrogate-forms are to be regarded, for the most part, as supplementary rather than transitional. But see p. 526.

II. The *samhitā* has -ā; *pāda*, -ā. Here belong: (A) *dhānuḥ*; (B) *kārmā*; *jānimā*; *bhū'mā*, 3; *vīomā*; *svā'dmā*; *dhā'mā*, AV. vi.31.3; (C ?) *kshā'mā*, 3, and AV. xviii.3.21 (RV. iv.2.16).

This protraction occurs in the second place of a *trishtubh-pāda* in iv.2.16: x.45.4; of an *anushtubh-pāda*, x.176.1; of an *aksharapañkti*, i.69.3d; in the eighth place of a *trishtubh-pāda*, i.62.8: x.129.1; of a *jagatī-pāda*, ii.24.14: x.142.2; and as penultimate of a *trishtubh-pāda*, vi.12.5. In all these cases it is metrical. It occurs also in the fifth place of a *trishtubh-pāda*, i.61.14 (Prāt. viii.8); and at the end of a *trishtubh-pāda*, i.173.6 (viii.30). The AV., at vi.31.3, has -ā in the fourth place, while the RV. (x.189.3) has -ā.

Transitions to the *a*-declension. For *anarvā'na-m* (?), *anarvā-m*, *śirshā-m*, etc., see above and p. 526.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

I. The A.s.m. generally has the penult long. A. There are 68 forms in -*vānam* (from 23 stems). B. There are 85 forms in -*mānam* (from 32 stems). C. There are 51 forms in -*ānam* (from 12 stems). Sum, 204.

A. The forms are: *āhvānam*, 3; *anarvā'nam*, 7; *āyajvānam*; *ārvānam*; *rjicvānam*; *ṛṇāvānam*; *ṛtā'vānam*, 5; *grā'vānam*, 2; *dadhikrā'vānam*; *dhītā'vānam*, 2; *pī'vānam*; *purunishshidhvānam*; *puroyā'vānam*, 3; *prātaryā'vānam*, 3; *maghāvānam*, 11; *mushīvānam*; *yūvānam*, 16; *crushīvānam*, 2; *sajīvānam*; *sātāvānam*, 2; *sayā'vānam*; *sahā'vānam*; *sr'kvānam*.

B. The forms are: *ācmanānam*, 8; *asremānam*; *ātmā'nam*, 4; *ojmānam*; *omā'nam*, 4; *jarimānam*; *tuviśbrahmānam*; *darmā'nam*, 2; *dāmā'nam*, 3; *durmānmānam*; *dyutādyānmānam*; *dvijānmānam*; *darmā'nam*, 2; *pā'kashānmānam*; *purutmānam*; *brahmā'nam*, 5; *bhūtmānam*; *mahimā'nam*, 27; *varimā'nam*, 2; *varshimā'nam*, 3; *viçvākarmānam*; *visarmā'nam*; *catā'tmānam*; *satyādhar-mānam*; *sadmā'nam*, 2; *sahāsācmanānam*; *sudyōtmānam*; *subrahmānam*; *suçār-mānam*; *somā'nam*; *svādmā'nam*; *harimā'nam*, 3; from AV., *purūpāmānam*, vi.99.1; *stāmā'nam*, v.13.5.

C. The forms are: *ukshā'nam*; *trimūrdhā'nam*; *triçrshā'nam*, 2; *pārijmānam*, 4; *prthugmā'nam*; *majjā'nam*; *mātaricvānam*, 2; *mūrdhā'nam*, 10; *rājānam*, 22; *vr'shānam*, 2; *çvā'nam*, 3; *saptāçrshānam*, 2; from AV., *pihā'nam*, iii.25.3; *pānthānam*, xii.1.47, see p. 441.

The scansion of the passages in which these 204 forms occur shows that the metre demands or favors a short *ā* as penultimate in the cadence of ten octosyllabic *pādas*: in ii.6.5b and viii.81.8a (*anarvā'nam* ?); iii.27.2c and 40.3a (*dhītā'vānam* ?); viii.54.4a (*mahimā'nam* ?); i.50.12a (*harimā'nam* ?); viii.61.10b (*pārijmānam* ?); ix.114.2c (*rājānam* ?); and possibly in viii.2.38b (*purutmā'nam* ?) and 46.3a (*mahimā'nam* ?). In no other cases does the metre give evidence of a short vowel.

I. *a*. From the stems that waver between *ā* and *a* in the strong cases occur: *ukshā'dnam*, i.164.43; *vr'shānam*, ix.34.3: x.89.9: VS. xx.40 (in all these passages, the *a* being in the second or fourth place may be ascribed to the metre); *ukshā'dnam*, VS. xxviii.32: Ait. Br. i.15; *vr'shānam*, Çat.Br. i.2.5¹⁰; *tmā'dnam*, Āçv. Çr. vi.9; *tākshānam* (cf. Schol. to Pāṇ. vi.4.9), Kāth. xii.10, in *Ind. Stud.* iii.464.

II. The text has *ā* in the penult. There are 98 forms (from 6 stems). In no case does the metre require *ā*; but it favors *a* in the second place of the verse in vi.55.4*a*: i.16.1*b*: ii.16.5*d*: iii.27.15*a*: viii.15.4*b*: ix.63.21*a*; 106.1*b*.

The forms are: *aryamā'dnam*, 15, and AV. xiv.1.17; *pūshā'dnam*, 21, and AV. xi.6.3: xviii.2.53; *r̥bhukshā'dnam*, 4; further (cf. I. *a*), *vr'shānam*, 53; *ukshā'dnam*, 4, and AV. iii.11.8; *tmā'dnam*. In Dhammapada, 355*d*, we have *ā* as penultimate, *hanti aññe va attānam* (*ātmānam*). For *pānthānam* (? i.127.6*gh*: v.10.1: viii.57.13), see p. 441. For *anarvā'dnam*, see p. 531 end, and p. 527 end. Cf. *vr'trahā'dnam*.

The form *mahā'dm* is explained by Brugman, as standing for *mahān-m*; see *Studien*, ix.308.

Transition to the *a*-declension. For *adhi-rā'dja-m* etc., see p. 527.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER (see pp. 524–5).

A. Masculines: *ātharvanā*; *abhiyāgvanā*; *r̥jçvanā*, 3; *cikit-vānā*; *çatāparvanā*, 4;— (III.) *grā'vnd*, 2.

Neuters: *dhānvanā*, 3; *dhānvanā*; *pāravanā-parvanā*;— (III.) *snā'vnd*, AV. vii.50.9.

B. Masculines: *āçmanā*, 2; *tmānā*, 61; *bhāsmanā*, 2; *maj-mānā*, 22; *varshmanā*; *viçvākarmānā*;— (I.) *omānā*; *pravād-yāmanā*; *bhāmānā*;— (II. *a*) *çatāyām(a)nā*; the AV., xviii.4.60, and the SV., i.557: ii.502, actually have *çatāyāmanā*;— (III.) *mahimnā*, 3; from AV., *aryamnā*, ii.36.2: xiv.1.34; *pāmnā*, v.22.12; *varimnā*, iv.6.2: ix.2.20; *mahimnā*, iv.35.3: vi.71.3: xi.1.19: xiii.1.8: iv.30.8 (=RV. x.125.8, *mahinā*).

Once *varimān* makes *varimātā*; see p. 516.

Neuters: *kārmanā*, 8; *jānmanā*, 5; *dhārmanā*, 15; *pātmanā*; *brāhmanā*, 31; *mānmanā*, 8; *vārmanā*; *vidmānā*, 4; *vidharmanā*; *çākmanā*, 3; *çārmanā*, 5; *çā'kmanā*; *svājanmanā*; *hānmanā*, 5;— (I.) *bhā'mand*; *syā'mand*; *hemānā*;— (II. *a*) *nā'm(a)nā*; (II. *b*) *dhā'm(a)nā*, 2; *sā'm(a)nā*; from AV., *dhā'm(a)nā*, x.5.7–14;— (III.) *nā'mnā*, iv.12.5; *sā'mnā*, thrice.

C. Masculines: *mātariçvanā*, ix.67.31; AV. v.10.8; *viḥhvānā* (*-ānas*, Ab., needed), RV. x.76.5;—(II. *b*) *rā'j(a)nā*;—(III.) *āçnā*, 3; *pūshnā*; *vr'shnā*, 2; *majjñā*, AV. iv.12.3,4; *plīhnā*, VS. xxv.8; *tākshnā*, Kāty. Çr. vi.1.5;—finally, *çūnā*, for *çuānā*, AV. vii.5.5.

Neuters: (II. *a*) *mah(ā)nā*, 2;—(III.) *āhnā*, 2; *āhnā-ahnā*; *āsna*; *udnā*, 5; *dadhna*, 3; *mahnā*, 32; *çirshnā*, 3; from VS., *çaknā*, xxxvii.9; *sakthnā*, xxiii.29.

Shortened forms of the instrumental singular. These occur only with stems in *mān*. After syncopation of the vowel *ā*, (1) the *m* is dropped; (2) but sometimes the *n* is dropped.

1. The *m* is dropped. The complete history of the form is illustrated by the stem *bhūmán*; this makes: *bhū-mān-ā*, RV. i.110.2; *bhū-mn-ā*, Çat.Br. ii.3.4^o; *bhū-n-ā*, RV. In most cases the ecthipsis of *m* may be ascribed to the metre: thus in iii.59.7a (*abhī yó mahind' divam*): viii.12.23; 57.3; 81.23; x.119.8, the dropping of *m* gives the needed diiambic cadence; similarly iii.30.13c, etc. See Benfey, *Abh. d. kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xix.233 ff.

The forms are: *mahind'* (cf. *mahimnā*, thrice), 35 times, and iii.7.10: viii.59.6 (=SV. ii.213); 81.23; cf. VS. xxvii.26=TS. iv.1.8^o: VS. xvii.18=TS. iv.6.2^o: VS. vii.19: TS. iv.3.13^o: SV. ii.1011,1123;—*bhānd'*, x.149.3; 82.4=TS. iv.6.2^o=VS. xvii.28 (*Mahīdh.*, *bhāmnd'*);—*prathind'*, i.8.5=SV. i.166; Vāl. 8.1;—*prend'* (cf. *premnā*, MBh.), x.71.1: TS. v.5.2¹; *varind'*, TS. i.5.3¹ (cf. VS. iii.5): iv.1.3¹(=VS. xi.29). It is interesting to observe that the VS. in the last two passages has the more grammatical *varimnd'*. In like manner the Atharvan (at iv.30.8) corrects the antiquated *mahind'* of the Rik (x.125.8) into *mahimnā*, to the detriment of the metre. Benfey would restore *mahind'*, AV. iv.30.8 and RV. i.59.7. Perhaps *mahnā*' (34) is a shortened form for *mahind'*. Here belongs, according to Gr., *dā-n-ā* for *dā-mn-ā*, v.52.14,15; 87.2; viii.20.14 (but see p. 335 ad init.): viii.33.8 (see p. 330 end). Cf. G.p.m. (*mahī'nām*).

2. The *n* is dropped. I have but two examples: *drāgh-m-ā*' for *drāgh-mān-ā*, x.70.4 (Sây., *drāghimnā*); *raç-m-ā*', for *raç-mān-ā*, vi.67.1 (Sây., *raçminā*).

Transition-forms. For *yāshēna*, etc., see p. 527.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER (see pp. 524-5).

A. Masculines: *ādhvane*; *āpaççaddaghvane*; *rjīçvane*, 2; *kr'tvane*, 2; *jāsvane*; *drūhvane*, 2; *prsthayājvane*; *mādvane*; *yājvane*; *grutārvane*; *sātvane*, 2; *sukr'tvane*; *sthirādhanvane*;—(II. a) *rtā'v(a)ne*; (II. b) *drāv(a)ne*; *vr'shaprayāv(a)ne*; *soma-pā'v(a)ne*, 2; (II. c) *svadhā'v(a)ne*;—(III.) *utapā'vne*; *sudā'vne*; *svadhā'vne*;—finally, *yū'ne*. 6.

Neuters: *turvāne*, 5;—(I.) *dāvāne*, 28.

B. Masculines: *tmāne*, 6; *brahmāne*, 2; *bhā'rikarmane*; from AV., *takmāne*, 7; *pāpmāne*;—(II. a) *aryam(ā)ne*; (II. b) *usrāyā-m(a)ne*; *ānusra*; *sā'm(a)ne*, 2; *sushā'm(a)ne*, 3; (II. c) *suhāvī-tunām(a)ne*;—(III.) *aryamnē*, 2; *jarimnē*; *mahimnē*.

Neuters: *kārmane*; *jānmane*, 7; *dhārmane*, 3; *brāhmane*, 9; *bhārmane*; *vidmāne*, 2; *vidharmane*; *çārmāne*;—(I.) *trā'māne*; *dā'māne*;—(II. a) *dhā'm(a)ne*; (II. b) *dhā'm(a)ne*, 3; (II. c) *dhā'm(a)ne*.

C. Masculines: *pārijmane*; *vibhvāne*; *mātarīçvane*, 3;—(I.) *uç-ān-e*, vi.20.11, according to Benfey, *Orient und Occ.* ii.242;—

(III.) *pāshnē*, 4; *pratid'vne*; *rā'jñe*, 3; *vṛ'shne*, 34;—finally, *śūne*, AV. i.11.4: vi.37.3: xi.2.2. In RV. iv.3.6, Bollensen reads *ukshñē*, text *kshē*.

Neuters: *dhā'rv-ane*;—(III.) *āhne*, 3; *āsnē*; *śirshñē-śirshne*.

Transition-forms. For *brhādukshāya*, etc., see p. 527.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER (see pp. 524-5).

A. Masculines: *pākasūtvanas*;—(II. c) *ārāv(a)nas*.

Neuters: *pārvanas*; *dhānvanas*, AV., 4 times.

B. Masculines: *ācmanas*, 4; *ātmanas*, 2; *satyādharmānas*, AV. i.10.3;—(III.) from AV., *klomnās*, ii.33.3: ix.8.12; *jarimnās*, xviii.3.62; *varimnās*, xii.5.72.

Neuters: *cārmanas*, 4; *jānmanas*; *dhārmanas*, 3; *mānmanas*; *vāsmanas*; *sādmanas*;—(I.) *bhā'manas*;—(II. a) *dā'm(a)nas*;—(III.) *lōmnas-lomnas*; from AV., *dā'mnas-dāmnas*, vii.83.2.

C. Masculines: Benfey regards *vibhvānā* c., x.76.5, as an Ab. (-ā=ah); see Gött. Abh. xix.261;—(III.) *mārdhnās*; *vṛ'shnas*; *plihnās*, AV. ii.33.3.

Neuters: (III.) *akshnās*; *āhnas*; *āsnās*, 3; *udnās*; *yaknās*; *śirshnās*, 2; *vṛ'shnas ā'dhnas*, iv.22.6.

In x.27.21, it is hard to make *jarimā'nas* the subject of *taranti*. Roth suggests that this may be a metrical way of writing *jarimnās*; cf. *ārāvā* (=ārā); *hāri-çmaçāru* (=çmaçru); *sthā'tārā* (I.s.m.? x.59.1). 'There, beyond (the sun), is another path; over it (*tād*), with steady tread, away from old age, men pass;' i. e., there they lay aside decay and infirmity. The construction is hardly Vedic; but cf. the Sanskrit *vayam tīrṇā mahābhayāt*, Hariv. 4066. See also p. 523.

Supplementary forms: *āśīāt*, *ās-ās*; *udakāt*; etc.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER (see pp. 524-5).

A. Masculines: *ātharvanas*, 2; *ādhvanas*, 6; *āyajvanas*; *āstrtayajvanas*; *durgr'bhicvanas*; *yājvanas*, 3; *viadhvanas*; *maghōnas*, 8; in v.27.1, Delbrück reads -ām;—(I.) *maghōnas*, pronounce *maghā-van-as*, v.16.3: ix.32.1; for vi.44.12, see N.p.m.;—(II. b) *ārāv(a)nas*; *somapā'v(a)nas*;—(III.) *dadhikrā'vnas*, 6; *bhūridā'vnas*; *yuktāgrāvnas*; *sutapā'vnas*, viii.2.7, troch.;—*yā'nas*, 2.

Neuter: *dhānvanas*.

B. Masculines: *amārmanas*, 3; *brahmānas*; *vīpatmanas*; *vīpramanmanas*; *śūcījanmanas*; *suçārmanas*;—(I.) *mahimānas*, 2;—(II. b) from AV., *sthīrādhām(a)nas*, x.4.11;—(III.) *aryamñās*, 6; *mahimnās*, 2; *jarimnās*, AV. vii.53.5.

Neuters: *kārmanas*, 2; *jānmanas*, 3; *dhārmanas*; *brahmanas*, with voc., 18; *brāhmanas*, 4; with -pāti, 32; *mānmanas*, 2; *vārmanas*;—(I.) *dā'manas*; *bhā'manas*, 3; *yā'manas*; *vīomanas*;—(II. a) *dhā'm(a)nas*; *sā'm(a)nas*; *sā'm(a)nas-sām(a)nas*; (II. c) *dhā'm(a)nas*;—(III.) *sā'mnas*, AV. xi.7.5.

C. Masculines: *pārijmanas*;—(I.) *vṛ'shano nā*, ix.97.54, text *vṛ'shanā'ma*—see Ueb. ii.513; from AV., *vṛ'shanas*, xi.2.22;—(III.) *ācnas*; *ukshnās*; *pāshnās*, 6; *yāshnās*, or n.; *rā'jñas*, 8; *vṛ'shnas*, 37; *tākshnas*, Çat.Br. iii.6.4';—finally, *śūnas*, 2.

Neuters: (III.) *áhnas*, 16; *udnás*, 5; *dadhñás*; *vr'shnas*, 2; *çr'shnás*; from AV., *asnás*, v.19.3; *asthnás*, iv.12.1; *çaknás*, xii.4.4.

Transition-form: *púshanásya*?, see p. 526.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

In the Rik there is but a single instance of syncopation of the short thematic *a* in the L.s.: this is *índrágnī çatadā'vni*, v.27.6a; and even here we may restore the *a*, *çata-dā'-v(a)n-i*; so in AV. iv.7.5c, *tishthā vrkshēva sthā'm(a)nī*.

From the Atharvan, I have noted a few instances: *viḍ'mni*, vii.76.2; *lōmni-lōmni*, ii.33.7; *sthā'mni*, vi.77.1: vii.96.1; *áhnī*, vi.110.3: xix.56.2.

All the locatives singular from the Rik may be put under two categories: (1) those with the case-ending *i*; (2) those which have dropped the case-ending. The former number 127 (from 48 stems); the latter, 203 (from 45 stems): that is, the forms without the ending are to those with the ending in the ratio of 8:5.

This dropping of the ending is peculiarly Vedic. For a similar thing in the Gāthās, see Yaç. xxxi.13, *çashmēṅg*, 'in (thine) eye.' I examined the passages in which the above 330 forms occur, and found that the choice between the two forms was often decided simply by the metre (cf. pp. 340,345,347). Thus in i.143.2 and vi.8.2, *pādas b, c*, and *d* are each of 12 syllables, and accordingly we have in *a*, *sā jā'yamānah paramē viomanī*; but in vii.5.7, since *b, c*, and *d* are each of 11 syllables, we have in *a* the shorter form, *sā jā'yamānah paramē vioman*. Compare also ii.28.3a with i.4.6c. A comparison of RV. x.87.17 with AV. viii.3.17 is instructive. The Rik has *tām pratyāñcam arcishā vidhya mārman*; this the Atharvan converts into an acatalectic *pāda* by putting *mārmani* in place of the antiquated *mārman*.

At the end of a *pāda*, the *ani*-form is used if the number of syllables in the other *pādas* is even; and the *an*-form, if it is odd. In the latter case, the ending can always be restored without detriment to the cadence, the only difference being that the verse thus becomes acatalectic instead of catalectic. The form in *-ani* is never found with the postposition *d'*; but the form in *-ann*, p. -*an*, occurs with it 17 times. See Kuhn's remarks upon the forms in *-ann*, *Beiträge*, iii.125.

Of the 127 forms in *-ani*, the great majority, 92, stand at the end of *pādas* of 12 or 8 syllables, and the other 35 in the interior of the *pāda*. Of these 92, I found 46 in *jagati*-stanzas; one (i.164.36b), in a stanza of 11,12,12,12; and the rest in stanzas consisting of octosyllabic, or of dodecasyllabic *pādas*, or of both,—variously combined (e. g. i.130.3; cf. the occurrences of *çármani*).

Of the 203 forms in *-an*, nearly one-third, 62, stand at the end of a *pāda* of 11 syllables, and two (viii.2.8: x.105.9) at the end of a *pāda* of 7. In 60 instances of the 62, the other *pādas* of the *çc* are also *trishubh*.

In i.164.41*d* (12,12,12,11), we might restore the longer grammatical form *vioman(i)*, and so perhaps in i.164.39*a* (11,11,12,12). In like manner, x.105.9*b* admits the longer form *yajñāsya dhārshú sādman(i)*; and in viii.2.8, Gr. would read *samāné ādhi bhā'r-man(i)*. Unless we regard x.6.1*a* as a synocopated verse, we may read: *ayām sā yāsya çárman(i) dvobhis*.

1. The locatives in *-ani* (127, from 48 stems).

A. Masculines: *átharvani*; *ádhvani*, 2; *ṛjícvani*; *ṛtá'vani*; *çrutarvani*; *sukṛ'tvani*.

Neuters: *túgvani*; *párvani*-*parvani*.

B. Masculines: *áçmani*, 3; *átmáni*; *tmáni*, 2; *brahmáni*; *sushá'mani*; from AV., *māhmáni*, x.2.6.

Neuters: *kármani*-*karmani*; *jánmani*; *dā'mani*; *dārgháprasādmani*, 2; *dhārt'mani*, 2; *dhármani*, 4; *dhā'mani*; *pártmani*; *prābharmani*, 2; *práyámani*; *bráhmaṇi*; *mānmani*; *mārmani*; *yá'mani*, 12; *yá'mani*-*yámani*; *vákmani*; *vidharmani*, 8; *viomani*, 8; *çármani*, 11; *sármani*; *sāvīmani*, 5; *sushāmāni*; *stārtmani*; *hāvīmani*, 3; *hómani*; *hómani*; from AV., *ájmani*, xi.10.22; *cármani*, *végmani*, etc.

C. Masculines: *mátariçvani*; *mārdhāni*, 6; *rd'jani*, 4.

Neuters: *áhani*, 4; *ásani*, 7; *udáni*, 2; *á'dhani*, 9; *kshá'mani*; *rājáni*; *ç'rshāni*, 2.

2. The locatives in *-an* (203, from 45 stems).

A. Masculine: *ádhvan*, 6. Neuters: *anarván*; *aparván*; *dhánvan*, 2; *dhánvan*, 5; from AV., *dhānvan*, v.13.1; *párvan*, xii.3.31.

B. Masculines: *áçman*; *tmán*, 5; *átmán*, AV. ix.6.21: xii.3.54: xv.1.2: TS. v.1.9⁶: Çat.Br. i.8.1⁴²: ii.5.3⁴: iii.1.3²⁷; 4⁶: iv.5.4⁵: v.2.1²; *áçman*, TS. iv.6.1¹.

Neuters: *ájman*, 5; *áyáman*, 2; *kárman*, 3; *kárman*-*karmán*, 2; *kā'rshman*, 2; *cárman*; *jániman*, 4; *jánman*, 3; *jánman*-*janman*, 2; *dārtman*; *dhárman*, 5; *dhā'man*, 4; *pátman*, 6; *bráhmaṇ*, 2; *bhā'rman* (see above); *mānman*, 2; *mārman*, 2; *yá'man*, 32; *vārīman*, 5; *vārīman*; *vārshman*, 5; *viśá'man*; *vidharman*, 3; *vioman*, 12; *çárman*, 17; *çásmán*; *sákman*; *sádmán*, 4; *sā'man*, 3; *svā'dman*; *hāvīman*, 2; from AV., *kárman*, xii.3.47; *kárman*-*karmán*, and *yá'man*-*yáman*, iv.23.3; *dhā'man*, iv.25.7: xx.49.3; *vārshman*, iii.4.2: v.2.7?; *vioman*, 23 times; from TS., *éman*, *ódmán*, *bhásman*, iv.3.1¹; *bráhmaṇ*, *kárman*, 3²; *yá'man*, 6.1²; cf. VS. xiii.53: xvii.1.6.

C. Masculines: *jmán*, 2; *párijman*, 5; *mārdhān*, 6; *mátariçvan*, AV. xi.5.13; *jmán*, TS. iv.6.1²: vii.4.15¹.

Neuters: *áhan*, 15; *ásán*, 8; *udán*; *á'dhan*, 6; *kshá'man*; *ç'rshán*, 2; *ásán*, AV. xviii.3.11: xix.60.1: TS. v.5.9²⁻³; *kshá'man*, TS. iv.6.1²; *yāshán*, vi.3.11¹; *ahan*, Alt. Br. iv.1; *akshan*, Bṛh.ár.up. ii.3.5: iv.2.2. In composition we find: *ásānn-ishu*; *nemann-ish*; cf. also *pátir dán*, and rad. *r*-stems, L.s.n., p. 488.

Transition-forms. For *ç'rshé*, *párvāhné*, etc., see pp. 526-7.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCUline.

There is no neuter. For *vidharman* (v.17.2—Gr. neut.), cf. the masc. nom. *vidharmā*, AV. xvi.3.2.

The Vedic voc. of the *vant* and *mant*-stems ends regularly in *-as*; that of the *van*, *man*, and *an*-stems, regularly in *-an* (cf. p. 519). Otherwise Benfey, *Gram.* p. 312, l. 7. Nevertheless, five stems in *van* (all having feminines in *-vari*—p. 527) make vocatives in *-vas*: *ṛtāvas*, 4; *evayāvas*, 2; *prātariṭvas*; *mátariçvas*; *viśhāvas* (Gr., stem in *vant*); we may add *khiḍvas*, vi.22.4 (BR., stem *khiḍvan*).

A. There are 169 forms (from 12 stems): *agvadāvan*; *maghavan*, 145; *yuvan*; *vasudāvan*; *satyasatvan*; *satradāvan*;

sahasāvan, 13; *sutapāvan*; *somapāvan*; *svadāvan*; *svadhāvan*, 2; *svayāvan*; from AV., *atharvan*, v.11.2; *viśvadāvan*, iv.32.6.

B. There are 24 forms (from 11 stems): *aryaman*, 11; *puruṇḍaman*; *puruhanman*; *brahman*; *vidharman*; *viśvakarman*, 2; *viśvasāman*; *vṛshakarman*, 2; *satyakarman*; *sudāman*, 2; *svadharman*; from AV., *trināman*, vi.74.3; *sahasradhāman*, iv.18.4; *pāpman*, vi.26.1,2; 113.2; *suyāman*, xvi.7.7; *takman*, 11 times (i.25 : v.22); *açman*, TS. iv.6.1¹.

C. There are 105 forms (from 4 stems): *parijman*; *pūshan*, 32; *rājan*, 46; *vṛshan*, 26; from AV., *urujman*, vi.4.3; *prthujman*, v.1.5.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

I. There are 121 forms in *-ā*.

1. The penult is long. A. There are 32 forms in *-vānā* (from 11 stems). B. There are 4 forms in *-mānā* (from 4 stems). C. There are 19 forms in *-ānā* (from 4 stems).

A. The forms are (including vocatives): *agrādānā*; *adruhvānā*; *ṛtā'vānā*, 7; *grā'vānā*; *prātaryā'vānā*, 2; *maghāvānā*, 5; *yūvānā*, 10; *yā'nā* (see below); *rathayā'vānā*; *subhrayāvānā*; *ṣuśtīvā'nā*; *sañīvānā*.

B. The forms are: *brahmā'nā*; *satyadharmā'nā*; *sānāmānā*; *suçārmānā*.

C. The forms are: *pārijmānā*; *mītrārājānā* (v.62.3); *rājānā*, 16; *gvā'nā*.

The scansion of the passages in which these 121 forms occur shows that the metre demands or favors a short *ā* as penultimate in the cadence of three octosyllabic *pādas*: v.70.2a : viii.26.19c; 38.2a.

2. The penult is short. There are 66 forms (from 6 stems). The metre favors *ā* in the second place of i.10.3b : ii.16.5c, 6b : x.66.6c.

The forms are: *aryamā'nā*; *jēmānā*; *īndrāpūshā'nā* (and AV. vi.3.1); *pūshā'nā*; *vṛshānā*, 60; *somāpūshānā*, 2; *vṛ'shānā*, AV. vii.73.1,2; 110.2.

II. There are 22 forms in *-au*.

1. The penult is long. Forms: (A) *ṛtā'vānau*, 2; from AV., *grā'vānau*, xi.1.9,10; (C) *rājānau*, RV., 4; *gvā'nau*, 2 (and AV. viii.1.9); *vṛ'shānau*, AV. xix.13.1. The AV., at xviii.1.54, modernizes *rājānā* of the Rik (x.14.7) to *rājānau*.

2. The penult is short. Forms: (C) *vṛshānau*, 13; *somāpūshānau*.

Weak form for strong. For *yā'nā* (= *yūvānā*), see p. 523.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL NEUTER (see pp. 524-5).

There is no case of syncopation in the Rik; cf. p. 524 top.

B. The forms are: *cārmanī*; *jānmanī*, 2; *sādmanī*;—(I.) *dhā'manī*;—(II. b) from AV., *nā'm(a)nī*, iv.9.10.

C. The forms are: (I.) *áhanī*, 7; from AV., *áhanī*, xiii.2.3; *cákshanī*, x.2.6; *doshānī*, ix.7.7: x.9.19.

Transition-form: *śirshé*, see p. 527.

INSTRUMENTAL AND DATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

Instrumentals: *vr'shabhyām*, 2; *grā'vabhyām*, AV. vi.138.2.

Dative: *somāpūshābhyām*.

GEN. AND LOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER (see pp. 524-5).

Genitives masc.: (I.) *pārijmanos*;—(III.) *indrāpūshnós*. Gr. proposes (II. *b*) *maghā-v(a)n-os*, at the end of v.86.3*b*; but the catalectic cadence of the text, *maghónos*, is better. Genitives neut.: *sādmanos*;—(III.) *áhnos*, AV. xvi.8.22.

Locative masc.: *áçmanos*.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

I. The penult is long. A. There are 77 forms in *-vānas* (from 22 stems). B. There are 34 forms in *-mánas* (from 20 stems). C. There are 18 forms in *-ānas* (from 4 stems).

A. The forms are: *akṣṇayā'vānas*; *átharvānas*, 2; *anarvā'nas*, 2; *áyajvānas*, 2; *upahāsvānas*; *r'kvānas*, 2; *rtā'vānas*, 10; *grā'vānas*, 19; *drūhvānas*; *nīkr't-vānas*; *parishādvānas*; *prāsthādvānas*; *prātaryā'vānas*; *maghāvānas*, 14; *yūvānas*, 11; *raghupātuvānas*; *vānūvānas*; *çubhāmyā'vānas*; *çruštīvā'nas*, 2; *sātuvānas*; *sudhāvānas*; *suçūkvānas*.

B. The forms are: *adāmd'nas*, 2; *adhvasmā'nas*; *ábrahmānas*; *araçmā'nas*; *dhābrahmānas*; *dāmd'nas*; *dvijānmānas*; *dharmā'nas*; *dhvasmā'nas*; *brahmā'nas*, 9; *bhrā'jajjānmānas*; *mahimā'nas*, 5; *çúcijanmānas*; *satyadharmānas*; *sukārmānas*; *svajānimānas*; *suçārmānas*, 2; *sthā'raçmānas*; *svādmā'nas*. For *jarimā'nas*, x.27.21, see p. 534.

C. The forms are: *ūrdhvägrāvānas*; *tigmāmūrdhānas*; *māurhā'nas*, 2; *rā'jānas*, 14; from AV., *pānthānas* (p. 441); *çvā'nas*, iv.36.6: xi.2.11; 10.23.

The scansion of the passages in which the above 129 forms occur shows that the metre favors short *ā* in the cadence of vi.46.11*d* (and viii.20.1*a* ?). Cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.121.

I. *a*. From the stems that show both *ā* and *ä* in the strong cases occur: *ukshānas*, Kāty. Çr. xxiii.4.7,8,11; *vr'shānas*, Çat. Br. xiii.3.3⁷; *takshānas*, Schol. to VS. xvi.27.

II. The penult is short. There are 64 forms (from 4 stems). The metre favors *ä* in the second place of iii.27.15*b*: viii.33.11*a*: x.66.6*b*.

The forms are: *aryamā'nas*; *ukshā'nas*, 12; *r̥bhukshānas*, 12; *vr'shānas*, 39; *ukshā'nas*, AV. iv.24.4. For *pānthānas*, see p. 441.

Weak form for strong. For *kr'tvano* (AV. xix.35.5) and *maghōnas* (RV. vi.44.12), see p. 523.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

The vowel-stems have *-ā*, *-āni*; *-ī*, *-īni*; *-ū*, *-ūni*; see pp. 347, 394, 415. The forms in *-ī* and *-ū* would appear to be simply shortened from *-ī* and *-ū*; but in fact, for the great majority of the latter forms, the *pada* has *-ī* or *-ū*. Both texts agree in having long *-ī* only in the words *krúdhmī*, *çúci*, and *trī'*; in no case do

both texts have long *-ā*. The *pāda* and Prāt. regard the long *-ī* and *-ā* of the *saṃhitā* as a lengthening of *-i* and *-ā*. Perhaps, however, it is better to set aside their authority, in view of the analogy of the forms in *-ā* from *a*-stems (whose long *-ā* is surely organic), and to consider the *ī* and *ā*-forms as original, and the *ī* and *ū*-forms as secondary.

For the consonant stems, we should at first thought set up the inverted series *-āni*, *-ā*; and regard *-ā* as a shortened form of *-ā* (cf. Benfey, *Gram.* p. 306, l. 21). But in fact, the intermediate long *-ā* is here equally uncertain. The only words that have *-ā* in both texts are *āhā* and *śirshā*, and for both of these the transition-stems in *-ā* are established (*āhānam*, *śirshā-m*)! Of the 27 forms that have *-ā* in the *saṃhitā* (p. -ā), 18 might be explained metrically; but the other 9 can not: the Prāt., however, accounts for the other 9 as lengthenings of a short *-ā*. But here, as before, the *saṃhitā*-forms are perhaps, after all, the original ones, relics of the organic form in long *-ā*; and the forms in *-ā*, the secondary ones. It is hard to see why they should *all* be *short* in the *pāda*-text, and the question is at least an open one.

	A	B	C	Sum
I. The regular form is <i>-āni</i> :	9	139	18	166
II. Both texts have <i>-ā</i> :	6	57		63
III. The <i>pāda</i> has <i>-ā</i> ; <i>saṃhitā</i> , <i>-ā</i> :		27		27

I. The scansion of the passages in which the 166 forms occur shows that the metre demands a short in the penultimate of 4 octosyllabic *pādas*: v.5.10b: vii.55.6c: viii.87.8b (trochaic ?): x.97.2a (*dhā'māni*). Cf. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.121.

A. The forms are: *dhānvāni*, 3; *dhānvāni*, 4; *pārvāni*, 2; from AV., *dhānvāni*, vii.41.1; *pārvāni*, i.11.1: xi.8.12: xii.5.71: *snā'vāni*, xii.5.69.

B. The forms are: *kārmāni*, 8; *cārmāni*; *jānimāni*, 9; *jānmāni*, 3; *dhārmāni*, 8; *dhā'māni*, 25; *nā'māni*, 14; *brāhmāni*, 53; *mānmāni*, 5; *mārmāni*; *rómāni*, 3; *vārtmāni*; *śārmāni*; *sādmāni*, 3; *sā'māni*, 4; from AV., *dā'māni*, *lómāni*, *vārmāni*, etc.

C. The forms are: *akshā'ni*; *āhāni*, 14; *śirshā'ni*, 2; *sakthā'ni*; from AV., *āhāni*, vii.69.1; 82.4.5: xix.7.1; *śirshā'ni*, i.7.7: x.4.19. In RV. i.140.13c, the metre demands the longer grammatical form *āhāni*, text *āhā*.

II. Both texts have *-ā*. In i.173.3a, we have *sādmā* (certainly plural), with short final *ā* as eighth syllable in a *pāda* of 11, where it ought surely to be long.

A. The forms are: *dhānva*; *dhānua*; *pārva*, 4.

B. The forms are: *kārma*, 5; *jānima*, 2; *jānma*, 3; *dhārma*; *dhā'ma*, 7; *nā'ma*, 13; *brāhma*, 8; *bhā'ma*, 3; *mānma*, 3; *rōma* (or sing.); *śārma*, 7; *sādma*, 4.

III. The *saṃhitā* has *-ā*; the *pāda*, *-ā*. Here belong 27 forms, from *man*-stems only.

B. The forms are: *jānimā*, 9; *dhārmā*, 2; *nā'mā*; *brāhmā*, 6; *bhā'mā*, 6 and in vi.62.8 (? *Wb.* 1765); *rómā*; *sādmā*.

In 8 instances (*jānimā*, 6; *dhārmā*; *nā'mā*), the -ā is eighth syllable in a *pāda* of 11 or 12 (Prāt. viii.21); in 10 instances (*brāhmā*, 6; *bhā'mā*, 3; *rómā*), the second in 5, 8, or 11 (Prāt. vii.25: viii.14): in these, the -ā might be metrical. On the other hand, in 6 instances (*dhārmā*; *bhā'mā*, 4; *sādmā*), the -ā is at the end of a *pāda* (Prāt. viii.30: vii.14); and in 3 instances (*jānimā*, 3), the seventh in 11 (Prāt. viii.5). Here the -ā is not simply metrical.

The AV. has: *jānimā*, p. -ā, ii.28.2: iv.1.3: v.11.5; *nā'mā*, p. -ā, v.1.3; *vārimā*, p. ?, iv.25.2. In vi.31.3: ix.9.3: xix.58.4 (=RV. x.189.3: i.164.3: x.101.8), the AV. has *dhā'mā*, *nā'mā*, *vārmā*, where the RV. has -ā.

IV. Both texts have -ā. The Rik has but two such forms: *gīrshā'*, 4; *āhā*, 21. Both may be referred to vowel stems. The AV. has: *pārvā*, p. ?, xii.5.42; *āhā*, v.1.1: xx.135.7.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE (see pp. 524-5).

A. The forms are: *ādhvanas*, 11; *āyajvanas*, 2; from AV., *drūhvanas* (iv.29.1), etc.;— (I.) *maghōnas*, RV., 10;— (II. *b*) *ārāv(a)nas*, 3; (II. *c*) *ārāv(a)nas*; *evayā'v(a)nas*;— (III.) *grā'v-nas*, 2; *prātaryā'v-nas*; *evayā'v-nas*?, text -yā's, p. 451 end;— *yū'v-nas*, 2. For *yuvātas*, see p. 516.

B. The forms are: *ācmanas*; *brahmānas*; *takmānas*, AV. v.30.16;— (III.) from AV., *durnā'mnas*, xvi.6.7: xix.36.4,5.

C. The forms are: *mātarīṣvanas*, AV. xix.27.4;— (I.) *uksh-ānas*, RV. x.86.13: so even in Bhāg. P. x.83.13, BR.; *vr'shaṇas*;— (II. *a*) *vr'sh(a)nas*, viii.7.33;— (III.) *ukshnās*, 2: so Kāty. Cr. xxiii.4.9,10; *janarā'jñas*; *mūrdhnās*; *yamārājñas*; *rā'jñas*; *vr'shñas*, 2; from AV., *majjñas*, ii.12.7: ix.5.23; 8.18;— finally *gñas*, RV., 2, and AV. iv.5.2.

Strong form for weak. Benfey, *Gram.* p. 311, note 3, cites *mahātmanas* as an Epic A.p.m.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines (48 forms, from 15 stems): *ādhvabhis*, 2; *āprayutvabhis*; *r'kvabhis*, 15; *evayā'vabhis*; *grā'vabhis*, 4; *prātaryā'vabhis*, 2; *yājvabhis*, 2; *yūvabhis*; *rānvabhis*; *śikvabhis*, 2; *sātvabhis*, 11; *sanītvabhis*; *sayā'vabhis*, 3; *suprayā'vabhis*; *svayūgvabhis*.

Neuters: *pātvabhis*; *pārvabhis*; *vivāsvabhis*; *somapārvabhis*.

B. Masculines: *ākhidrayāmabhis*; *adhvasmābhis*, 3; *ācma-bhis*; *ācmahanmabhis*; *ācukhēmabhis*; *ōmabhis*; *brahmābhis*; *mayā'raromabhis*; *vidupātma-bhis*; *sukārmabhis*, 2; *sumānma-bhis*, 2; *sugārmabhis*.

Neuters (67 forms, from 17 stems): *ājma-bhis*; *ēmabhis*; *kārma-bhis*, 2; *trā'mabhis*; *dhārmabhis*, 7; *dhā'mabhis*, 13; *nā'mabhis*, 7; *pātma-bhis*; *brāhma-bhis*; *bhārīmabhis*, 2; *mānmabhis*, 13; *yā'mabhis*, 4; *vārimabhis*, 4; *vīgāmabhis*; *śākmabhis*; *sā'mabhis*, 4; *hāvīmabhis*, 4.

C. Masculines: *ukshābhis*, 4; *rā'jabhis*, 5; *vr'shabhis*, 11.

There is no stem *nī-kām-an*. To me it admits of no doubt that the form *nīkāmabhis* at the end of x.92.9d is used (instead of the proper *nīkāmāis*) simply on account of a formal and metrical

parallelism with *evayá'vabhis* at the end of *c*. Cf. *ránvabhis*, at end of v.44.10c, and article *ranvá*.

Neuters: *akshábhīs*, 8; *asthábhīs*; *áhabhīs*, 9; *ásábhīs*, 6; *udábhīs*, 5; *á'dhabhīs*, 3; *mahábhīs*; *vr'shabhīs*; *śákabhīs*, TS. v.7.23¹.

Similarly, *naktábhīs* is used instead of *náktam* at the end of vii.104.18c to eke out the *páda* to 12 syllables, and so make it metrically parallel with *a*, *b*, and *d*.

Transition-form. For *ágnais*, see p. 527.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *grá'vabhyas*; *yúvabhyas*; *átharvabhyas*, Gr., -*bhīs*, vi.47.24.

B. Masculine: *brahmábhīyas*, 3. Neuter: *dhá'mabhyas*, 2.

C. Masculines: *rājābhīyas*, 4; *śvābhīyas*, AV. xi.2.30; *táksha-bhyas*, VS. xvi.27. Neuter: *áhabhyas*.

ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Neuter: *sná'vabhyas*, AV. ii.33.6.

B. Neuter: *lómabhyas*.

C. Masculine: *majjābhīyas*, AV. ii.33.6. Neuter: *áhabhyas*, RV.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER (see pp. 524-5).

A. Masculines: *anarvánām*, 2; *áyajvanām*; *sátvanām*, 2;—(I.) *maghónām*, 4; *maghónām*, Gr. -*aam*, 12 times at the end of catalectic *pádas* of 7 syllables, and in vii.32.7 (*páda* of 11); *maghónaam*, with resolution, vi.68.2: viii.1.16; 2.34?; 19.34;—(II. *b*) *rárāv(a)nām*; *vājadd'v(a)nām*; *somapā'v(a)nām*; for *sahasradā'v(a)nām*, see p. 528 top;—(III.) *grá'vñām*, 2.

Neuter: *dhánvanām*, AV. xi.9.1.

B. Masculines: *brahmánām*;—(III.) *durñā'mnām*, AV. ii.25.2.

Neuters: *dhármanām*, 2; *bráhmaṇām*, 2; *mánmanām*;—(III.) *áhināmnām*; from AV., *sā'mnām*, xv.6.3.

C. Masculines: (III.) *vr'shnām*, viii.72.1: viii.46.29 (Gr. -*aām*); from AV., *rājñām*, thrice;—*śúnām*, AV. iii.9.4.

Neuter: *áhnām*, 28 times.

It has been suggested that *mahí'nām*, x.134.1, might be G.p.m. of *mahimán*, the *m* being dropped as in the instrumental. If that were so, we should have *mahínā'm* (with *ī*, and oxytone). But cf. pp. 398-9.

Transition-form. For *áhánām*, see p. 527.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *ádhasu*; *kṛ'tvasu*; *yájvasu*, 2. Gr. reads *maghóshu*, x.93.14, text *maghávatsu*.

Neuters: *dhánvasu*, 7; *dhánvasu*; *párvasu*.

B. Masculine: *ágmasu*, AV. iii.21.1: xii.1.19.

Neuters: *kármasu*, 2; *jánmasu*; *dhá'masu*, 3; *vármasu*; *sád-masu*, 2.

C. Masculines: *rā'jasu*; from AV., *mājjāsu*, i.11.4; *yamā-rājasu*, xviii.2.25.

Neuters: *āhasu*; *śīrshāsu*, 2.

STEMS IN IN.

The stems in *in* are regularly oxytone. They neither syncopate the thematic vowel, nor lengthen it in the G.p., nor throw the accent forward to the ending. Their declensional forms present almost no irregularities whatever. Anomalous accented are *irin*, *sārin* and *çā'kin* (i.51.8—a mere mistake for *çāki'*?). The compounds with negative *a*- are barytone; and so *kārādatin*, *mahāvātārin*, and *īndramedin*.

Besides the stems formed by the suffix *in*, are here included several in *vin* (cf. *māyāvīn* with *māyīn*) and one in *min* (*rgmīn*).

These stems are declined only in the masculine and neuter. The fem. is formed with *i*: as, *arkin-i*, p. 367.

Transitions to the *a*-declension. The A.s.m. *parame-shthīn-am* is the point of departure for the N.s.n. *parame-shthīna-m* (instead of *-shthī*). The form is especially interesting, because, as is perfectly evident, it owes its origin solely to the metre (so BR.): *idān yāt parameshthīnam | māno vā brāhmasaṃçitam*, AV. xix.9.4. Corresponding to *vanīn-am*, as if it were *vanīna-m*, is formed (instead of *vanīn-as*) the false plural *vanīnāni*, also due to the metre: x.66.9b, *āpa śshadhīr vanīnāni yajñīyā*. In viii. 33.6, I would venture to suggest the reading *çākīna-s*, as transition-nom.s.m. to *çākīn-am*. The text has *çākīnās* (*gaūs*, as in vi.45.22); but cf. for the accent *am-inā*. Possibly *mahīna* (*indra*, vi.26.8) and *mahīnasya* (*īndrasya*, vi.33.5; 68.8) are transition-forms; cf. *mahīn-e* (*īndrāya*, vii.31.11).

Transition to the *i*-declension. Perhaps the ἄπ. λ. *mandī-m* (i.9.2) is an A.s. falsely formed after the analogy of the I.s. *mandīn-ā*, as if it were *mandī-nā* (cf. p. 373). BR. explain it otherwise; see A.s.m.

On the other hand, *nī-yayī-nam* may belong in the same category with *ārmī-nam*, *khādī-nam*, p. 378.

THE NEUTER FORMS.

The neuter forms are very rare. They are: *ānāmi*, 2; *ubhayā-hastī*; *patatrī*, 4; from AV., *çakatyeshī*, i.25.2; *tsārī*, x.1.19; *kīrīn-ā*, RV. v.4.10; 40.8; *sugandhīn-ā*, viii.19.24 (but cf. p. 373); *prahoshīnas*, G.s.n., viii.81.4; *parame-shthīnam* and *van-īnāni*, above.

THE MASCULINE FORMS.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong 213 forms (from 55 stems). In vii.60.10, Gr. takes *tveshī'* as N.s.m. with *sāmrtis*; but since this is fem., it is better to take *tveshī'* as N.s.f. from *tveshīa* (cf. p. 369 med.). BR. read *tveshyā' eshām* (a misprint—see vii.1751). In x.51.6, *rathī'va* probably stands for *rathī'r-iva*; see p. 375 end.

Enumeration: *ádwayávi*; *áyudhvi*; *íri*; *kárúdati*; *cá'ki*?; *sári*;— *ahkí*; *abhyávarí*; *arthí*; *açví*, 4; *ashtrávi*; *udrí*, 2; *rgmí*; *rjîpí*; *rjîshí*, 10; *kapardí*; *kámí*; *kevaláddí*; *keçí*, 4; *tsárlí*; *dyumní*, 10; *nishshapí*; *pakthí*; *paripanthí*; *prshthimayí*; *prapathí*; *prabhañgí*; *pravēpaní*; *bāhuçardhí*; *brahmacārí*; *bhadraváddí*, 2; *manishí*, 5; *mandí*, 6; *maráyí*; *mahāhastí*; *máyí*, 3; *medí*; *rathí*, 3; *rambhí*; *rukmi*; *vajrí*, 21; *varmí*, 2; *vaçí*, 9; *vájí*, 70; *virapçí*, 3; *çatasví*; *çiprí*, 4; *çushmí*, 10; *çlokí*; *çvaghni*, 6; *sahasrí*, 2; *sácí*; *soní*, 2; *svabdí*; *hastí*.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

There are 192 forms (from 53 stems). For *úrmí-nam* (ix.98.6), and *khádi-nam* (vi.16.40), see *i*-stems, p. 378. The latter word yields a tolerable sense even if referred to an *in*-stem (*khádin-am*); but in that case, I would suggest the reading *hástena* for *háste ná*: 'whom they carry (with) on the hand as a new-born child, decked with spangles.' Like *úrmí-nam* is perhaps *nī-yayí-nam*, x.60.2; cf. *yayí-ná*. Kuhn, *Beiträge*, iii.467, has observed that the cadence of i.85.3c requires a long ultima in *abhimātin-am*, text -ām; cf. *vidhāvām*, p. 330.

BR. regard *mandim* (i.9.2) as an inaccurate rendering of the pronunciation of *mandinam* (*in*-), after elision and crasis; but it may be a transition-form (p. 542). The *ᾱπ. λ. rjîshám* (i.32.6) may be explained without setting up a separate stem *rjîshá*; namely, it may have been used instead of *rjîshinam*, in order to satisfy better the metrical parallelism of the different *pādas* and the formal parallelism of *pāda b* (cf. viii.65.5).

Enumeration: *ádwayávinam*, 2; *ávájinam*;— *atrinam*, 11; *abhimātinam*, *arkinam*; *avakrakshinam*; *açvinam*, 12; *ádārinam*; *ishminam*; *ukthaçanšinam*; *ukthinam*, 2; *udrinam*, 5; *ubhayávinam*; *rjîshinam*, 4; *kapardinam*, 2; *karambhinam*, 2; *kalmalikinam*; *kāminam*; *kārinam*, 2; *kuldāyinam*; *kācidarthinam*; *catinam*; *tarasvinam*; *dyumninam*; *dhaninam*, 2; *namasvinam*; *nīyayinam*; *pakshinam*; *paripanthinam*; *putrinam*; *purishinam*, 2; *manishinam*, 2; *manthinam*; *mandinam*, 3; *manyushávinam*; *máyávinam*; *māyinam*, 10; *rakshasvinam*; *rathinam*; *vajrinam*, 6; *vaninam*, 2; *vaninam*; *vayākinam*; *varcinam*; *vājinam*, 49; *virapçinam*, 2; *çatagvinam*, 4; *çatinam*, 6; *çākinam*, 2; *çushminam*, 3; *çṛṅginam*; *sahasraposhinam*; *sahasrinam*, 27.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *mahá'vatūrinā*;—*arcinā*; *açvinā*; *kimidinā*, 2; *mandinā*, 2; *rakshasvinā*; *vaṭūrinā*; *vājinā*, 3. For *kirinā*, i.100.9, Gr. proposes -ne.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *abhyávarīne*; *amitrīne*; *kapardīne*, 2; *kārīne*; *kimīdīne*; *prasakshīne*; *bhāmīne*; *manishīne*; *mandīne*, 2; *makhīne*; *rakshasvīne*, 2; *rathīne*; *vajrīne*, 12; *virapçīne*; *çākinē*, 2; *çiprīne*, 2; *çushmīne*, 2.

ABLATIVE AND GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Ablatives: *abhiprabhañginas*; *patatrinas*, 2; *soninas* (x.57.1).

Genitives (71 forms, from 27 stems): *ádwayávinas*;— *arthinas*, 2; *rjîshinas*; *dvayávinas*; *dhaninas*; *namasvinas*, 2; *parñinas*;

pragardhīnas; *bhūriposhīnas*; *mandīnas*; *māyīnas*, 7; *ratnīnas*; *rasīnas*, 3; *retīnas*; *vajrīnas*, 3; *vanīnas*; *vanīnas*, 2; *varcīnas*, 3; *vājīnas*, 17; *virapcīnas*, 2; *vīḍuharshīnas*; *vrandīnas*; *ṣatīnas*; *ṣushmīnas*, 6; *ṣrūgīnas*; *sahasrīnas*, 2; *somīnas*, 7.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong: *māyīni*; *vājīni*; *somīni*; from AV., *dvīpīni*, *hastīni*, vi.38.2; *parameshthīni*, x.3.24; *brahmadrīni*, xi.5.22.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

Here belong 76 forms (from 15 stems): *ānābhayin*; *amātrin*; *ubhayāvin*; *ṛjīpin*; *ṛjīshin*, 9; *tuvikūrmin*; *prapathin*; *yakshin*; *vajrin*, 41; *vājīn*, 5; *virapcīn*, 2; *ṣavasīn*; *ṣiprīn*, 6; *ṣushmīn*, 4; *sahasīn*.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, AND VOCATIVE DUAL MASCULINE.

I. There are 369 *ā*-forms (from 15 stems): according to Müller's Index, *acvīnā*, 68; *acvīnā*, 246; -*ā*, p. -*au*, 4; *ācvinā*, 27;—*kumārīnā*; *kecīnā*, 7; *pajrahoshīnā*; *parīnā*; *putrīnā*; *purīshīnā*; *prasakshīnā*; *manthīnā*; *māyāvinā*; *māyīnā*; *vajrīnā*; *vājīnā*, 4; *vājīnā*; *vighnīnā*; *ṣushmīnā*. The AV. has: *acvīnā*, 14; *acvīnā*, 17; *ācvinā*, 4.

II. There are 32 *au*-forms: *acvīnau*, 11; *acvīnau*, 17; *ācvinau*, 2; *vājīnau*, 2.

In the very late verse x.184.2, the Rik reads, *gārbhañ te acvīnau devā'v ā' dhat-tām yūshkarasrajā*; and the incorrect AV. variant (v.25.3), . . . *acvīnobhā' dhattām* . . . The Rik-verse, if conformed to the canons of the old parts of the Riksanhita, would read: *acvīnā devā' dhattām*, p. *devā' ā'*; or *acvīnā ubhā'*, p. -*nau ubhā' ā'*. The Atharvan requires emendation. We may read: *acvīnāv ubhā'v ā'*; or, -*nau devā'v ā'*.

INST., DAT., GEN., AND LOC. DUAL MASCULINE.

Instrumentals: *acvībhyām*, i.44.2,14; 182.6: v.51.8; *īndramedībhyām*, AV. xi.9.4. Dative: *acvībhyām*, i.164.27: v.73.10. Genitive: *acvīnos*, 17. Locative: *ācvinos*, i.120.10.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong 153 forms (from 64 stems). Some may be singular.

Enumeration: *ahkuṣīnas*; *atrīnas*, 2; *arkīnas*, 2; *arcīnas*, 2; *arthīnas*, 3; *ishmīnas*, 3; *ukthīnas*, 6; *upamantrīnas*; *ṛgmīnas*; *ṛjīshīnas*, 2; *kāpardīnas*; *kabandhīnas*; *kāmīnas*, 2; *kārīnas*, 2; *kīrīnas*; *kṛcānīnas*; *kecīnas*, 2; *khādīnas*; *gāthīnas*; *gāyatrīnas*; *gharmīnas*; *tarasvīnas*, or G.; *daṣagvīnas*; *drapsīnas*; *dvayāvīnas*, 2; *dhūmīnas*; *dhr̥shadvīnas*; *namasvīnas*, 5; *nīlodīnas*; *nīrāmīnas*; *nishahgīnas*, 2; *pakshīnas*, 2; *patatrīnas*, 2; *paripanthīnas*; *parpīnas*, 2; *pācīnas*, 2; *purīshīnas*; *prakrīdīnas*; *prasakshīnas*; *balīnas*; *manishīnas*, 16; *voc.*, 5; *mandīnas*, 5; *māhīnas*; *māyāvinas*; *māyīnas*, 4; *medīnas*; *rathīnas*; *vanīnas*, 2; *vanīnas*, 4; *varmīnas*; *vājīnas*, 16; *voc.*, 2; *virapcīnas*, 2; *voc.*, 1; *vīroktīnas*, 2; *vishāṇīnas*; *vratacārīnas*; *ṣatagvīnas*; *ṣatīnas*, 3; *ṣākīnas*; *ṣushmīnas*; *sahasrīnas*, 4; *somīnas*, 5, see Ab.; *voc.*, 1; *svādīnas*; *hastīnas*, 3; *hīrapīnas*.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong 44 forms (from 23 stems).

Enumeration: *atrinās*, 3; *arājinas*; *arthinas*; *aṣvinas*; *ukthaṣaṇśinas*; *kāmīnas*; *kārinās*; *grathinas*; *dyumnīnas*; *pakshinas*; *bhāmīnas*; *mandinas*; *māyīnas*, 3; *mītrinās*, 2; *rakshasvinas*, 3; *rathinas*, 3; *vanīnas*; *vanīnas*, 7; *vājīnas*, 5; *vrandīnas*; *sahasrinās*, 3; *somīnas*; *hiraṇīnas*.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *aṣvibhis*; *ṛgmibhis*; *kecibhis*, 2; *nishaṅgibhis*; *patatṛibhis*, 3; *manīshibhis*, 7; *mandibhis*; *rukṁibhis*; *vājibhis*, 4; *ṣushmibhis*; *hastibhis*.

DATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Sole example: *çikhibhyas*, AV. xix.22.15 (? MSS. *çishī*).

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *kārī'nām*; *māyī'nām*, 3; *vājī'nām*; *ṣṛṅgī'nām*; *stukāvī'nām*; *vaçī'nām*, AV. xv.11.9. Cf. p. 373, IV.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

Here belong: *khādīshu*; *dvarīshu*; *hastīshu*, AV. xii.1.25.

STEMS IN *AS*.

The words whose stems end in *as* are primarily and principally neuter nouns, accented on the radical syllable: *as*, *mán-as*.

They often occur, however, at the end of compound adjectives, and are then inflected in all three genders: thus, N.s., *su-mánās*, m.; *su-mánās*, f.; *su-mánās*, n. There are also a few oxytone masculines in *as*: *as*, *rakshás*.

Of a few stems, the formation is not clear: *upás* (? p. 496); *riçá'das*. For *khid-vas*, see p. 536. The stem *r'bhvan* is supplemented by *r'bhvas* and *r'bhva*; and *çikvas*, by *çikvan* and *çikvá*—see p. 526. Gr. sets up a stem *úsh*=*ushás*; but see Ab.s. Cf., however, *á's*, *úd*, *uç*, *yá's* (p. 523), and *áksh* (? see G. dual).

For the accent of *bhīsh-á'*, see L.s.m.

Stems in *as* distinguish strong and weak cases only in the N.A.p. neuter, where the thematic *a* is lengthened and nasalized.

Benfey (*Gram.* p. 316, xvii.) admits the existence of strengthened forms in the masculine and feminine. The contract forms, however, can be accounted for without the assumption of a long vowel (*-ām*=*-āsam*, not *-āsam*); and as for the other apparent instances of strengthening, they are all more or less doubtful.

The least doubtful case is that of the ᾗπ. λ. *toçá'sā* (*rathayá'-vánd*), viii.38.2, p. *toçá'sā*. This is the only instance in which both texts have *á*. Brugman, *Zeitsch.* xxiv.24, has suggested *toçá' sārathayá'-vánd*.

The most numerous are the much-discussed forms of *ushás*. The strong forms with short *á* number 78: A.s. (*ushá'sam*), 33;

du., 4; N.V.p., 41. Over against these are to be set 28 strong forms with long *ā* in the *samhitā*, and in the *samhitā* only: A.s. (*ushā'sam*), 11; du., 3; N.V.p., 14. It is most important to observe that in not a single instance does the *padapātha* have *ā*; and further that the *ā* is imperatively demanded by the metre in 20 instances, and decidedly favored by it in all the rest.

In 18 instances the *ā* is penultimate of a *pāda* of 11 syllables: i.32.4; 123.12; 124.9,13; ii.28.9; iii.31.4; iv.3.11; 5.13; 12.2; v.1.1; vi.30.5; 65.4; 72.2; vii.41.7; 42.5; 72.4; 76.4; 88.4. The *ā* occurs as eighth syllable, in a *pāda* of 11, at vii.99.4; of 12, at x.35.2. The *ā* occurs as second syllable in a *pāda* of 8, at i.188.6; iv.30.9; viii.27.2b. It occurs as fourth syllable, in a *pāda* of 8, at v.5.6; of 11, at viii.85.1; x.88.18; of 12, at i.92.2; 134.4a. The compound *ushā'sā-nāktā* occurs ten times, always at the beginning of a *pāda* of 11 or 12, so that the *ā* is in the second place. *Nāktoshā'sā* (5 times) also occurs only at the beginning of a *pāda* of 8 or 11; so that we find *ā* in the third place, despite the metre.

Brugman, l.c. 21, actually divides the masculines and feminines into two classes, of which one distinguished the strong cases from the weak, and the other did not. His first category contains only one stem, *ushās* (p. 28). But the evidence of the Vedic forms upon which his argument is based seems to me too equivocal to have much weight. It is far from certain that the whole phenomenon is not a purely metrical one; cf. vii.41.6a with 7a: 78.4b with 76.4d: i.123.11d with 12d. I examined the 78 passages in which the strong cases with *ā* occur and found not one where the metre demanded *ā*, and only three where it even favored *ā*: viz., iii.55.1a, a late hymn, *ā* second in *pāda* of 11; vii.75.3b, *ā* fourth in 11; x.127.3b, *ā* second in 8.

The long *ā* of *a-yā's* is inherent in the stem; cf. also *ayā'sya*, *āyāsā*. *Nā's-ā* is a strong form of *nās*; but this is a radical stem (p. 493).

It is by no means certain that the *ā*π. λ. in i.168.9c, *té sapsarā'so 'janayanta ābhvam*, is to be referred to an *as*-stem; but if so, the metre is almost enough to justify the long *ā*. BR. and Gr. refer it to *sapsarā*.

For *vā'ta-svanās-as*, vii.56.3c, we ought to read *vā'tusvanāsas* (p. 345) since an *aksharapahkti* demands a long in the fourth place. But this form we refer of course to the *a*-stem (cf. *vā'ta-svana-m*, viii.91.5).

We also find one weak case with *ā*: viz., in x.39.1b, *doshā'm ushā'so hávio havishmatā*, p. *ushā'sah*. Gr., Wb. 1757, takes it as G.s.; it may be A.p. As for *ushā's-ām* (cited by Benfey, SV. Gl. 32,150, and Gram. p. 316), it is indeed favored by the metre, RV. viii.43.5c, *ushā'sām iva ketāvah*, but the text has *ā'*.

The Zend has apparently strengthened forms. The A.s. *ushā-onhem* occurs 5 times. In Vend. xiii.1, all the MSS. have *viçpem* (! masc.) *paiti ushāonhem*, so that one is tempted to ask whether the word has not here gone over to the *a*-declension—*ushāsa-m*; see below, III. The N.p.m. *ha-zaoshāonh-ō*, i. e. *sa-jōshās-as*, occurs Yaç. li.20. But we also find a *weak* case with strengthening, viz., the A.p. masc. (*yazamaidē vairiscā*) *awezh-dānāonh-ō*, i. e. **ab-dānds-as*, Yaç. xlii.2. It is certainly no easier to take *vairis* as fem., and make *-dānāonhō* an A.p.f. of *-dāna* (cf. p. 363 end).

THE RELATION OF EQUIVALENT STEMS IN *AS* AND *A* (*Ā*).

In looking through the Vedic vocabulary, one cannot fail to notice a large number of stems in *as*, by the side of which are found stems almost or entirely like them, barring the final *s*.

Some of these pairs consist of words of like meaning, but of independent origin or formation; as, *mr'gaya* and *mr'gayás* (see Gr.). Others are similar in formation, but the meanings are different; as, *chándā* and *chándas*. There are yet other couples of true synonyms, of which both are very common (cf. *drávina* with *drávinas*) or equally rare (cf. *durósha* with *duróshas*; *lvára*, 'circuit, Umkreis,' with *váras*, *εὔρος*): and of such it is hard to say that the one is less original or normal than the other.

After leaving all these out of view, there still remain many stems in *as* identical in meaning with stems in *a* (cf. Benfey, *Gram.* p. 316, note 4).

If we examine the usage of the language respecting these doublets, we find that in many instances the one stem is decidedly regular and common, and the other only of sporadic occurrence or often even a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, i. e. comparatively irregular. In such cases, the right to set up two independent stems, one in *as* and one in *a*, may fairly be questioned. Upon this subject Professor Benfey, *Abh.* xvii.22, remarks: "These are irregularities which are not to be disposed of by inventing a new stem for every irregular form. On the contrary, we must endeavor to discern how the original declension of certain themes was so transformed by heteroklisis and metaplasm, that not only single cases assumed two or more forms, but also their whole declensional system became doubled and manifold."

In the following pages, therefore, I have attempted to discover the relations between the *a* and the *as*-stems, in cases where the one seemed primitive and normal, and the other secondary or derivative, and to trace the processes by which the latter came into use beside the former. I find that where any significant relation exists it is generally one of transition; i. e., the secondary form is based upon the primary, and is made in accordance with the ordinary norms and analogies of the language, but these are false.

Thus the N.s. of the very old word for 'moon, month' is *mā's*; the A.s., *mā's-am*; I.s., *mās-ā'*; etc. This remained in vogue as a name for 'month'; but went out of use at an early date as a name for 'moon.' In the latter signification it was replaced by a comparatively modern word, *candrā-mās* (*ā*). The recession of the accent helped on the oblivion of its etymology; and at last it was no longer felt as a compound of *mā's*. Its N.s. was regular—*candrāmās*. Its A.s. should be *candrāmāsam*. But in the vast majority of instances, the A.s. which corresponds to a N.s. in *-ās* ends in *-ās-am*. Here, then, in accordance with the false analogies of the language, an A.s. *candrāmās-am* was formed to correspond to the common N.s. *candrāmās*, as if this were from a stem *candrāmās*. The other cases were made in like manner, and so the whole declension was transformed. Cf. below, IV.1. The N.s. is the point of contact of the two declensional series.

It is not unworthy of notice that these processes of change were often occasioned or aided by the exigency of the metre, or

of the formal parallelism of the verse, or by some other circumstance. Of these circumstances I now give a few typical examples, and shall notice others here and there in the progress of the discussion.

It is fair to assume that the Vedic poet would not depart from the ordinary usages of the language without some reason. And if, upon examination, we find these grounds such as give us a less exalted opinion of the general character of much of the Vedic poetry, we ought not on that account to doubt their validity.

The choice between two equivalent case-endings is often determined by the metre; cf. p. 535 med. After what Aufrecht has said (*Rigveda*³, preface, pp. xii-xxxvii), it is clear that even the words of stock-phrases were altered on the same account. A comparison of ii.34.6 with x.42.7 illustrates this. In the former, *pādas a, b, and c* are of 12 syllables each: in the latter, of 11: and the fourth *pādas* read accordingly

kārtā dhīyam jaritré vā'japeçasam, and
kr̥dhī' dhīyam jaritré vā'jaratnām.

Since words of different metrical value, but of equivalent meaning, could be gained by using an *as*-stem instead of an *a*-stem, a word whose theme is almost invariably vocalic (e. g. *pōsha*) is sometimes used as if it were consonantal, and *vice versa*. Thus it admits of no doubt to my mind that the form (*rayinī*) *viçvā'yuposhas-am* was used in i.79.9b and vi.59.9d rather than *-posha-m*, for no deeper reason than to eke out the *pāda* to 8 syllables. Since the *raison d'être* of these isolated forms is so clear, we are not justified in setting up a stem *-poshas*, except for lexical convenience.

The stock-*pādas* ix.68.10c and x.45.12c read: *adveshé dyā'vāpr̥thivī' huvema*; and *a, b, and d* are each of 11 syllables. Had they been of 12, *c* would almost infallibly have read *huvēma dyā'vāpr̥thivī' adveshāsā*.

Forms from a stem *āṅgira* were never current and in vogue. And yet we find the isolated Ls. *āṅgire* at iv.51.4. I believe it is simply due to the formal parallelism of the verse: *yénā nāvagve āṅgire dīçagve saptā'sie*, etc.

In ii.10.3, *bhūvad agnīh puruṣēçāsu gārbhah*, the form *puruṣēçassu* would have satisfied the metre (*ss* would make the eighth syllable long by position—see Lp.n.), but would have been of ambiguous gender (m.f.n.). I believe the *ā*-form *puruṣēçāsu* is used in order to distinguish the word as a feminine (sc. *mātr'shu*—Sāy., *oshadhishu*).

For the more systematic treatment of the subject in hand, I shall dispose it under five or six several heads.

A.

I. Transitions *from* the declension in *as* to that in *ā* (fem.), and *a* (masc.), by contract forms.

II. Other transitions *from* the *as*-declension yielding forms from shorter vocalic themes.

III. Transitions *from* the *as*-declension resulting in forms from longer vocalic themes.

B.

IV. Transitions of radical stems *to* the *as*-declension.

V. Transitions of suffixal *a*-stems *to* the *as*-declension.

VI. Miscellaneous cases.

The following table shows some of the principal points of contact of the two declensional systems.

	The stem	makes its		This last form is regarded as	of a stem
I.	<i>âçás</i> <i>návedas</i>	A.s.f. <i>âçá'm.</i> N.p.m. <i>návedás.</i>		A.s.f. <i>âçá'-m</i> N.p.m. <i>návedás</i>	<i>âçá'.</i> <i>návedā.</i>
II.	<i>hédas</i>	N.s.n. <i>hédas.</i>		N.s.m. <i>héd-a-s</i>	<i>héd-a.</i>
III.	<i>-tejas</i>	A.s.m. <i>-tejas-am.</i>		A.s.n. <i>-tejasa-m</i>	<i>-tejasa.</i>
IV.	<i>-dhá'</i>	N.s.m. <i>-dhá'-s.</i>		N.s.m. <i>-dhá's</i>	<i>-dhā's.</i>
V.	<i>çépa</i>	N.s.m. <i>çépa-s.</i>		N.s.n. <i>çépas</i>	<i>çépas.</i>

I. TRANSITIONS FROM THE AS-DECLENSION. CONTRACT FORMS.

The subject of contract forms is so inseparably connected with that of transition to the vowel declension that both must be discussed together.

The existence of contract forms from *as*-stems is mentioned by Benfey, *Gram.* p. 316, l. 14. Gr., *Ueb.* ii.518, remarks that they are indeed infrequent, but not unheard-of. Benfey derives the contract forms in *-ām* and *-ās* from strengthened forms in *-āsam* and *-āsas*. This seems unnecessary. Forms in *-ā(s)am*, *-ā(s)as* would yield the same result. *Su-mánās-am* becomes *su-mánām*; and *su-mánās-as*, *su-mánās*. Just so in Greek *εὐ-μενέσ-α(μ)* becomes *εὐ-μενή*; and *εὐ-μενέσ-ες*, *εὐ-μενεῖς*.

The masc. stem *vedhás* is well authenticated; cf. *vedhás-am*, v.43.12; *vedhā's* (*sómās*), ix.101.15. But in ix.102.4, we have *vedhā'm* (*jajñānā'm*, sc. *sómam*), and in ix.26.3, *vedhā'm* (*tā'm*). There can be no reasonable doubt that this is a true contract form. The assumption of a masc. stem in *ā* is out of the question.

These contract forms are not unknown to the Avesta. So on p. 330, l. 8, ed. Westergaard, we find *ushām çrīrām*. In Yagna lxii.5, occurs *frazantīm hvāpām*, equivalent to *prajā'm sv-āpām*, i. e. *su-āpasam*; the nom. is *hvāpāo*, i. e. *su-āpās*. In Yç. li.18, *garenāo* is probably an ablative singular of the stem *garenānh*, for *garenānhō*, like the Vedic G.s. *nrmánās* for *nrmánas-as*. Cf. also Justi, *Handbuch*, § 406. *Mazdāo* as N.s. (cf. *medhā's*) is dissyllabic; but as G.s. (cf. *medhás-as*), trisyllabic. The A.s. *mazdām* still retains traces of its trisyllabic origin (cf. *medhás-am*) in the Gāthās, e. g. in the octosyllabic *pāda*, Yç. xxviii.4.2a, *mazdāmcā ahurem*; but not in the Yashts, e. g. *yō mazdām tarō manyētē*, x.139. See Mayr, *Sitzungsberichte d. kais. Ak.* (Vienna, 1871) lxviii.774, and Geldner, *Metrik*, p. 17.

It is plain, however, that as far as the form of itself is concerned, an A.s.f. in *-ām* may be derived directly from a stem in *ā*, and a N.p.m. or f. in *-ās* from a stem in *ā* or *ā*. Nearly every supposed contract form may thus be disposed of, if we are willing to assume expressly for that form a stem in *ā* or *ā*.

The stem *návedas* is well authenticated. In i.165.13d, *eshā'm bhūta návedā ma rtā'nām* (cf. x.31.3d, *návedaso amr'tānām abhāma*, and iv.23.4c), *návedās* is N.p.m., and can not be derived from *návedas*, except as a contract form. Gr. accordingly sets up a stem *náveda* for this one single form; but BR.—as I think, rightly—refer it to *návedas*.

It becomes necessary, then, to examine the usage of the Vedic language in order to determine whether we are justified in setting up subsidiary stems in *ā* and *a*, or not. If not, the forms may fairly be called contract forms. If the assumption of stems in *a* and *a* is warrantable, the forms in *-ās* and *-ām* may be considered as regular derivatives from them. But in some instances, it is impossible to decide with certainty.

I shall now discuss the stems which certainly or probably show contract forms, and with them the forms of transition. I shall first take up *āçā's* and *jarās* as typical, and then the rest in alphabetical order.

1. The stem of the Vedic word for 'hope' is *āçās*, f., from the root *ças* (*çāns*, *çās-man*) with *ā'*. From it are found in the Rik the forms: *āçāsā*, 4; *-āsas*, N.p., 5; *-āsas*, A.p., 1. There is not a trace of the stem *āçā'*. In the classical language, on the other hand, there is not a trace of the Vedic stem *āçās*; all forms come from *āçā'*. The two stems are undeniably of identical origin; but *ā-çā'* can not be derived directly or phonetically from the root *ças* by any method known to me. How then are the two stems *āçās* and *āçā'* to be connected? unquestionably by the form *āçā'm*. This occurs: AV. vi.119.3: xix.4.2: Ait. Br. iii.46: vii.26.30: Çat.Br. iii.3.1¹⁰: vi.7.4⁷: xi.1.6²⁹: xii.4.3⁹; it may be considered in older passages as a contract form for *āçāsam*. Corresponding to this A.s. *āçā'm*, as if the stem were *āçā'*- (so Çat.Br. xiv.9.4¹¹), was formed the transition-nom. s. *āçā'*, ii.1.3⁴, 4⁹; 3.1^{24,27}: xi.7.1²: xiv.4.1²⁸; 5.4²; 7.3². In like manner are made the forms of the later declensional system: e. g. *āçayā*, Rām. ii.65.35; *āçe*, voc., Bhartṛ. iii.6; *āçās*, N.p., Çat.Br. i.2.1¹²; *āçābhyas*, ib. This stem belongs on p. 494, q.v.; but is given here for completeness.

2. Somewhat similar is the history of *jarās*, m. In the Rik we find: *jarās-am*, 2; *-āsā*; *-āsas*, Ab., 2; and the contract accus. s. *jarā'm*, i.140.8: v.41.17; not a single form necessarily implying a vowel-stem. In like manner the AV. has: *jarās-am*, i.30.3: ii.13.1; *-āsā*, iii.31.1: viii.2.8; *-āse*, i.30.2: vi.5.2; *-āsas*, v.30.17: vi.122.1,4; *-āsi*, ii.10.5: xii.3.6; and the Çat.Br., *-āsā*, xiii.8.3^{1,4}; *-āsas*, x.4.3¹. The acc. *jarā'm* occurs AV. viii.2.11: xix.24.5: TS. iv.3.11⁵: Çat.Br. xiv.6.4¹. Corresponding to *jarā'm*, as if the stem were *jarā'*, is formed the transition-nom. *jarā'*, AV. xi.8.19: xviii.4.50: VS. xviii.3: Çat.Br. v.4.1¹; the I.s. *jarāyā*, Çat.Br. xii.4.1¹: xiv.7.1⁴¹; the D.s. *jarā'yai*, AV. iii.11.7: Çat.Br. xi.8.3⁶.

3. The stem *āṅgiras* is of frequent occurrence. In i.83.4, *ā'd āṅgirāḥ prathamām dadhire vāyāḥ*, the N.p.m. *āṅgirās* is best explained as a contract form. Gr. sets up a stem *āṅgira*; but the only other Vedic form that occurs to support it is found at iv.51.4, where *āṅgire* is used instead of *āṅgirasi* to preserve the formal parallelism (p. 548). I therefore prefer to call *āṅgire* a transition-form, and not to assume that a stem *āṅgira* ever had any real existence. For *āṅgiro*, see A.p.m.

4. Equally doubtful is the stem *án-āga*; *án-āgas* is Vedic and post-Vedic. BR. take *ánāgās* as A.p.m. in vii.60(576).1 (so Gr. in *Ueb.*) and 66(582).4 (sc. *nah*), i. e. as a contract form for *ánāgasas*. If this be admitted, why not also *ánāgās* (as N.p.m. in vii.87.7; 97.2: x.36.12), and *ánāgām* (*gā'm*, viii.90.15)? There then remains but one form, *ánāgān* (iii.54.19: iv.12.4: x.12.8) to be explained by false analogy. In x.35.3 (where *b*, *c*, and *d* are of 12 syllables), *a* reads, *dyā'vā no adyā prthivī' ánāgasas*; but in 12.8 (where *a*, *b*, and *d* are of 11), *c* reads, *mitró no átra áditir ánāgān*; so iv.12.4c. Cf. iii.54.19b with i.123.3d.

5. If the text had *anehá'[s]* in x.61.12, we might take it as N.p.m. for *anehásas* with *kárāvas*; but see N.s.m.

6. Stem *apsarás*. The stem *psáras* is supported by 5 occurrences in the Rik, and by the compounds *devá-psaras* (3), *su-psarástama*, and *mádhu-psaras*; the stem *psara*, if at all (p. 546), only by *sapsará'sas*, i.168.9, of uncertain meaning. From *a-psarás* occur in the Rik: -*á's*, N.s.; -*ásas*, N.p.; -*ásas*, A.p., 2; -*ásám*; and in the AV., -*ásau*, vi.118.1,3; -*ásas*, iv.37.12: vi.111.4: vii.109.3: viii.5.13: ix.7.10: xii.1.23,50: xiv.2.9,34; -*ásas*, iv.37.3,4; -*ásas*, iv.37.2: xi.9.15: xiv.2.35; -*ásám*, vi.130.1; cf. *gandharvāpsarásas*, viii.10.27bis: x.9.9: xi.7.27; 9.16: xix.54.4; -*ásas*, viii.8.15; 10.27: xi.6.4; 9.24; -*ásám*, xix.36.6. The A.s. *apsará'm* (AV. iv.38.1bis, 2bis, 4) I regard as a contract form, and as the point of departure for the transition-forms *apsará'-bhyas*, ii.2.5: vii.109.2; -*rā'su*, ii.2.3; -*rāndm*, Rām. i.45.34 (-*rasas* in preceding verse); cf. *apsará-patés*, AV. iv.37.7.

7. The A.s.m. *uṣānm*, x.40.7: AV. iv.29.6, is perhaps best explained as standing for *uṣānas-am*; cf. *uṣanas-e kāvyāyu*, Kauç. 139, and BR. s.v. To assume contraction in the L.s. (*uṣāne*, i.51.11, for *uṣānas-i*) seems too venturesome. For *uṣāná*, see N.s.m.

8. Forms from the stem *ushás* occur in the Rik by hundreds; but not a single one necessitating a stem *ushá'*. The A.p. *ushá's* (ix.41.5) and the A.s. *ushá'm* (i.181.9: x.68.9) are contract forms; likewise *ushá'm-ushám*, AV. xii.2.45. Upon such as these are based the transition-forms *ushé* (du., VS. xxi.17.35: xxviii.6), *ushá'bhyám* (xxi.50: TBr. ii.6.14²), and *navoshayá* (Çák. 175= 202 Pischel).

9. Possibly *tavā* is a contract form for *tavás-ā* (cf. no. 12); it occurs iv.18.10, *tavā-gā'm vṛshabhám*.

10. Stem *nāvedas*: see p. 549. For i.79.1, see N.p.f.

11. In x.92.14, Roth takes *nṛmānds* as a contract G.s.m. with *aktós*. 'We praise the inviolable Āditi with all her queans and the youthful lord of the kindly Night.' Gr., *Ueb.* ii.518, reads *nṛmānm*, A.s.m.

12. BR. refer *purudānsā*, du., vii.73.1, to *purudānsas* (q. v.; cf. *dānsas*, *su*). Whether it is an admissible contraction for *purudānsasā* is not perfectly certain (cf. *tavā*, no. 9); but if we allow it, then *purudānsam*, iii.1.23, is a transition-form.

13. If *mahás* be considered as an established adjective stem (so with *ápnas*, i.3.12, etc.), then the vexed *mahá'd'm* may be explained as contracted from *mahás-am*; but cf. p. 532.

14. The forms given by Gr. s.v. *medhā'* seem to indicate that this was originally a vocalic stem. The compounds, however, point to a different conclusion. In x.65.10 (where *pādas* *a*, *b*, and *d* are *jagatī*), *c* reads *br'haspátim vrtrakhádān sumedhásam*; on the contrary, in 47.6 (where *b*, *c*, and *d* are *trishtubh*), *a* reads *prá saptágum rtádhitim sumedhā'm | br'haspátim matir áchā jigāti*; and so x.125.5d=AV. iv.30.3d, *tām brahmā'nām tām r'shim tām sumedhā'm*. This is certainly a contract form, and interesting as called forth by the metre. In vii.91.3a, *sumedhā's* is perhaps A.p.m.

The stem *sumedhás* is well accredited. Besides its occurrences as given by Gr., we find: -*ā's*, N.s., AV. v.11.11: vii.60.1: ix.1.6: VS. iii.41; -*as*, V.s., Āt.Br. xiv.9.1⁶; -*asā*, I.s., Kathās. 27.149 and 103.144; -*āsas*, N.p., AV. vii.61.1.2. BR., v.900, cite the compounds *a-medhas*, *alpa-* (-*medhas-ām*, Bhag. 7.23), *dur-* (-*medhās*, 18.35), *puru-*, *manda-*, (dele *sa-*), *satya-*, *hari-*. *Durmedha* occurs as well as *dur-medhas*, but the latter is considered by the grammarians to be the only correct form; cf. Pāp. v.4.122. *Puru-médhā-s* occurs RV. ix.97.52; but SV., i.541: ii.454, has -*ās*. *Sumédha-s* occurs at x.132.7, but, as BR. admit, only in a play of words with *Nṛ-médha-s*; so *Nṛ-médha-m*, 80.3. Gr. takes *mitā-medha* from *médhā*.

In view of these forms, it is fair to regard *medhā'm* as a contract form for *medhás-am*. It occurs in RV. 8 times, in AV. at x.2.17, and in SV. i.101 (RV. *vedhā'm*). *Medhā's*, N.p., may also be a contract form. The remaining three, -*ā'*, -*āyā* (3), and -*ā'bhīs*, may then be explained as forms of transition. Cf. Benfey, SV. Gl. s.v. *medhās*.

15. In VS. viii.10, we need not, with Benfey, consider *reto-dhā'm* as a contract form for -*dhásam*. See IV. 3.

16. Stem *vayás*, 'strength-giving.' I do not think Grassmann's article 2*vayā'* ought to stand. Both BR. and A. Ludwig take *vayā's* in x.92(918).3 as 'Aeste;' for *vayā's*, vii.40(556).5, Gr. reads in *Ueb.* i.583, *vayāma*; there remains only *vayā'm*, i.165.15; 166.15; 167.11; 168.10=VS. xxxiv.48. Mahādhara makes it stand for *vayásām*. BR. refer it to a stem *vayā'*, 'Stärkung,' = *vāyas* (accent!).

I would assume an oxytone adjective stem *vayás*. As *āpas*, 'work,' is to *āpās*, 'working, busy,' so is *vāyas*, 'strength,' to *vayás*, 'strengthening, strength-giving;' cf. Lindner, p. 50. We may then take *vayā'm* as a contract A.s.m. adj. with *ishā-m* (for *vayás-am*), and read:

*ēshā' yāsishṭa tanūe; vayā'm [id]
vidyā'meshām, vrjānām jīrādānum.*

'Hither come ye with refreshment for our bodies; right strength-giving refreshment may we receive, (and) well-watered meads.' For *id*, cf. i.132.5d, end.

17. Stem *vedhās*; see p. 549.

18. The stem *sajóshas* is amply supported; cf. also *víjoshas-am*. I doubt whether the assumption of a stem *sajósha* is justifiable.

In iii.4(238).8 and vii.34(550).23, the text has (not *-ā*, but) *-ās*, N.s.f. of stem *-as*. The N.p.m. in *-ās* (19) may be regarded as a contract form; so *-ās* in AV. iii.22.1 (or N.s.f.); and *ā-joshās* (*gīras*, N.p.f.), RV. i.9.4. There then remains only the form *sajóshau* (iii.62.2), which may be explained as a transition-form based on the N.p. *sajóshās*. In VS. xii.74, the text has *sajóshasau* (cf. BR.); but in TS. v.6.4', the transition-form *sajóshau*. As for *sajóshās*, with *agvīdā* in i.118.11, and *ródasī* in iv.56.4, the difficulty is not lessened by referring it to *sajósha*.

19. For *su-medhās*, see no. 14.

20. A certain instance of a contract N.p.f. is seen in iii.33.12, *surādhās* (*nādhās*), for *surādhas-as*; cf. BR.

Benfey, *Abh.* xvii.22, would allow contract forms in the classical language. He cites: *ati-yaçām*, A.s. fem., for *ati-yaças-am*, Nala viii.4; *gushka-srotām* (*nadīm*), for *-asam*, xvi.14. As transition-forms might then be regarded: *kārta-yaça-m*, Ârsh. Br. i.36,265,545; *prati-srota-m*, Bhâg. P. x.78.18; cf. *sahasra-srota-*, ib. v.20.26.

II. FURTHER TRANSITIONS FROM THE *AS*-DECLENSION.

Besides the regular *as*-forms, there occur a number of shorter equivalent *a*-forms, but without any contract forms to mediate between them. Some of them look like forms of transition whose point of departure was the N.s.

1. The ambiguity of the N.s. is illustrated by *rókas*, vi.66.6. It is impossible to tell whether it is N.s.n. of a stem *rókas*, or N.s.m. of a stem *róka*.

2. *Hēdas* is generally neuter. In vi.62.8, it is marked as neuter by *yád*; and so in AV. xix.3.4 by the construction (A.s.n.); but in VS. xiii.45, it can be regarded as N.s.n., or as N.s.m. (*hēda-s*). In RV. i.94.12, on the other hand, it is marked as masculine by *ābbhutas*. This is the point of contact for the two declensions. Based upon such a form as masc. *hēda-s* we find: *hēda-m*, AV. xii.4.20,21; *hēde*, L.s., RV. vii.62.4.

3. An excellent illustration of the coincidence of certain forms of the *as* and *a*-declensions is seen in the stems *çárdhas* and *çárdha*. Gr. assigns 33 Rik-forms to the stem *çárdhas*, and 26 to *çárdha*; but it is impossible to decide in some cases. Thus Müller, Translation p. 57, takes *çárdhas* as N.s. neuter in ii.1.5, *tuám narā'm çárdho asi purāvásuh*; but Gr., as N.s. masculine. The same uncertainty exists in iii.32(266).4. So in v.33.5, *naráh çárdho jajñānā'h*, BR. take *çárdho* as N.s.m.; but Gr., as N.s.n. So in v.54.6, *ābhṛāji çárdho, maruto, yád arṇasām | móshatha*: Gr. refers *çárdho* to *çárdhas* in *Wb.*; but in *Ueb.* he makes *arnasām* object of *móshatha*, so that *çárdho* can be referred to *çárdha*. Cf. also i.37.1 with v.56.9. These collocations seem to me to account for the series of *a*-forms, *çárdha-m*, *çárdhena*, *-āya*, *-asya*, *-ān*. See also Müller, Translation pp. 56-8. Cf. below, no. 8.

4. The isolated *a*-form *áva* (i.128.5) may be based upon the common nom. *avas*, since this might sometimes be felt as a masc. (*áva-s*, v.70.1). Cf. *nir-avásya*, i.122.11.

5. In the Rik we find the neuter stem *krándas*. In the AV., the N.s. *krándas* may be taken as a masc. in xi.2.22 (*krándas*-.s). Based thereupon is the D.s. *krándāya*, xi.2.3. So *śuci-kranda-m*, RV. vii.97.5. In AV. xi.4.2, the metre favors the restoration of the old *as*-form: *nāmas te prāṇa krándās-e*, text *krándāya*.

6. Forms from the stem *sapráthas* are common. Now in TBr. i.1.10²⁻⁴, we find a series of 5 formulæ: *átharva pitúm me gopāya*; *nārya prajā'm m. g.*; *śāśya paçā'n m. g.*; *sápratha sabhā'm m. g.*; *áhe budhniya mántram me gopāya*. One needs no argument to be convinced that the sporadic *a*-form is due simply to formal parallelism (cf. BR.); and I may here add that the instructively mutilated form *átharva* is due solely to the same cause. The VS., iii.37, has *átharya*; for this, the Brāh. stupidly intends to substitute the more intelligible *átharvan*, whose correct vocative could only be *átharvan*.

7. Forms of the stems *péças* and *su-péças* are common. *Péças* is N.s.n. of *péças* in iv.36.7 (*gréshtham*), and A.s.n. in i.6.3 (cf. *a-peças-e*); but in vii.34.11 and 42.1, it may be N.s.masc. (*péças-s*). In Ait. Br. iii.10, we find: *peças* (A.s.n., 3) and *peçasā*; but also *peçās* once as N.p.m. For *puru-peçāsu*, see p. 548. Cf. also *paēçō yō* (N.s.m.) and *çtehr-paēçe-m* (*nmāne-m*, N.s.n.), and Justi, *Handbuch* p. 181b.

8. The influence of the requirements of the cadence and of formal parallelism is plain in the use of *çárdhā-* and *várpā-*, rather than *çárdho-* and *várpo-*, in iii.34.3:

*índro vṛtrám avṛṇoc çárdhanítih
prá máyínám aminád vārpanítih.*

9. The singular form *cará'yai* is called out by the requirements of the cadence. Cf.

v.47.4, *dāça gárbham carāse dhāpayante*,
i.92.9, *viçvan̄ jīvám carāse bodhāyanti*, and
vii.77.1, *viçvan̄ jīvám prāsuvantī cará'yai*.

The short *ā* of *prās-* excludes it from the eighth place and makes the order *carāse prāsuvantī* metrically impossible.

10. Compare *tāras-e*, iii.18.3, with *tārāya*, ii.13.12.

11. The neuter *dvéshas* is very common; for *a-dveshá*, see p. 548. 12. Besides stems from *jrāyas* and *prthu-jrāyas*, we find once *prthu-jrāya-m rátham*, iv.44.1. 13. So besides *ókas*, *ní-ókas*, *sám-ókas*, we find *dur-óka-m*, vii.4.3. 14. With *drádhas-ī*, TS. iii.2.2², cf. *vi-dradhé*, du. f., RV. iv.32.23. 15. With *úrṇa-mradas-am*, VS. ii.2, cf. *úrṇa-mrada-m*, Kauç. 137. 16. With *dvibárhas*, cf. *dvibárha-jman*.

The locatives pl. in *-asu* for *-as-su* are perhaps made after the analogy of the *an*-stems.

III. FURTHER TRANSITIONS FROM THE *AS*-DECLENSION.

The transition-stem (in *asa*) is longer than the original stem (in *as*). The transition in Páli results sometimes in a shorter, but

sometimes also in a longer form; thus from *mahā+anas* we have *mahāna-m* and *mahānasa-m*. The same is true in Sanskrit.

1. In Kāty. Ār. xiv.2.31, we find *mahānasānām* . . . *mahānasa-s mahādrathah*. 2. Corresponding to the N.p. *tigmā-tejas-as* (AV. xix.9.10), occurs the A.s. neuter *tigma-tejasa-m* (*astram ātishtham*, Arj. vii.20). 3. A like transition-form is *su-varcasa-m* (*çatām sūtānām*); see BR. 4. Upon the adverbial compound *ā-jaras-ām*, with adv. accent, rests the form *ājarasā'ya* (RV. x.85.43, accent). 5. BR., iv.921end, cite *prā-cetasānām* as occurring in the Brahma P. for *prā-cetas-ām*; but LA. (Bonn, 1865, p. 58, l. 8) reads *prācetasānām*. The accent of *arṇasā*, *avasā*, and *parīnasā* seems to mark them as secondary derivatives of *arṇas*, *avas*, and *parīnas*.

In Yasht x.143, we find the normal form (*vāshem*, masc.) *çtehr-paēçanh-em*, i. e. *str'-peças-am*. This comes to be used as a neuter also; and we have, e. g., *vanhanem çtehr-paēçanh-em*, i. e. *vāsanañ str'-peças-m*, xiii.3; and likewise *aiṇvyāñhanem* (i. e. *avyāñgam*) *çtehr-paēçanh-em*, Yaç. ix.26. For *viçpem paiti ushāñhe-m* (?), masc. !, see p. 546.

IV. TRANSITIONS OF RADICAL STEMS TO THE AS-DECLENSION.

The N.s.m. in *-ās* has been the point of departure for the transition of radical stems to the *as*-declension. See p. 549. Here belong:

- a. the stem *candrā-mās* (no. 1);
- b. compounds of the verbals *-dhā'* and *-dā'* (2-6);
- c. compounds of radical substantives (7-11).

1. For good practical reasons, the dictionaries set up a stem *candrāmās*. The true stem is *candrā-mās*. Of this only the N.s. is regular—*candrāmās* (RV., 5 times, and AV., 19). The other cases ought also to have the long *ā* throughout, *candrā-māsi*, etc., just as well as *sū'ryāmā'sā*. In fact we find: *candrā-mās-am*, Çat.Br. vi.7.4'; *-māsā*, AV. xiii.4.28; *-māsas*, RV. i.84.15; *-māsi*, AV. x.3.18; xi.5.13; *candramās*, AV. vii.81.2; *candrā-māsā*, RV. x.64.3; *sūryācandramā'sā*, i.102.2; *-au*, v. 51.15; x.190.3. See p. 547.

2. It seems to be adverse to all Vedic analogies to assume a stem like *vayo-dhā's*; but Benfey assumes such, and even refers *vayodhā'm* to a stem *vayodhā's* (for *vayo-dhā's-am*, SV. Gl.—cf. *Gram.* p. 316, l. 16). There are nigh 200 stems like *vayo-dhā'*; see p. 438. Of this, the N.s.m. is *vayo-dhā's* (cf. p. 443). To this now as a point of departure I refer the following forms of transition: *vayo-dhā'sam* (*indram*), VS. xxviii.24; *-dhāsā*, Ls., VS. xv.7; *-dhase* (*indrāya*), Vaitāna Sūtra xxx.25; Kāty. Ār. xix.5.22; *-dhāsas*, N.p.m., AV. viii.1.19; *-dhas* (*soma*), RV. ix.81.3. *Vayodhās* can not be a direct voc. of *-dhā'* (cf. BR.), for this would be *vayodhās* (p. 449).

3. I think no Vedic form necessitates the assumption of a stem *reto-dhā's*. The Rik has 5 forms from *reto-dhā'*. So in TBr. ii.7.4',

we have *retodhā-s* somas and *retodhā-s* *eshā*. The only form that seems to require an *as*-stem is *reto-dhā's-as*, G.s.m., VS. viii.10; but this is best ascribed to false analogy.

4. The A.s.f. *varco-dhā'-m* occurs VS. iv.11; the N.s.m. *varco-dhā'-s*, AV. ii.11.4. The D.s.m. *varco-dhā'-s-e*, AV. iii.21.5, is a transition-form.

5. Forms from *puro-dhās* occur: *-dhasām*, Bhag. x.24; *-dhasā*, Çāk. 71.18 (Böhtl.); but they are only post-Vedic.

6. The Rik has 30 forms from *dravino-dā'*. The N.s.m. is *-dā'-s*, and corresponding to this, as if the stem were *-dā's*, are made the transition-forms *-dase* (*devāya*), Schol. to Kāty. Çr. ix.13.19; *-dās*, V.s., RV., 6. For "*drāvinodasās*," see Ab.s.m.

7-9. It must be admitted, I think, that the masculine compound of a fem. substantive in *ā* may make its N.s. in *-ās* (see p. 439 ad init.); otherwise, we should have to assume a stem *puru-nishthā's* for the N.s.m. *-nishthā's*. On p. 439 I referred the forms *bahuprajā'-s* and *suprajā'-s* (N.s.m.) to stems in *ā*. BR. refer them to *-prajā's*; cf. also Pān. v.4.122,123. I would further refer to *ā*-stems the following forms, which the reader is requested to add on pages 439, 443, 444: N.s.m., *āprajās* (*apaçūs*), Çat.Br. i.6.1¹⁷; *suprajā's*, AV. iv.11.3; VS. iii.37; vii.18; *divākshās*, RV. iii.30.21; N.s.f., *suprajā's*, AV. xiv.2.22,23,74.

As forms of transition I regard: (7) *āprajasam*, A.s., AV. vii.35.3; xii.5.45; *aprajasi*, L.s.f., Yājñ. ii.144; (8) *īda-prajasas*, A.p.f., TS. i.5.6¹; (9) *suprajāsam*, A.s.f., AV. xiv.1.49; *-āsas*, N.p.m., AV. iii.10.5; xviii.4.63; TS. i.1.10¹; iii.2.4².

For stem *dushprajas* I find no example; stem *dushprajā* occurs Bhāg. P. x.49.4. The compound *suprajāstvá* does not prove the existence of a true stem *suprajā's* any more than *suprajāstvá* proves a stem *suprajā's*. Cf. also *aprajāstā* and *aprajasyā* with *aprajāstvá* and *anāgāstvá*.

10. The forms cited by BR. and Gr. in the article *divā-kshas* I treat otherwise. On account of the accent, I set up a *bahuvrīhi* stem *divā-kshā*, 'having a dwelling (*kshā'*) in heaven;' cf. *divi-yoni*. Of this, *divā-kshā-s*, iii.30.21, is the N.s.m. (cf. pp. 439, 443); and the N.p. *divā-kshasas* (m., x.65.7; f., iii.7.2) may be regarded as due to false analogy.

11. The A.s.f. *kshā'm* (p. 446), in i.67.5; 174.7; vi.6.4: x.31.9, and the A.p.f. *kshā's* (p. 452), in iv.28.5, have the value of two syllables. Gr. reads *kshā'mam*, *kshāmas*. Perhaps the true resolution is *kshās-am* and *kshās-as* (transition-forms based on the N.s.f. *kshā'-s*), for which the diaskeuasts have written the contract forms *kshā'm* and *kshā's*, coinciding with the regular forms of *kshā'*.

V. TRANSITIONS OF A-STEMS TO THE AS-DECLENSION.

Under section II. we saw neuters like *hēdas* passing into the *a*-declension (*hēda-m*). We have now to discuss the opposite movement and to group together a number of well authenticated *a*-stems, by the side of which occur infrequently or sporadically *as*-forms.

1. Thus besides *cépa* (RV.—see BR.), the AV. has also *cépas*. Perhaps the N.s.m. *cépa-s* was regarded as a neuter form, and the A.s. made accordingly. The Rik, for example, reads *yásyām uçantāḥ prahárāma cépum*, x.85.37d; while the AV. has *prahárēma cépas*, xiv.2.38d.

In some of the following cases, however, I am not sure that the relation is strictly one of transition; and perhaps the metre has had more to do with calling forth the secondary forms here than elsewhere.

2. Forms from *veçá* are common. The only support for *veçás* is in AV. v.23.12, *hatá'so asya veçá's-as | hatá'saḥ páriveçás-as*, where *veçá'sas* would not fit the cadence.

3. Instead of the regular *-posha-m*, we have *-poshas-am*, for no other reason than to fill out the verse; see page 548.

4. A like instance is *svastī adyá usháso doshásas ca*, AV. xvi.4.6; cf. p. 468.

5. The stem *dáksha* is abundantly authenticated; so *samáná-daksha* and *pútá-daksha*. On the other hand, *dákshas-e* occurs thrice; *pútá-dakshas-á* and *-as*, 7 times; and *dákshas-as* at viii.13.1, for which the SV., at i.381 and ii.96, has *dákshasya*.

6. Forms from *bhára* are common; but twice we find stem *sá-bharas*, and once *viçvá-bharas-am*.

7. For *svaná* and compounds, see BR. Twice we find *tuvi-shvanás*, and once *vá'ta-svanas* (? see p. 546).

8. So besides the stem *svará* and its compounds (see BR.), we find *gharmá-svaras-as*, A.p.f., iv.55.6.

9. The stem *çóka* and its compounds (see Gr.) are well authenticated; but once we have *sahásra-çokás*, N.s.m.

10. For *céva* and its compounds, see Gr. RV. x.85.24b reads *yéna tvá'badhnát savitá' suçévéh*; but the Atharvan variant (xiv.1.19,58), . . . *suçévéh*; so ii.2.2.

11. The form *dhruvás-é* in vii.70.1, *á' yát sedáthur dhruvāse ná yónim*, is best explained as a simple transition-form from *dhruvá* (cf. BR. iii.1002, 1004), preferred to *dhruvā'ya* on account of the metre, and also because a form in *-āse* is common for datives with infinitival function. Cf. Hariv. 3959, *taṁ girigreshtham sve sthāne niveçayāmāsa dhruvāya*.

12. With *devá vrādhā'ya hūmahe*, viii.72.6, cf. (*stotṛnāam ca spārdhāse*, v.64.4d, and) *sákhīnaam ca vrādhāse*, v.64.5d.

13. With *dóha* (common as post-Vedic), cf. the *āṛ. λ. dóhas-á* in the same signification, x.11.1.

14–16. With *rāva*, *vrshā-ravá*, cf. *tuvi-rāvas*, *purá-rāvas*. With *toçá*, cf. *toçás* (? p. 545). With *sahá*, cf. *sáhas*, as adj., BR. vii.866 end.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS CASES OF TRANSITION.

1. In i.141.8d, *çú'rasyeva tvesháthād ishāte váyah*, the ninth place requires a short syllable and so *ishante* is excluded. The lack of concord between the singular verb and its plural subject *váyas*, 'fowls' (from *vī*), was the less noticeable inasmuch as

váyas itself was felt as a collective noun, 'fowl, Geflügel.' In this case *váyas* would easily come to be regarded as a singular form (N.s.n.) of a new transition-stem *váyas*. So in i.104.1, *váyas* may be taken as A.p.m. (p. 395 med.), or as collective A.s.n., 'the flying team' of Indra. Such passages seem to explain the origin of the stem *váyas*; but it is not absolutely necessary to posit this stem, except for texts later than the Rik.

2. If, in v.37.1b (*ājúhvāno ghṛtāprsthah suāñcāh*), we had *suāñcā-h*, this might easily be referred as transition-form to *suāñc-am* (*agnim*, vi.15.10), i. e. *su-āñca-m*. As the text stands, perhaps we have a āp. λ. of independent formation; but cf. the variants *sučēvāh* and *sučēvāh*, above, V.10.

3. Besides the usual stem *ródasī*, we find *ródas* once, ix.22.5a, *etē prsthā'nī ródās-os* (— — —); it is used simply and solely because *ródasyos* would not fit the cadence. With good reason Gr. reads *ródasos* (for *-syos*) in the cadence of i.151.3a and 168.1c.

4. So instead of the usual *sārasa*, we find stem *sāras* once, MBh. xiii.736, *kṛkalāsakāsārāsām*,—used probably for the sake of the cadence. Otherwise, it may be taken as a shortened G.p.m. of *sārasa*, for *sārasānam* (see p. 353).

5. The relation of *akshī-ōs* to *aksh-ōs* is like that of *ródasī-os* to *ródas-os*; but in AV. v.4.10, where *aksh-ōs* occurs, the metre demands *akshī-ōs*—see p. 392.

Compare *mā'ns* and *vandhūr*, p. 494. It is hard to see what relation, if any, exists between *sarasī'* and *sāras*.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. Here belong 341 masculines (from 110 stems), and 86 feminines (from 24 stems).

Masculines: *āhgīrās*, 5; *acētā's*; *ādribarhās*; *ādvayās*; *ānāgās* (437, 2; 602 7); *anūdhā's*; *ānūnavarcās*; *anendā's*, 3; *āpracetās*, 3; *abhībhatījās*, 5; *āmitav-jās*; *arapā's*, 3; *āvayātahedās*; *āsamatiojās*; *āhanā's*; *urucākshās*, 2; *uruvyācās*, 3; *r'shimands*; *rshvaijās*; *kārūdhayās*, 4; *kēlavedās*; *khā'das-arhās*; *gabhīrā-vepās*; *gūrtāmanās*; *gūrtācravās*; *gōnioghās*; *ghṛtāprayās*; *jātāvedās*, 23; *tādopās*, 2; *tādokās*; *tādojās*; *tarāddveshās*; *trivayās*; *dabhracetās*, 2; *dāmūnās*, 18; *dasmāvarcās*, 3; *dirghātāmās*, 2; *dirghā'psās*; *durōshās*; *devāpsarās*; *devācravās*; *nāvedās* (319, 4; 366, 3); *nṛcākshās*, 18; *nṛmānās*, 4; *nodhā's*, 3; *niokās*; *pāva-kāvarcās*; *prthujrāyās*; *prthupā'jās*, 3; *prācetās*, 10; *prāvayās*; *bāhtiojās*; *bṛhāc-chravās*; *bodhinmanās*; *bhū'ricjās*; *mādhuvacās*, 2; *mānojavās*, 6; *mitrāmahās*; *yaçā's*, 2; *rakshā's*; *raghupātmanjānhās*; *riçā'dās*, 2; *vāsuçravās*; *vā'taranhās*, 2; *vicetās*, 7; *vīmanās*, 2; *vīçvā-cakshās*, 2; *-dhayās*, 2; *-bhōjās*; *-mandās*; *-vedās*, 9; *vīçvayājās*; *vīdhayās*, 7; *vīdudveshās*; *vīdūharās*?; *vṛddhā-mahās*, 2; *-vayās*; *-çravās*; *vedhā's*, 14; *çukrāvarcās*; *çradhdhā'manās*; *sācanās*; *sācetās*; *sajōshās*, 26; *satyārādhās*, 5; *sapṛāthās*, 4; *sāmokās*, 2; *sahāsra-cakshās*; *-cetās*; *-pāthās*; *-retās*, 3; *-çokās*; *sahāsrāpsās*; *sudānsās*, 3; *sumānās*, 25; *sumedhā's*, 11; *surā-dhās*, 4; *surēkās*; *surētās*; *suwārcās*, 3; *suwā'sās*; *stōmavāhās*; *spārharādhās*; *suāñcās*; *suapās*, 8; *svābhātiojās*; *svāyaçās*, 3; *sūarcakshās*; *sūarcandās*; *suōjās*, 2.

Feminines: *ādvayās*; *apsarā's*; *arepā's*, 3; *āhanā's*; *uruvyācās*; *ushā's*, 50; *ā'rṇamradās*; *nīcā'vayās*; *nṛmānās*, 2; *prācetās*; *mādhuvacās*; *yāvayāddveshās*; *vīdhayās*; *r'shamanās*; *çukrāvāsās*; *sācetās*; *sajōshās*, 4 (i. e. 490, 7; 395, 8; 238, 8; 550, 23); *sapṛāthās*; *sābharās*; *sudānsās*; *supēçās*, 2; *sumānās*, 2; *suwā'sās*, 6; *sumedhā's*, iii.57.5 (with *jīhvā'*, 'voice,' BR.).

Thrice Gr. proposes to resolve -ās into two syllables. In no case is it necessary. *Prācetās* (Gr. -aas) is at the end of a catalectic *pāda* of 7 syllables in vi.14.2a, and of 11 in vii.16.5c. In iv.21.6c, read *d' durōshkāḥ paastīasya hōtā*.

Candrā-mās (RV., 5; AV., 19) belongs properly on p. 495; see p. 547; *divā-kshās* and *suprajā's* (m., AV. iv.11.3), on p. 443; *suprajā's* (f., xiv.2.22, 23, 74), on p. 444. For *ā'namradās*, *gārtāvacās*, *dvibārḥās*, and *vīrāpeḥās*, see N.A.s.n. For *ánāgās* (576, 1 and 582, 4) see p. 551. In i.79.1, *nāvedās* is N.p.f. For *prācetās*, vi.5.5, see V.s.m.

Transition-forms (see pp. 550-557): I. *āçā'*; *jarā'*; *uçānā'*?; *medhā'*; V. *sābharās*; *sahāsraçokās*; *suçēvās*.

II. The instances in which the *s* of the N.s. is lost are doubtful. See Pān. vii.1.94. The least doubtful is *Uçānā* (RV., 8; TS. ii.5.8^o); but is not this a transition-form, after the analogy of feminines (cf. *Nāmī*, *Pr'thī*, etc., p. 375 med.), based on the contract acc. *uçānām* (for -*asām*)? Of like sort, possibly, is (*kārāvo*) *anehā'*, x.61.12. Of *purudañçā* I find no occurrence. The form *r'bhvā* need not be referred to the same stem with *r'bhas-am*. For *ayā'*, i.87.4, see p. 358 end.

III. Several peculiar forms claim our attention. The *samhitā* has: *tuvīrāvān k-*, x.64.4; -*āñ r-*, 16;— *svātavāñ r-*, iv.20.6; *svātavāñḥ p-* (Prāt. iv.34), iv.2.6; *svātavāñç ca*, VS. xvii.85;— *svāvāñ*, before *a-*, vi.47.12: x.131.6 (AV. vii.91.1); *i-*, vi.47.13: x.131.7 (AV. vii.92.1); *r-*, iii.54.12: vi.68.5; *e-*, x.92.9; *y-* (Prāt. iv.28), i.118.1; 35.10. The VS. variant (xxxiv.26) of the last passage has *svāvā yātu* (Pr. iii.135). Similarly Roth would read *sut[ā]vā yād*, x.99.11; see p. 488 end.

The treatment of the forms in sandhi is precisely like that of the forms on pages 512, 514, and 517. The *pada* has in every instance *tuvī-rāvān*, *svā-tavān*, *svā-vān*.

The stem of the second word is *svā-tav-as*, as is abundantly shown by the other forms; that of the third, *svā-v-as*, as shown by the metre and the other forms. BR. refer the first to *tuvī-rāvānt* (see p. 517); but I think Aufrecht is right in setting up the stem *tuvī-rāvas*, like *purā-rāvas*, *brhād-rāvas*, Z. D. M. G. xxv.233.

Aufrecht, ib. xiii.501, considered all themes in *as* as ultimately derived from themes in *ant*, and explained these nominatives as relics of the more ancient themes in *ant*. (For *svātavadbhyas*, etc., see I.p.) I think that they are formed after the analogy of the stems in *vañs* (*vas*) and *vant*, the radical *v* of the stems *su-āv-as* etc. being felt as part of the derivative ending (*svā-vas*).

The same misconception has worked elsewhere. As a result of the misdivision of *bhāv-ant* into *bhā-vant* is perhaps to be explained the voc. *bha-vas* (p. 509). In like manner I account for the peculiar fem. to *mātari-bhv-an*, viz., *mātari-bh-varī*, N.p. -*is*, x.120.9; Sāy., *mātari bhavantyaḥ*. Cf. *mātari-ç-varīs* (root *gā*), AV. xx.107.12; and *mātari-ç-vas*!, voc. Upon a confusion of the final element of *anad-vāḥ* with that of the *vant*-stems rest the

peculiar forms cited on p. 499 (*anad-vā'ñç* etc.). Cf. *yúvat* and *kshá'm-an*, p. 530. The explanations of Weber (*Beiträge* iii.388) and Brugman (*Zeitsch.* xxiv.71) are essentially like the above.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

I. Here belong 1409 forms (from 101 stems).

Enumeration: *ánhas*, 33; *āñjas*, 2; *adveshás*, 4; *ánas*, 8; *anehás*, 5; *ándhas*, 3; *ándhas*, 19; *ápas*, 15; *apás*; *ápnas*, 4; *ápsas*, 3; *ám̐bhas*; *áyas*, 4; *arakshás*; *arapás*, 2; *ár̐nas*, 15; *ávas*, 73; *á'gas*, 17; *á'pas*, 2; *úras*, 2; *á'dhas*, 4; *énas*, 19; *ékas*, 16; *éjas*, 53; *kshódas*, 10; *cámas*, 12; *chándas*, 3; *jánhas*; *júvas*; *jr̐yas*, 8; *tádapas*; *tápas*, 4; *támas*, 43; *túras*, 4; *téjas*, 2; *tyájās*, 3; *dānsas*, 4; *dūvas*, 13; *dr̐vīnas*; *dv̐eshas*, 25; *nábhas*, 11; *námas*, 41; *pákshas*; *páyas*, 52; *pá'jas*, 11; *pá'thas*, 14; *pī'vas*, 5; *purubhójās*; *péças*, 6; *práthas*; *pr̐yas*, 21; *ps̐aras*, 3; *bh̐argas*, 3; *bh̐á'sas*, 2; *mānas*, 76; *māyas*, 19; *māhás*, 14; *māhas*, 8; *m̐r'dhas*, 2; *mēdas*; *yācas*, 24; *rákshas*, 20; *rājas*, 38; *rāpas*, 12; *rābhas*; *rā'dhas*, 61; *rēk̐nas*, 10; *rétas*, 21; *rēpas*; *ródhas*, 2; *vákshas*, 4; *vācas*, 47; *vāyas*, 2; *vōyas*, 70; *vāyas-vayas*, 2; *vārivas*, 26; *vārcas*, 6; *vārpas*, 7; *vā'sas*, 8; *vā'has*, 3; *vēdas*, 14; *vēpas*; *vyācas*, 3; *vṛāyas*; *çārdhas*, 28; *çāvas*, 34; *çiras*, 25; *çeshas*, 6; *çrávas*, 87; *sajóshas*; *sādas*, 13; *sādas-sadas*, 2; *sa-práthas*, 17; *sabā'dhas*, 14; *sāras*, 4; *sāhas*, 48; *surétas*; *sr̐ótas*; *svátavas*; *hāras*; *hāras*; *hēdas*, 6; *hūvas*, 2.

Transition-forms (see pp. 554-558): II. *durókam*; III. *tigma-tejasam*; *suvarcasam*; V. *çépas*, A.s.; VI. *vāyas*.

II. In 20 or more instances, the form in *ās* is used rather anomalously as a neuter. Gr. admits only one such, *devávyacās*, iii.4.4. Here Benfey (*Abh.* xix.260; cf. 255 ff.) considers that the original form was the regular one in *-ās*; that the final *visarga* disappeared tracelessly; that *ā* was then lengthened metrically in the *samhitā*; and that to the misapprehension of the forms in *-ā* on the part of the *padakāra* are due the *pada*-readings in *-āh*. But this explanation does not fit the other cases well.

Here belong: *devávyacās* (*barhís*, cf. i.142.5), iii.4.4; *dvibārhas*, (*vāyas*) i.71.6; (*çárma*) i.114.10; (*sā'ma*) iv.5.3; (*vācas*) vii.8.6; as adv. (see BR. v.28), v.80.4; vi.19.1; vii.24.2; x.116.4; *vīrā-peçās* (*dr̐vīnam*), iv.11.3; x.80.4; *gūrtāvacās* (*brāhma*), x.61.1; *vidúharās* (? *tāpas*), x.109.1; *ā'rnamradās* (*barhís*), v.5.4: so VS. xxi.33.57: TBr. ii.6.11³, 14⁵; *viçvāvyacās* (*çárma*), AV. ix. 7.15. In AV. i.26.3, the MSS. have *çárma sapráthāh*; ed., *-āh*. Compare also: AV. xviii.2.19, *yāchāsmāi çárma sapráthāh*; T.ār. x.1.10, *yāchā naḥ çárma sapráthāh*; and RV. i.22.15, *-āh*; and finally, *çárma sapráthāh*, VS. xviii.54: TS. iv.7.13³. The neuters *çatasā's*, *suprayā's*, *sthā's*, *indra-*, *soma-jā's*, and *çresh-thasthā's*, p. 445, should be considered in connection with the above forms.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Here belong 217 masculines (from 97 stems) and 58 feminines (from 22 stems).

Masculines: *acetāsam*, 2; *ānashtavedasam*; *ānāgasam*; *ānugāyasam*; *anehāsam*, 8; *apāsam*; *āpratidhr̐stapavasam*; *abh̐ibh̐ūtījāsam*; *arāmanāsam*; *arādhasam*, 2; *arepāsam*; *arcanā'nasam*; *āhanāsam*; *upākācakshasam*; *uru-cākshasam*, 2;

-jráyasam, 2; -vyácasam, 2; kshetrásá'dhasam; gáthácravasam; gáyatrávepasam; gírvaṇasam, 4; gírvdhasam, 2; gúrtácravasam; gávarṇasam; gódhāyasam; cikítvinmanasam; citrámahasam; citrárádhasam; jarásam, 2; jātāvedasam, 24; tavásam, 13; tūvirá'dhasam; tūvishvanásam; tūviḡjasam; tyajásam; dāmānasam, 5; dāná-okasam; dyukshāvacasam; dvibárhhasam, 3; dvicavasam; dhṛshnúojasam; nárádhasam; nṛcákshasam, 4; pañktírádhasam; pártinasam; puru-pépasam; -bhṡjasam, 2; -vápasam; -vépasam; práccetasam, 8; prátvakshasam; bráhma-váhasam; bhíyásam, 3; bhá'ri-cakshasam; -dhāyasam; yajñá-vanasam; -vāh-asam; yaçásam, 15; rakshásam; riçá'dasam, 3; vá'jacravasam; víccetasam, 2; víjoshasam; vídveshasam; víçvā-dhāyasam, 4; -bharasam; -vedasam, 6; -vyac-asam; víçvā'yū-poshasam, 2; -vepusam; víhāyasam; vítirádhasam; vedhásam; sácetasam; sajóshasam; satyá-gírvāhasam; -pavasam; sádmamakhasam; samu-drá-vásasam, 2; -vyacasam; sahásra-cakshasam, 2; -bharnasam, 2; -varcasam, 2; súccetasam, 2; súddānsam, 2; supéçasam, 7; suprayásam, 3; subhṡjasam; sumedhásam; surá'dhasam, 4; surétasam; suçrávasam, 3; srprádbhōjasam; svāyaçasam, 3; súdvāsam, 3; háridhāyasam; hárivarpasam.

Feminines: ándgasam; anehásam; arakshásam, 2; arepásam, 2; áçvopeçasam; údojasam; uruwyácasam; cikítvinmanasam; dhvarásam; purubhṡjasam; yávyád-dveshasam; vá'japeçasam; víçvadóhasam; víçvā-dhāyasam, 2; -peçasam; -bhōjasam; çatárçasam; çúcipecasam; sahásrabharnasam, 2; svāyaçasam; hárivarpasam; ushásam, 33; ushá'sam, p. ushá'sam (page 546), 11.

Adverbial shift of accent is seen in *ájarasám*, Çat.Br. i.6.3⁴¹: cf. Ait. Br. i.28. See p. 495.

Contract-forms: *vedhā'm*, ix.26.3; 102.4; *uçāndm*, x.40.7; AV. iv.29.6; *mahā'm*?, 23 times; *sumedhā'm*, x.47.6; 125.5; *vayā'dm*, i.165.15; 166.15; 167.11; 168.10; VS. xxxiv.48; *āçā'dm*, AV. vi.119.3; *jarā'dm*, i.140.8; v.41.17; *ándgām*, viii.90.15; *apsará'm*, AV. iv.38.1bis, 2bis, 4; *ushā'dm*, i.181.9; x.68.9; AV. xii.2.45; *medhā'dm*, 8 times, and AV. x.2.17. For *vayā'd'h*, vii.40.5, see p. 552, no. 16.

Transition-forms (see pp. 551-557): I. *purudānsam*; II. *hēdam*; çárdham; çúcikrandam; prthujráyam; IV. *candrāmāsam*; *vayodhásam*; áprajasam; suprajásam; kshásam?; V. *viçvā'yū-poshasam*; *viçvādbharnasam*; *tūvishvanásam*.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

I. There are 36 masculines (from 15 stems); 30 feminines (from 3 stems); and 704 neuters (from 66 stems).

Masculines: *anehásá*; *arakshásá*; *gopartínasá*; *jarásá*; *tárāshasá*; *tavásá*; *pártinasá*, 6; *prthupá'jasá*, 2; *bhíyásá*, 11; *mānojavasá*; *yaçásá*; *viçvāpeçasá*; *sáhasá*, 2; *supéçasá*; *suçrávasá*.

Feminines: *arepásá*, 2; *ushásá*, 27; *yajásá*.

Neuters: *āñjasá*, 4; *ānasá*, 3; *āndhasá*, 13; *āpasá*, 2; *apásá*; *arakshásá*; *ārñasá*, 2; *āvasá*, 52; *ēnasá*; *ōjasá*, 104 (but cf. G.s.n.); *ōhasá*; *kshódasá*, 3; *gávarṇasá*; *cákshasá*, 16; *cétasá*, 6; *jávasá*, 5; *javásá*; *tānasá* (p. 479); *tāpasá*, 10; *tāmasá*, 13; *túrasá*; *téjasá*, 3; *tyájásá*, 4; *tvákshasá*, 3; *tveshásá*; *dānsasá*, 2; *dóhasá*; *dhā'yasá*; *dhvájásá*; *nābhasá*, 2; *námásá*, 84; *páyásá*, 32; *pá'jasá*, 5; *pl'vasá*; *práyásá*, 5; *bāhúojasá*; *bhrá'jasá*; *mānasá*, 115; *māhasá*, 3; *médasá*; *yaçásá*, 3; *rákshasá*; *rójásá*, 4; *rāpasá*, 4; *rā'dhasá*, 16; *rēknasá*; *rétasá*, 3; *vācasá*, 10; *vānasá*; *váyásá*, 6; *vārcasá*, 5; *vāmpasá*, 4; *vā'sasá*, 2; *vā'hasá*, 2; *védasá*; *vépasá*, 2; *çāvasá*, 80; *çéshasá*, 2; *çrávasá*, 9; *sáhasá*, 29; *sudānsasá*; *surétasá*; *srótasá*; *hārasá*, 6; *havásá*, 2; *hēshasá*.

The masc. *bhíyás-á* is contracted to *bhí'sh-á*; and this appears with adverbial shift of accent in i.133.6bis (-á'ñ a-): vii.21.3: viii.86.14. Cf. p. 494.

Contract form: *tavā* in *tavā-gā'm*?; see p. 551.

Transition-forms (see p. 550-557): I. *jarāyā*; *navoshayā*; *medhāyā*; II. *āvena*; *śārdhena*; IV. *candrāmāsā*; *vayodhāsā*; *purodhāsā*; V. *-dakshasā*; *dōhasā*.

II. In some 18 instances, a form identical with the stem appears with the value of an instrumental. They may be taken outright as case-forms without ending (cf. pp. 476, 480, 535), or as text-corruptions arising from misconception of the irregular forms (cf. Bollensen, *Orient und Occ.* ii.481-2). The first six are pretty certain (cf. BR.): *vācas*, with *divītmā*, i.26.2; with *nāvyaśā*, ii.31.5; vi.48.11; viii.39.2 (cf. vi.62.5); *vācas*, parallel with *mānmabhis*, viii.63.1; *yajñavacās*, parallel with *odanēna*, AV. xi.3.19; *śāvas*, parallel with *krātvā*, RV. i.81.4. Ludwig translates *cāvas*, x.23.5, by 'durch krafttat.'

The rest are more or less doubtful: i.93.2, *yó adyā vām idām vācaḥ saparyāti*, 'whoso to-day honors you here (*idām*) with a song;' i.32.8, *māno rūhānā āti yanti d'pāḥ*, ('with a will' i. e.) 'lustily rising, the waters overwhelm him;' x.109.1?, *tāpa ugrō*, Śāy., *tapasā tāpanenogra udgūrno 'gniḥ*; i.92.5, *svāruṁ nā pégo vidātheshu anjān*, 'adorning the *svāru* as it were with beauty at the feasts.'

Bollensen, l.c. p. 484, would explain *mahā(s)* or *māhó* for *māhā*, i. e. *māhāsā* in i.22.11 (*cārmanā*): i.121.11 (*vājrena*): ii.34.12 (*jyōtishā*): vii.25.1 (*ātḥ*). In viii.3.6, *śāva i-* might be taken similarly; so Ludwig, *Ueb.* ii.175, 'mit kraft;' but see G.s.n. In x.76.6, on account of *divītmā* (m. or n.), Roth suggests that *vācā* (fem. l) may be a corruption for *vāco*(=*vācasā*); but cf. pp. 515-6.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

There are 74 masculines (from 38 stems); 4 feminines (from 4 stems); and 225 neuters (from 27 stems).

Masculines: *abhīśhṭicavase*; *ukthāvāhase*; *uruvyācāse*; *ṛtāpeçase*; *gāyatrā-vepase*; *gīrvanase*, 2; *gīrvāhase*, 2; *ghorācakshase*; *jātāvedase*, 7; *tādapase*; *tādokase*; *tavāse*, 11; *dīrghā-yaçase*; *-cravase*; *duvāse*; *dymnācravase*; *nṛcākshase*, 2; *nīokase*; *pīthīnase*; *purūrāvase*; *prṭhu-jrāyase*; *-pājase*; *prācetaçase*, 4; *prātavase*; *brāhma-vāhase*, 3; *mṛktā-*; *yajñā-*, 2; *yaçase*; *rakshāse*; *vīçvācakshase*; *vīhāyase*; *vedhāse*, 11; *çikvase*; *satyārādhase*; *sāhase*; *sahāsracākshase*; *svātavase*, 2; *svāyaçase*.

Feminines: *uśhāse*; *durvā'sase*; *parjānyaretase*; *vṛdhāse*.

Neuters: *apāse*; *apeçase*; *āvase*, 108; *ōjase*, 5; *cākshase*, 2; *javāse*; *tāpase*; *tāmase*; *tārāse*; *dākshase*, 3; *dhā'yase*, 15; *dhruvāse*; *nāmase*; *pājase*, 2; *prāyase*, 2; *psārāse*, 2; *mānase*, 4; *rākshase*, 3; *rā'dhase*, 25; *ṛtāse*; *vācāse*, 3; *vārāse*, 2; *cāvāse*, 14; *crāvase*, 17; *sāhase*, 7; *svāyaçase*; *hārāse*.

Transition-forms (see pp. 550-557): I. *jarā'yai*; II. *śārdhāya*; *krāndāya*; *tārāya*; *carā'yai*; III. *ājarasā'yai*; IV. *vayodhāse*; *varcodhāse*; *dravīnodāse*; V. *dākshase*; *dhruvāse*; *vṛdhāse*.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

I. There are 13 masculines (from 6 stems); 5 feminines (from one stem); and 107 neuters (from 24 stems).

Masculines: *arādhāsas*; *jarāsas*, 2; *tavāsas*, 3; *pārīṇasas*, 2; *rakshāsas*, 4; *sāhasas*. Feminine: *ushāsas*, 5.

Neuters: *ānhasas*, 44; *ānasas*; *āndhasas*, 4; *āpasas*; *ārṇasas*; *ēnasas*, 7; *ōkasas*; *ōjasas*, 3; *kshōdhasas*; *jṛāyasas*; *tāpasas*, 3; *tāmasas*, 10; *drāvinasas*; *pāyasas*; *pā'jasas*; *prāthasas*; *bhānsasas*; *mānasas*, 9; *rājasas*; *rā'dhasas*, 2; *vēdasas*; *sādasas*, 9; *sārasas*; *sāhasas*, 2. In vii.56.19, *sāhasas* is N.p.m.

Grassmann's ablative *drāvinodas-ās* (accent impossible), ii.37.4, is based on a misprint; read *drāvinodasā-s*, N.s.m.

II. In vi.3.1, *dēva pā'si tyājasā mātām ānhah*, if we take *ānhas* from *ānh*, the accent is anomalous. I think it is an Ab. of *ānhas* without case-ending, for *ānhasas*; cf. BR. vii.1685. A similar haplographia is seen in *irādhiāi*, i.134.2, for *irādhadhīāi*. Since the accent of *ush-ās* as an *accusative* p.f. (iii.6.7: viii.41.3) is at best a rare anomaly, I would strike out the stem *ūsh* and regard *ushās* as an A.p.f. without ending, and put *ushās* (i.69.1,9: vii.10.1: x.8.4) in the same category, as a G.s.f. without ending. In like manner is perhaps to be explained the form *sādas-pātī*, i.21.5; cf. *sādasas pātīm*, i.18.6.

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

I. There are 58 masculines (from 30 stems); 45 feminines (from one stem); and 304 neuters (from 35 stems).

Masculines: *āngirasas*; *ānagasas*; *āpasas*, 2; *āpākacakshasas*; *āpnasas*; *abhāvayayasas*; *arakshāsas*; *upamācṛavayasas*; *kṛshṇājānhasas*; *jātāvedasas*, 6; *tavāsas*, 6; *dānāpnasas*; *dīrghācṛavayasas*; *dvibārhasas*, 2; *nṛcākshasas*, 5; *pārī-dveshasas*; *pārīṇasas*, 2; *purubhōjasas*; *pr̥thubrāvasas*, 2; *prācetasas*; *prāmāhasas*; *bhā'tvakshasas*; *rakshāsas*, 5; *vicetasas*; *vidmanā'pasas*; *viśvāmanasas*; *vṛ'kadavarasas* (or A.p.); *vedhāsas*, 7; *sabā'dhasas*; *svāyācasas*.

Feminines: *ushāsas*, 44; *ushā'sas*, x.39.1 (see p. 546).

Neuters: *ānhasas*; *ānasas*; *āndhasas*, 56; *āpasas*; *āyasas*, 2; *ārṇasas*, 4; *āvasas*, 8; *ōkasas*, 2; *ōjasas*, 3; *gāvarṇasas*; *tāmasas*, 10; *tyājasas*, 2; *dākshasas*; *drāvinasas*, 3; *nābhasas*; *nāmasas*, 3; *pāyasas*, 2; *prāyasas*; *māncasas*, 12; *manasas*; *mēdasas*, 3; *rājasas*, 41; *rāpasas*, 2; *rā'dhasas*, 19; *rā'dhasas-rādhasas*; *rētasas*, 4; *vācasas*, 10; *vāpsasas*; *vāyasas*; *vārpasas*, 4; *vā'sasas*; *çavasas*, 19; *çavasas*, 16; *çrāvasas*, 4; *sādasas*; *sārapasas*; *sāhasas*, 13; *sahasas*, 47; *hārasas*.

In i.102.6 we read *pratimā'nam ōjasā'thā*, p. -asā *ātha*, and Benfey, *Abh.* xix.258, sees an instance of elision and crasis for *ōjasas*, as in verse 8. In i.62.9, *sūnūr dādhāra çavasā suddānsāh*, p. -ā, he sees loss of *visarga* and a metrical lengthening in the eighth place; *Sāy.*, *çavasah* . . . *putrah*. So in i.27.2, *sūnūh çavasā*; *Sāy.*, *balasya putrah*.

Contract form: *nṛmānās*, x.92.14.

Transition-forms (see pp. 553-557): II. *çārdhasya*; *niravāsya*; IV. *candrāmāsas*; *retodhāsas*; V. *dākshasas*; *doshāsas*.

II. In viii.3.6, *īndro mahnā' rōdasī paprathac chāva i*, *çavas* may pass for a G.s.n. without ending; 'Indra hath stretched out the heaven and the earth by the greatness of his might.' *Sāy.*, *çavasah* . . . *mahattvena*. For *sādas-pātī*, see Ab.s.n. Cf. the instrumentals, *vācas*, etc.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

There are 8 masculines (from 6 stems); 5 feminines (from one stem); and 45 neuters (from 18 stems).

Masculines: *ṛ'jānasi*; *gāvarṇasi*; *jātāvedasi*; *dāmānasi*; *prthuṇṇasi*; *satyā-ṇasi*, 3.

Feminine: *uśhāsi*, 5.

Neuters: *ānhāsi*; *āñjasi*, 2; *apāsi*, 2; *āvasi*, 2; *ā'gasi*; *ōkasi*, 2; *krāndasi*; *cākshasi*; *tāmasi*, 11; *nāmasi*; *pāyasi*; *mānasi*; *rājasi*, 6; *rā'dhāsi*; *rēlasi*, 2; *ṇasi*; *sādasi*, 8; *sārasi*.

Contract form: *uśāne* ??, i.51.11.

Transition-forms (see pp. 550-556): I. *āngire*; II. *hēde*; IV. *candrāmāsi*; *aprajasi*.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

There are 183 masculines (from 27 stems); 61 feminines (from 2 stems); and 2 neuters (from 2 stems).

Masculines: *āngiras*, 17; *ukthavāhas*; *upamaṇṇas*; *kārudhāyas*; *girvaṇas*, 35; *gīrvāhas*, 4; *jātāvedas*, 66; *devaṇṇas*; *dhṛṣhanmanas*, 2; *nṛcakshas*, 2; *nṛmanas*, 4; *nodhas*; *purūṇas*, 5; *pracetās*, 5; *brahmanavāhas*, 3; *mītramahas*, 13; *vājapramahas*; *viṇva-cakshas*; *-dhāyas*; *-manas*; *vrshamanas*, 2; *vedhas*, 7; *satyarādhas*, 2; *sudravāṇas*, 2; *sumahas*, 3; *svatavas*; *suojas*. For *gīrvāhas*, vi.24.6, Gr. reads *gīrvavāhas*; see p. 353 med.

Feminines: *dhānas*, 2; *uśhas*, 59; *tigmatejas*, AV. vi.63.2.

Neuters: *dravīṇas* (agne), iii.7.10; *chārdhas* (mā'ruta), v.46.2—cf. p. 339.

Transition-forms (see pp. 550-556): I. *āṇe*; II. *sāpratha*; IV. *candrāmās*; *vayodhās*; *dravīṇodās*, 6.

The TS. at i.5.11³ reads *pracetā rā'jan*: the original passage in the Rik, i.24.14, reads *pracetā rā'jan*, p. *pra-cetah* (Prāt. iv.13). In view of this irregular sandhi, we may take *pracetā* as voc. in vi.5.5, *sā mārteshu amṛta pracetā rāyā*, although the *pada* has *prā-cetāh*. The accent may be due to a misconception of the form. Cf. Benfey, *Abh.* xix.260.

NOM., ACC., AND VOC. DUAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. There are 114 masculines in -ā (from 54 stems); and 27 feminines in -ā (from 11 stems). The vocatives are included with the nominatives.

Masculines: *apāsā*; *arepāsā*; *ācūhēshasā*; *īyacakshasā*; *ukthavāhasā*; *urucākshasā*; *krshājasā*; *gambhīracetasā*; *goparṇasā*; *jātāvedasā* (vii.2.7); *tādokasā*; *tavāsā*; *navedasā*; *nṛcakshasā*; *nrvāhasā*, 2; *purudānsasā*, 4; *purubhojasā*; *pūtādakshasā*, 4; *prthupākshasā*; *prācetasā*, 6; *prāmahasā*, 2; *bodhinmanasā*; *matavacasā*; *manojavasā*; *yajñavāhasā*, 2; *yaçāsā*, 3; *riçādasā*, 4; *vatsapracetasā*; *vicetasā*, 2; *vipakshasā*; *vipravāhasā*; *viçvā-bhojasā*; *-vedasā*, 4; *vedhasā*; *viēnasā*; *ṛṣhāhavaracasā*; *sajōshasā*, 27; *sāmanasā*, 6; *samānāvaracasā*; *sāmokasā*, 5; *sāvayasā*, 2; *sāvedasā*; *sindhuvāhasā*; *sudānsasā*; *suprayasā*; *surādhasā*; *surētasā*; *suwācasā*; *suṇvasā*; *hitāprayasā*; *hīraṇyapeçasā*, 2; further, *candrāmāsā*; *sūryācandrāmāsā*; *toçā'sā* (see p. 545).

Feminines: *anehasā*; *uruvyācasā*; *bhū'ri-retasā*, 3 (and AV. viii.9.12); *-varpasā*; *viçvāpeçasā*; *sācetasā*; *sāmanasā*; *sudānsasā*, 2; *supēçasā*, 5; *uśhāsā*, 4; *uśhā'sā*, p. ā', 2; *nāktoshā'sā*, p. ā', 5; see page 546.

The late verse, RV. x.14.11, has very properly the modern form *nṛcákshasau* at the end of *b*. For this, the Atharvan, perhaps with affected archaism, reads *nṛcákshasá*, xviii.2.12.

II. There are 7 forms in *-au*: (masc.) *arepásau*; *nṛcákshasau*; *viçvágardhasau*; and, *sūryācandramásau*, 2;— (fem.) *yaçásau*; *ushá'sau*, p. á', see p. 546.

The Atharvan, at xiv.2.16, modernizes *viénasá* of the Rik (iii. 33.13) to *viénasau*.

Contract form: *purudánsá*?, vii.73.1.

Transition-forms: I. *sajóshau*; *ushé*; II. *adveshé*; *vidradhé*; IV. *candramásá*; *sūryācandramá'sá*; *-au*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL NEUTER.

Here belong: *ándhasí*; *krándasí*, 3; *jánasí*; *nd'dhasí*; *pá'jasí*; *rájasi*, 9; *vácasi*; from AV., *nábhasí*, v.18.5; 20.7: xi.5.8,11: xii.3.5,6: xvii.16; *pákshasí*, viii.8.22; from TS., *drádhasi*, iii.2.2².

INSTRUMENTAL AND GENITIVE DUAL FEMININE.

Transition-form: I. *ushá'bhyám*, p. 551.

Transition-forms: VI. *ródas-os*; *aksh-ós*?, p. 558.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

There are 287 masculines (from 92 stems); and 94 feminines (from 17 stems). Vocatives are counted with nominatives.

Masculines: *ágiraukasas*; *ángirasas*, 19; *acetásas*; *acodásas*; *ádbhutainasas*; *anavabhrárádhasas*, 4; *ánágasas*, 7; *anehásas*, 3; *apásas*, 5; *arepásas*, 7; *ávicetasas*; *apéshasas*; *áçvarádhasas*, 2; *ásámiçavasas*; *áhanásas*; *ukthávdhasas*; *údojasas*; *kshetrasá'dhasas*; *gambhírávepasas*; *ghṛshvīrádhasas*; *ghorávarpasas*, 2; *citrárádhasas*; *tádokasas*; *tavásas*, 2; *tuviśhvánásas*; *dámánasas*; *duvásas*; *dvivárhasas*; *dhrshnúojasas*; *návedasas*, 2; *nṛcákshasas*, 6; *pūtádakshasas*, 2; *prthupá'jasas*; *práçetasas*, 14; *pratijútivarpasas*; *prátavasas*; *prátvakshasas*, 2; *práçravasas*; *bádhójasas*, 2; *bhālánásas*; *(bhá'rivarpasas, better A.p.f.)*; *mádhuparasas*; *mrgayásas*; *yañnavádhassas*; *yaçásas*, 5; *yutádveshasas*; *rakshásas*; *riç'd'asas*, 14; *rukmvakshasas*, 6; *váruṇaçeshasas*; *vá'ta-ranhasas*, 2; *-svanasas*; *vicetasas*, 4; *viðmaná'pasas*; *vidyūnmahasas*; *vipravacasas*; *vimahasas*; *viçvādhāyasas*; *-mahasas*; *-vedasas*, 17; *viśhvardhasas*; *viñāyasas*; *vṛddhāçavasas*, 2; *vedhásas*, 18; *çikvasas*, 3; *çrēṣṭhavarçacasas*; *sáçetasas*, 4; *sajóshasas*, 28; *satyaçavasas*, 2; *sabharasas*; *sámanasas*, 8; *sámokasas*; *sāvayyasas*; *sahāchandasas*; *sahāsarapájasas*, 2; *sucákshasas*; *sucétasas*; *sudánsasas*, 2; *supṭvāsas*; *supéçasas*, 2; *suprácetasas*; *sumánasas*, 5; *sumahasas*; *sumedhasas*, 4; *surá'dhasas*, 2; *sū'racakshasas*, 4; *stómavádhassas*, 3; *svátavasas*, 6; *svápapasas*, 5; *svápnasas*; *svāyāçasas*, 3; *svávāsas*, 2; *hitáprayasas*, 4. For *sapsará'sas*, see p. 546.

Feminines: *agnibhrájasas*; *anehásas*, 18; *apásas*, 4; *apsarasas*; *trshucyávasas*; *dhānvarnasas*; *nṛpéçasas*; *práçetasas*; *prásvddasas*; *mádhvarçasas*; *yaçásas*, 2; *vicetasas*; *supéçasas*, 2; *sū'dadohasas*; *svápapasas*; *svāyāçasas*; *ushásas*, 41; *ushá'sas*, p. á', 15, see p. 546.

In i.79.1, I would read *çúcibhrájdás[a]* *usháso návedás* (cf. p. 345 med.), and take all three words as N.p.fem. (cf. p. 362). 'Bright gleaming are the dawns, his companions.'

Contract forms: (masc.) *návedás*, i.165.13; *ángirás*, i.83.4; *ánágás*, vii.87.7; 97.2: x.36.12; *anehád's*?, x.61.12; *sajóshás*, 19 times; (fem.) *medhád's*, Vâl. 4.9; *ájoshás*, i.9.4; *surá'dhás*, iii. 33.12; *návedás*, i.79.1.

Transition-forms (see p. 550-557): I. *āṣḍ's*; II. *peṣḍ's*; IV. *vayodhāśas*; *suprajāśas*; *divākshāśas*; V. *veṣḍ's*; *pāriveṣḍ's*; *sabharāśas*; *twiṣhvāṣḍ's*; *vā'tasvanāśas*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

Here belong 284 forms (from 49 stems).

Enumeration: *ānhāṣi*, 2; *āṅkāṣi*; *āndhāṣi*, 6; *āpāṣi*, 13; *ārṇāṣi*, 9; *āvāṣi*, 4; *ā'gāṣi*; *ēdāṣi*, 2; *ōkāṣi*, 2; *ōjāṣi*; *kārāṣi*; *chāmdāṣi*, 4; *jāvāṣi*; *jṛāyāṣi*, 4; *tāmāṣi*, 25; *tvākshāṣi*; *dāṅsāṣi*, 3; *dāvāṣi*, 2; *dvēshāṣi*, 15; *pāyāṣi*, 6; *pā'jāṣi*, 2; *pēḍāṣi*; *prāyāṣi*, 14; *bhā'sāṣi*; *māndāṣi*, 6; *māhāṣi*, 3; *rākshāṣi*, 20; *rājāṣi*, 39; *rāpāṣi*, 4; *rā'dhāṣi*, 12; *rētāṣi*, 2; *rōdhāṣi*, 2; *rōhāṣi*; *vākshāṣi*; *vācāṣi*, 12; *vāyāṣi*, 4; *vārāṣi*, 5; *vārīvāṣi*; *vārpāṣi*, 3; *vā'sāṣi*; *ṣārdhāṣi*, 3; *ṣāvāṣi*, 7; *ṣrāvāṣi*, 18; *sādāṣi*, 3; *sārāṣi*, 6; *sāhāṣi*, 4; *skāndhāṣi*; *hēdāṣi*; *hvarāṣi*, 4; from AV., *rākshāṣi*, vocative, xi.10.1.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

I. There are 51 masculines (from 21 stems); and 41 feminines (from 16 stems).

Masculines: *āṅgirasas*; *āṇḍgasas*, 5; *anehāśas*; *āpracetāśas*, 2; *arādhāśas*, 3; *urucākshāśas*; *twirā'dhasas*, 2; *dhvarāśas*; *pūtādakshāśas*; *prācetāśas*, 2; *bṛhācchravasas*; *yajñāvanāśas*; *yāśas*; *rakshāśas*, 20; *riṣā'dasas*; *vīmahāśas*; *vīshpardhasas*, 2; (*vr'kadavarāśas*, G.s.m.); *vedhāśas*; *supēśas*; *surā'dhasas*, 2; *suāpnāśas*.

Feminines: *ajavāśas*; *anapnāśas*; *anehāśas*; *apāśas*; *apsarāśas*, 2; *arīdhāyāśas*; *gharmāśvarāśas*; *tādapāśas*, Khila; *bhū'rīvarpāśas*; *yāśas*; *vā'ja-draviṇāśas*; *-ṣravāśas*; *viṣvā-dohāśas*; *-dhāyāśas*; *supēśas*; *ushāśas*, 25; for *ushā'sas*, x.39.1, see p. 546.

Contract forms: (masc.) *āṇḍgās*, vii.60.1; 66.4; *sumedhā's*?, vii.91.3; (fem.) *ushā's*, ix.41.5.

Transition-forms (see pp. 551-557): I. *āṇḍgān*; II. *ṣārdhān*; IV. *īdāprajāśas*; *kshāśas*?; V. *gharmāśvarāśas*.

II. In iii.6.7: viii.41.3, I take *ushās* as A.p.f. without ending (p. 563). Perhaps also the best solution of the vexed passage, i.112.18, *aṅgiro m-*, p. *aṅgīrah*, is to read *āṅgīras*, taking this as an A.p.m. without ending, for *āṅgīrasas*. The strange form was probably mistaken by the copyist for a voc., and so left unaccented. See p. 342-3.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *agnitāpobhis*; *āṅgirobhis*, 10; *svāyācobhis*.

Feminine: *svāyācobhis* (*ūti'*).

Neuters (127, from 22 stems): *ārṇobhis*; *āvobhis*, 17; *ōjobhis*; *tāpobhis*; *tāmobhis*; *tārobhis*, 2; *dānsobhis*, 2; *dvēshobhis*; *dhā'yobhis*; *nābhobhis*; *nāmobhis*, 45; *pāyobhis*, 5; *prāyobhis*, 2; *māhobhis*, 13; *rājobhis*, 3; *rā'dhobhis*; *vācobhis*, 13; *vāyobhis*; *vārobhis*; *ṣāvobhis*, 2; *ṣrāvobhis*, 6; *sāhobhis*, 7.

Transition-form: *medhā'bhis*, p. 552.

Forms after the analogy of the dental stems. Here belongs *ushād-bhis*, i.6.3. For convenience of reference, the other similar forms are collected here: *svātavad-bhyas*, VS. xxiv.16: Kāty.

Çr. v.1.16: Kâth. xxxvi.1 (regular, *svátavobhyas*, Çat.Br. ii.5.1¹⁴); *mâd-bhîs*, *-bhyâs* (p. 497); *ad-bhîs*, *-bhyâs* (p. 483); *at-sú!*, cited by Prof. Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iii. p. ? . Cf. Pân. vii.4.48; Weber, *Beiträge*, iii.387; Brugman, *Zeitsch.* xxiv.70.

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

Datives masc.: *áṅgirobhyas*, 4; *-bhyas*, Gr. *-bhias*, i.139.7: viii.52.3: ix.62.9.

Datives neut.: *rákshobhyas*; *váyobhyas*, AV. vi.10.2.

Ablative neuter: *dvêshobhyas*.

Transition-forms: I. *âçâbhyas*; *apsarâ'bhyas*; pp. 550, 551.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTER.

Masculines: *áṅgirasâm*, 8; *âdbhutainasâm*; *apâsâm*, 3; *âstheyasâm*; *tavâsâm*; *dasmâvarcasâm*; *mahâmanasâm*; *yaçâsâm*, 2; *vedhâsâm*; *stômaçâsâm*.

Feminines: *apâsâm*, 3; *apsarâsâm*; *nâkshatraçavasâm*; *ushâsâm*, 22; for *ushâ'sâm*, see p. 546.

Neuters: *chândasâm*; *râ'dhasâm*; *vêdasâm*; *târasâm*, AV. x.10.24.

Contract form: *vayâ'm?*, see p. 552.

Transition-forms (see pp. 551–558): I. *apsarândâm*; III. *mahânasândâm*; *pracetasândâm*; IV. *purodhasâm*; VI. *sârasâm*.

LOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

I. Neuters: *â'dhassu*, x.49.10; *râjassu*, vii.34.16: viii.66.5: x.43.8; *vâkshassu*, i.64.4; 166.10: v.54.11: vii.56.13; *çrâvassu*, iii.37.7; *sâdassu*, vii.85.3; from AV., *vâyâhsu*, iii.21.2. See Whitney to Ath. Pr. ii.40. The Rik-forms are all written with *-hsu* in Müller's first and second editions and in Aufrecht's first; and with *-ssu* in Aufrecht's second; cf. p. 573 end. The *ss* makes the syllable long by position; as in vii.85.3a.

Transition-forms: I. *apsarâ'su*, p. 551; II. *purupêçâsu*, p. 554.

II. In AV. vi.35.2, *agnîr* (*na â'gumad*) *ukthêshu ânhasu*, Agni's presence is invoked not only at their 'festal songs,' but also 'in adversity.' At any rate, I can make nothing of *ânha-su* but a L.p. of *ânhas-* (cf. Ath. Pr. iv.32). If this is admissible, we may also take *apâ-su*, viii.4.14, for *apâs-su*, 'bei den emsigen.' Sây., *asmâdîyeshu karmasu* . . . *sakâro lupyate*. *Bradhnâm* refers to the soma; and if we took *apâ-su* for *ap-sú* (cf. p. 484), the result would be an uninvitingly thin drink for Indra. Cf. *mâ-sú* for *mâssú*, p. 497. See p. 554, II. end.

The same peculiarity is seen in several Zend forms: *usha-hva*, Vend. xxi.3; *areza-hva*, ibidem, *bis*; *hazairô-tema-hva-ca*, Yt. xv.53; *âza-hu*, Yaç. x.17; *âza-hâ*, Yt. xxiv.51. The last two forms agree remarkably with *ânha-su*, above. Examples of the regular form are: *temô-hva*, Yt. xxii.33; *uzirô-hva*, Vend. xxi.3.

STEMS IN *IS* AND *US*.

The stems in *is* and *us* show almost no feminine forms. The stems in *is* include about twelve neuters (10 oxytones); the masculines, excepting *āmis*, are exclusively compounds of these neuters. The forms are enumerated under category A.

The stems in *us* include neuters and masculine compounds thereof; and also a number of primary masculines: as, *nāhus*. The forms are enumerated under category B.

Stems in *is* and *us* distinguish strong and weak cases only in the N.A.p.n., where the thematic *i* or *u* is lengthened and nasalized, precisely as with the *as*-stems.

The relations of stems in *is* and *us* to equivalent vocalic themes demand a treatment, which, as far as it goes, is parallel with that of the preceding chapter (p. 548). I shall therefore discuss:

I. Transitions of the stems in *is* and *us* to the declensions in *i* and *u* (cf. II. p. 553).

II. Transitions to the *a*-declension (cf. III. p. 554).

III. Transitions of stems in *i* and *u* to the *s*-declension (cf. V. p. 556).

I. TRANSITIONS TO THE DECLENSIONS IN *I* AND *U*.

Just as a neuter like *hēdas* (p. 553) passes into the *a*-declension (*hēda-m*), so here a neuter like *arcis* passes into the *i*-declension (*arcāyas*).

A. 1. The stem *çocis* and its compounds occur frequently; see BR. The form *çocis* is sometimes marked as a neuter by an adjective, if nom. (e. g. viii.23.4); and by the construction, if acc. In vii.3.5*d*, however, *didāya çocir āhutasya vr'shnah*, it may easily be felt as a N.s.masc.; so also in vi.64.2*b* and vii.16.3*a*; in x.16.4*b*, *tām te çocī-s tapatu, tām te arcī-h*; and in AV. i.25.2.

As transition-forms may be regarded: (*yā's te*) *çocāyas*, AV. xviii.2.9; *pāvaka-çoce*, 2; *bhadra-çoce*, 4; *çukra-çoce*; see p. 390 top. In vi.64.2*b*, *ūt te çocir bhānāvo dyā'm apaptan*, Gr. proposed the transition-form *çocēs* (Ueb. i.581); but this is unnecessary. Translate: 'Up sped thy light—thy beams unto heaven.'

2. In x.16(842).4: AV. i.25.2: xii.1.51, *arcis* may be N.s. neuter of *arcis*, or N.s.m. of *arci* (*arci-s*). Such a form is the point of departure for the two transition-forms: *arcāyas*, RV., 14; *arci-bhis*, vi.48.7: v.79.8. In the latter passage it is called out by the formal parallelism of the verse: *sākām sār'yasya raçmībhiḥ | çukraḥ çocadbhir arcībhiḥ*. In ii.3.2, *suarcis* (*nārd-çānsas*) may just as well be referred to *suarcis* as to *suarci* (BR., Gr.).

3. The stem *krav-is* is a correct formation; with it cf. *ā-kravi-hasta*, v.62.6.

4. With *jyōtis* cf. *jyoti*, Kern, Translation of Brh. S., p. 135, note 2.

B. 5. The stem *cákshus* is well authenticated; but its nom. *cákshus* might be felt as a N.s.masc., *cákshu-s*, in x.8.5 and 16.3. Such ambiguities account for the transition-forms: *cákshos* (see p. 410 top) and *sahasra-cáksho* (p. 412 end).

6. In like manner the stem *tápus* is amply supported. The ambiguous N.s. *tápus*, vii.104.2, is referred by Gr. to stem *tápus*; but by BR. to *tápu*. So *tápus* (*agnís*), ii.4.6, may just as well be referred to *tápus*, although both lexica agree in assigning it to *tápu*. There remains only one form, *tápos*, ix.83.2, to be ascribed to false analogy.

7. The form *dhánus*, 'a bow,' is generally neuter—stem *dhánus*. In the late hymn vi.75, verse 2, it *may* be masc. (*dhánu-s*); while in Hit. Procēm. 22, *dhanu-s nirgunas*, it *must* be masc., i. e. a form of transition to the *u*-declension.

8. The Rik has 17 forms from *vanús*, and but two from *vanú*: viz., *-úm* and *-á'n*. The latter are probably transition-forms; but a nom. *vanú-s* does not occur.

9. At iii.699, BR. refer the $\tilde{\alpha}\pi$. λ . *duhçá'sus*, N.s.m., x.33.1, to *duh-çá'su*; but at vii.170, correctly, to *duh-çá'sus*. Cf. Gr.

10. The N.s.m. *vidús*, i.71.10: vii.18.2, is referred to *vidús*. It might be referred to *vidú*; cf. *rip-ú*, *vidh-ú*.

11. Probably *táru* has nothing to do with *tárus*. The $\tilde{\alpha}\pi$. λ . *tárubhis* in the late and corrupt hymn v.44, verse 5, seems to me to be a vague reminiscence of *tárobbhis*, ii.39.3, q.v.

12. The stems *áyú*, 'active, lively,' and *á'yus*, 'life,' are of course independent formations. The latter is of frequent occurrence in the Rik (92 forms), and is supported by the compound stems *kshitá'yus*, *citrá'yus*, *dirghá'yus*, *púrváyus*?, *çatá'yus* (all posited by Gr.), *sarvá'yus*, *gatáyus*, and, as I think, by *viçváyus*.

I do not believe that there was another stem *á'yu*, 'life,' of independent formation. BR. refer *á'yus*, i.66.1, to *á'yus*; Gr., to *á'yu*. In x.17.4, also, Grassmann's *á'yu-s* can just as well be taken as a neuter. The Rik has but one form not referable to *á'yus*, viz., *á'yuni* (3); and I therefore regard this as a transition-form, and *á'yu* as a secondary stem.

But in support of *á'yu*, 'life,' BR. (i.678) quote the compounds *adabdháyu*, *kshitá'yu*, *dirghá'yu*, *viçvá'yu*, *vṛddhá'yu*, and *sarv-á'yu*. Even these, I suspect, fail to establish a stem *á'yu*.

a. The $\tilde{\alpha}\pi$. λ . *kshitá'yus*, N.s.m., is referred by Gr., and even by BR. s.v., to an *us*-stem.

b. The N.s.m. *sarváyus*, VS. xxxviii.20: Çat.Br. xiv.3.1¹⁸: Ait. Br. ii.7, is referred by BR. to "*sarváyus* or *-us*;" better, I think, to *-us*.

c. *Dirghá'yush-am* occurs iv.15.10; in verse 9, *dirghá'yus* is a N.s.m. of ambiguous stem; so in x.85.39 and VS. xii.100a; and in VS. xii.100c, N.s.f. Such forms pave the way to the true transition-vocative, *dirgháyo*, viii.59.7.

d. Entirely similar is the V.s.m. (*ágne*) *adabdháyo*, VS. ii.20.

e. In i.10.12, *vṛddhá'yu-m* is merely a $\tilde{\alpha}\pi$. λ .

f. The N.s. *viçváyus* occurs in the Rik 18 times, and in VS. xxxviii.20 parallel with *sarváyus*. Since the support for a real stem *á'yu* is so weak, I am tempted to refer this N.s. to stem *viçváyus*, and to regard *-u* (5), *-um* (3), *-ave*, and *-os* as forms of transition.

In i.31.5d, *ékāyur āgre viça āvīdāsasi* (BR. -ti), the *āp. λ. ékāyur* may be taken as voc. or as nom. of *ékāyus* (*éka + á'yus*), 'having unique vigor,' i. e. 'of incomparable might.' BR. (i.1087, q.v.) refer it to *ékāyu*, i. e. *éka + áyú*. In no case is it to be taken, with Gr., as a compound of *á'yu*.

II. TRANSITIONS TO THE A-DECLENSION.

The transition results in forms from a longer vocalic theme; cf. pp. 554-5.

B. 1. The stem *náhus* is a primary formation. From some of its ambiguous forms has arisen by way of transition the secondary stem *náhussha*. Thus in x.99.7c, *sá nr'tamo náhusko'smát sújātah*, *ná-* may be G.s.m. of the collective *náhus*: 'He, the manliest of the neighborhood,' i. e. 'of our allies;' or N.s.m., *náhussha-s*: 'He, the manliest ally.' The same ambiguity prevails in i.122.10 (Gr., A.p.m.; Ludwig, N.s.m.). Corresponding to *náhussha-s* is made the G.s. *náhuskasya*, i.31.11: v.12.6; and the L.s. *náhushe*, viii.46.27. The stem *náhussha* survives the Vedic period.

2. The stem *mánusha* never had any real existence. In i.26.4, *mánush-as* is N.p.m.; but it may easily be felt as a N.s.m., *mánusha-s*. *Mánushas* in x.11.5 is taken as G.s.m. by Ludwig and Gr. *Ueb.*; and as N.s.m. by BR. and Gr. *Wb.* In x.49(875).7, it is by no means an *a*-form. In the Rik there are but two real transition-forms: *mánushāya*, i.117.21: x.65.4; *-asya*, i.31.11 (cf. *náhuskasya*).

3. The *āp. λ. vāpushāya* (= *vāpush-e*), iii.2.15, is perhaps a false form called forth by the metre.

III. TRANSITIONS TO THE S-DECLENSION.

A. 1. BR. derive the *āp. λ. surabhīsh-tama*, i.186.7, from "*surabhīs*, nom. of *surabhī*." Cf. *īndras-vantam*, iv.37.5.

2. The compounds with *tuvi-* are numerous. With *tuvis-* we find only *túvish-mant* (13) and *túvish-tama* (3). One occurrence of the latter, curiously enough, is in the verse next before *sura-bhīsh-tama*. The AV. *pada* reads *tuvi-tama*, Prât. iii.96. Since the suffix *is* is regularly accompanied by guna (cf. *krav-is*, *hav-is*, *roc-is*, *vart-is*), I am the more inclined here to regard *tuvi-* (cf. *yá'-yuv-i*) as the original formation. Otherwise, we should expect *tav-is*.

B. 3. Since a suffix *su* is at best very doubtful, I regard *dhákshu* as an adj. from a desiderative without reduplication, *dháksh-u*, for *di-dhaksh-ú*, like *tr'ts-u* for *ti-trts-ú*. This occurs in x.115.4, *dhákshos*; and in ii.4.4, *dhákshos*—*sanhita dákshos* (Prât. iv.41). And since a suffix *us*, or *us* added to a desiderative stem (*cákshus*=*ca-kas-us*), is unheard-of, I would consider the form *dhákshúsh-as*, i.141.7, *sanhita da-* (Pr. iv.41), as due to false analogy.

4. Perhaps the stems *mánu* and *mánus* are independent formations; cf. *mánavá* and *má'nusha*, *manuvát* and *manushvát*. It is to be noted, however, that while *mánu* has a tolerably complete inflection (*-us*, 15; *-um*, 3; *-uná*; *-ave*, 36; *-os*, 8; *-au*, *-áú*, 5; *-avas*, 4; *-ándm*; *sum*, 73), only 3 forms of *mánus* are used (*-ushá*,

2; *-ushe*, 8; *-ushas*, 47); and that while *mānu* remains in use in the later language, *mānus* becomes obsolete. Perhaps, then, the Vedic forms of *mānus* are due to false analogy, *mānu-s* being felt as N.s.m. of a stem *mānus*. Cf. also *viçvā-mānuṣh-ām*.

5. With *āprāyu* (root *yu*), cf. *āprāyush-e*, ᾠπ. λ., i.127.5.

THE FEMININE FORMS.

A. Sole example: *svā-çocis* (*rodasī*), N.s., vi.66.6.

B. Here belong: N.s., *āghoracakshus* (*āpatighnī*), x.85.44; *cākshus* (*devī*), i.92.9; *citrāyus* (*kanīdā*), vi.49.7; *hradēcakshus* (*çrēnis*), x.95.6; A.d., *tāpushā* (*cakriyā*), ii.34.9—see p. 391, C.2; A.p., *gōvapushas*, x.68.9.

THE MASCULINES AND NEUTERS.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong: *āhavis*; *krshnāvyathis*; *citrā-çocis*; *durōka*; *çukrā*; *stīrnābarhis*; *svārocis*; *suarcis* (p. 568); from AV., *jīvā-barhis*, xi.7.7.

B. Here belong: *kshītā'yus*; *cākshus* (x.8.5); *dīrghā'yus*, 2; *duhçā'sus*; *vāpus*, 2; *vidūs*?, 2; *viçvātāçcakshus*; from AV., *kshītā'yus*, iii.11.2; *sahāsrā'yus*, xvii.27; *ādabdhacakshus*, xiii.2.44; *vīparus*, vii.56.4; *sārvaparus*, xi.3.32–49bis.

Transition-forms (see pp. 568–571): I. *çocis-s*; *arcis-s*; *cākshu-s*; *tāpu-s*; *dhanu-s*; *vidūs-s*?; *dīrghā'yus-s*?; II. *nāhuṣha-s*?; *mānuṣha-s*?; III. *mānus*?

If, with BR. and Gr., we refer the form *janū's*, vii.58.2, to *janūs*, then the long *ū* is entirely anomalous. Does it not belong in the same category as *prajanū'*, *dhanū'* (p. 402, 2)? if so, we should add it on p. 406, N.s.f., C.2, *janū'-s*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER.

A. Here belong 320 forms (from 10 stems): *arcis*, 6; *chadīs*; *chardīs*, 19; *jyōtis*, 96; *barhis*, 86; *vartīs*, 25; *vyāthis*, 5; *çocis*, 15; *sarpīs*; *havis*, 65; *havis-havis*; from AV., *kravis* (viii.6.23); etc.

B. Here belong 143 forms (from 8 stems): *ā'yus*, 76; *cākshus*, 33; *tāpus*, 2; *dhanus*, 6; *pārus*; *pārus-parus*, 2; *yājus*, 5; *vāpus*, 13; *çā'sus*, 5; from AV., *ārus* (v.5.4); *īndradhanūs* (xv.1.6); etc.

Transition-forms (p. 569): I. *viçvā'yū*?. In i.89.9 and iii.49.2, Gr. would read *ā'yū*, text *ā'yur* (cf. p. 406); but see Müller, Translation, p. cxxxiii.

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.

A. Here belong: *-çocisham*, with *āgrbhīta*, 2; *ajirā*; *ūrdhvā*; *citrā*, 2; *dīrghā'yū*; *pāvakā*, 6; *çirā*, 2; *çukrā*, 2; *çrēshtha*; — *citrā-barhisham*, 2; *vrktā*; *subarhisham*; from AV., *dākshinā-jyotisham*, ix.5.22, 24–26, 28, 31–36; *hīranya*, x.9.6.

B. Here belong: *janūsham*, 3; *dīrghā'yusham*; *pūrvā'yūsham*?; *çatd'yusham*.

Transition-forms (p. 569): I. *vanūm*; *vṛddhā'yum*, *viçvā'yum*?

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Neuters (141, from 7 stems): *arcīshā*, 14; *kravīshā*; *jyōtishā*, 34; *rocīshā*; *ṣocīshā*, 34; *sarpīshā*; *havīshā*, 56.

B. Masculines: *tāpushā*; *nāhushā*; *vanūshā*.

Neuters: *ā'yushā*, 4; *cākshushā*, 2; *janūshā*, 20; *tāpushā*; *pārushā*; *yājushā*; *ṣatā'yushā*, 2.

Transition-form (p. 571): III. *mānush-ā*?, 2.

DATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *tigmā-ṣocishe*; *pāvakā-*; *ṣukrā-*, 3; *vṛktā-barhishe*, 3; *stīrnā-*; *rātāhavishe*; *suhāvishe*.

Neuters: *ṣocishe*; *havīshe*; *jyōtishe*, AV. vi.61.1.

B. Masculines: *cākshushe-cakshushe*; *vanūshe*.

Neuters: *cākshushe*, 2; *janūshe*; *vāpushe*, 8; from AV., *tāpushe*, i.13.3; *ā'yushe*, 20 times, as i.35.1.

Transition-forms (see pp. 569–571): I. *viṣvā'yave*?; II. *mānushāya*; *vāpushāya*; III. *mānush-e*?, 8; *āprāyushe*.

ABLATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Neuters: *barhīshas*; *havīshas*; *jyōtishas*, AV. iv.1.5; 10.1.

B. Masculines: *nāhushas*, 2; *vāpushas*.

Neuters: *janūshas*, 4; *vāpushas*.

Transition-forms (see pp. 569–571): I. *cākshos*?; III. *mānush-as*?

GENITIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculines: *pāvakā-ṣocishas*; *vṛddhā-*; *vásurocishas*; *vṛktābarhishas*, 5.

Neuters: *kravīshas*, 2; *chardīshas*; *jyōtishas*, 4; *barhīshas*, 6; *ṣocīshas*; *ṣocishas pate*; *sarpīshas*, 2; *havīshas*, 11.

B. Masculines: *cākshushas*; *nāhushas*, 2; *vanūshas*, 3.

Neuters: *ā'yushas*; *cākshushas*; *tāpushas*; *tārushas*, 2; *pārushas*; *vāpushas*.

Transition-forms (see pp. 568–571): I. *ṣocēs*?; *tāpos*; *viṣvā'yos*?; II. *nāhushasya*; *mānushasya*; III. *dhakshūsh-as*; *mānush-as*?, 37.

Genitive without ending (? cf. pp. 562–3): *ā'yur ná prānō*, i.66.1.

LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Masculine: *ā'mishi*, 2. Neuters: *arcīshi*; *jyōtishi*; *tri-barhīshi*; *barhīshi*, 44; *havīshi*, 3.

B. Neuters: *ā'yushi*, 2; *tārushi*; *pārushi*; *vāpushi*.

Transition-forms (see pp. 569–570): I. *ā'yunī*, 3; II. *nāhushe*.

VOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Neuter: (*deva*) *barhis*, ii.3.4: x.70.4.

B. Masculine: *ékāyus*?, i.31.5; see p. 570 top.

Transition-forms (see pp. 568–569): I. *pāvakaṣoce*, 2; *bhadraṣoce*, 4; *ṣukraṣoce*; *saḥasracaksho*, AV. iv.20.5: xix.35.3; *ḍīr-*

ghāyo, RV. viii.59.7; *adabdhāyo*, VS. ii.20. These vocatives are especially interesting and instructive as illustrating the manner of avoiding unfamiliar forms; cf. pages 390 top and 412 end. One need only study the dictionary articles *pāvākāṣocis* etc., in order to be convinced that they are true transition-forms.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE DUAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

B. Masculine: *jayúshā*, 3. Here also belongs *cákshushā*, ii. 39.5b: 'Ye (who are) discerning as two eyes, come hither.' I take *akshī* as fem., p. 391 med.

Neuters: *janúshī*; *cákshushī*, AV. ix.5.21.

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belong: *ágrbhūta-ṣocishas*; *ajirá*; *vṛktá-barhishas*, 14; *vṛkta*, 3; *su*; *sádma*; *sujoyótishas*; *sujoyotishas* (x.89.15); *svárocishas*.

B. Here belong: *náhusas*; *vanúshas*, 6; *vápúshas*.

Transition-forms (see pp. 568-571): I. *ṣocáyas*; *arcáyas*; III. *mánush-as*?, 5; *manush-as*.

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. Here belong: *arci'ñshi*; *jyótiñshi*, 8; *ṣoci'ñshi*, 2; *hav-i'ñshi*, 15; cf. AV. xi.5.13: x.7.40: v.27.1: iv.26.4.

B. Here belong: *áyūñshi*, 9; *cákshūñshi*; *janū'ñshi*, 3; *táp-āñshi*, 2; *vápūñshi*, 8; from AV., *yájūñshī* (e. g. v.26.1); *pár-āñshī* (e. g. ix.6.1: VS. xviii.3); etc.

ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE.

A. Here belongs *sujoyótishas*.

B. Here belong: *náhusas*, 3; *vanúshas*.

Transition-forms: I. *vanū'n*, p. 569; *mánush-as*?, 2, p. 571.

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL NEUTER.

A. Sole example: *havírbhis*, 12, and AV. xviii.3.63; 4.54.

B. Here belong: *vápurbhis*; *dhánurbhis*, AV. v.18.8.

Transition-form: I. *arci-bhis*, p. 568.

GENITIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

A. Neuters: *jyótishām*, 2; *havishām*, AV. vi.15.3.

B. Masculines: *vanúshām*, 5. Neuters: *janúshām*, 2; *váp-ushām*, 2; from AV., *cákshushām*, v.24.9; *yájushām*, xv.6.3.

Transition-form: *vicvā-manush-ām*?, p. 571.

LOCATIVE PLURAL NEUTER.

A. Sole example: *havishshu*, ix.7.2; so Müller's first and second editions and Aufrecht's second. Aufrecht's first edition writes *havīshshu*. Cf. p. 567.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. *Dual Forms in -â and -au from Stems not ending in a.*

§1. The N.A.V.d.m. of *a*-stems ends generally in *-â* (1129 forms, from 358 stems); sometimes in *-au* (171 forms, from 87 stems). The first two sums require several corrections. The 15 forms in *-â*, p. *-au* (p. 341), should be added, of which 7 are from uncounted stems; and *purôhitâ* *r-*, p. *-â* (p. 342 end), should be added, since the other cases like it are included. The correct sums are then: 1145 forms, from 366 stems.

§2. The circumstances of occurrence are given above, pages 340-342, which see; cf. also p. 427.

§3. Either of these two endings *may* also appear in the N.A.V.d. masc. and fem. of *all* non-*a*-stems, excepting those in short *i* and *û* of series A (pp. 366, 401), and those in long *i* of series B. There occur in the Rik 1246 dual forms in *-â* (from 354 non-*a*-stems); and 122 in *-au* (from 58 non-*a*-stems).

On page 390 are given from stems in *i*, m., 13 forms in *-â* and 0 in *-au*; p. 391, *i*, f., 14 and 0; p. 400, *sâkhây*, 6 and 1; p. 413, *û*, m., 21 and 0; f., 15 and 0; p. 427, *r*, 176 and 10; pp. 431-3, *gô*, *dyô*, *vrshîdyô*, 30 and 4; p. 449, rad. *a*, *â*, 27 and 7; p. 458, *ac*, 8 and 0; p. 460, *c*, 7 and 3; p. 461, *ch*, 1 and 0; p. 464, *j*, 45 and 3; p. 468, *t*, 14 and 2; p. 473-4, *d*, 16 and 1; p. 477, *dh*, 20 and 2; p. 480, *n*, 8 and 0; p. 482, *p*, 2 and 0; p. 485, *m*, 9 and 0; p. 488, *r*, 13 and 4; p. 491, *ç*, 7 and 1; p. 496, *s*, 7 and 0; p. 500, *h*, 11 and 2; p. 503, voc. root+*t*, 14 and 3; p. 509, *nt*, *t*, 86 and 16; p. 513, *vañs*, 13 and 1; p. 520, *vant*, *mant*, 25 and 2; p. 528, l 1, *sasthâ'vânâ*; p. 537, *van*, *man*, *an*, 121 and 22; p. 544, *in*, 369 and 32; p. 564-5, *as*, 141 and 7; p. 571, l 11, *tâpushâ*; p. 573, *us*, 4 and 0. The sums are 1245 forms in *-â* and 123 in *-au*. But *sakshîtau*, i.140.3, ought to be counted as an *â*-form, p. 503. In i.120.3, *vidvâ'nsâ*, occurring twice, was counted but once; while *cakriyâ*, x.89.4, was counted already under the *a*-stems. The correct sums, then, are 1246 and 122.

§4. The circumstances of occurrence coincide entirely with those of the duals from *a*-stems. Cf. also the locatives of *i*-stems, p. 385.

A. The ending *-â* is used

1. at the end of a *pâda* (433 times);
2. before consonants (670 times);
3. before an initial vowel with which it is fused (99 times).
4. It is never used before non-*u*-vowels with hiatus.

B. The ending *-au* is used before vowels without hiatus in the form *-âv* (90 times).

A. 1. Of the 433 forms, 130 are at the end of *pâda* *b* and 85 at the end of *d* or of the verse; 148 are at the end of *a* and 70 at the end of *c*.

a. When an *â*-form at the end of *a* or *c* is followed by *a-*, *i-*, or *u-* at the beginning of *b* or *d*, the concurrent vowels are regularly written as coalescing in the *samhitâ*; but are of course invariably to be pronounced with hiatus. For

1. Four times it occurs at the end of an odd *pāda* as *-āv* before a vowel; see A.1.8.

Four times it occurs as *-au* at the end of an even *pāda* or of the verse: x.14.11*b* (late): 1.120.2*c* (corrupt): ix.70.4.*d*: x.65.5*d*. These are exceptions to A.1.

2. The ending *-au* occurs 23 times in the interior of *pāda* before a consonant, and 5 times at the end of an odd *pāda* before a consonant.

If any one will take the trouble to examine these passages, he will find in most of them other signs showing that they belong to decidedly late parts of the Rik-text: thus, 13 (about one-half) are in the tenth māṇḍala; 10 (more than one-third) are found in Grassmann's *Anhang*; and 15 (the first 12 and the last 3 as arranged below) coincide with those discussed on p. 341 top, which see.

The passages are as follows: iii.33.13*c* (verse 13 is a patched-on fragment); 53.17*a* (verses 8–24 are a separate late fragment as shown by contents): v.36.6*a*: vi.60.14*c* (13–15 are isolated fragments of different metre from the rest): vii.50.2*b* (of real Atharvan character): ix.112.4*c* (a late obscene addition): x.14.11*a* (hounds of Yama—see p. 427); 27.20*a* (does not belong to the hymn proper); 85.11*b*, 18*b*, 42*c* (Sūryā's wedding); 117.9*d* (backsheesh song); i.95.7*b*; 140.3*a* (later redaction?): ii.43.1*c* (late, as shown by *sarvātas*, *pūnya*, etc.): iii.54.16*c*: v.37.5*b*: vii.70.4*c*; 93.2*c*: x.101.10*d*, 11*a*; 184.2*c* (a real Atharvan hymn—cf. p. 544); 190.3*a* (a late cosmogonical hymn):— at the end of an odd *pāda*, iii.55.11*c* (dark and mystical): x.75.4*c* (to the Rivers; Ganges mentioned); ii.40.1*c*: x.14.10*a*, 11*a* (late).

C. Duals from *a*-stems are sometimes found with short *-ā* in both texts or in the *saṁhita* only; see p. 342. This never happens with non-*a*-stems. For *prācetas-ā* etc., see A.1.β. For *gmāntā*, p. *-tā*, see p. 509.

§5. The Atharvan has in passages peculiar to itself

A. 55 forms in *-ā* from non-*a*-stems. The stereotyped *açvínā* counts for 35 of these forms. The AV. has *-ā* in two Rik-verses, where the Rik has *-au*: v.25.3, *açvínā* (see p. 544); xviii.2.12, *nṛcákshasā* (see p. 565).

B. 105 forms in *-au* from non-*a*-stems. The AV. modernizes *-ā* of the Rik to *-au* in the following Rik-verses: xviii.1.54, *māḍantau rā'jānau* (pp. 509, 537): xiv.2.16, *vīenasau* (p. 565). For *asutr'pāv u*, see p. 482.

2. The relative Frequency of ancient and modern equivalent grammatical Forms as a Criterion of the Age of different Vedic Texts.

§1. We have here to deal only with the four most important of the many pairs of grammatically equivalent terminations. In each pair, the archaic ending is put first; the modern ending, second. They are:

- I. *-ā* and *-au*; see N.A.V.d.m.f., pp. 340, 574.
- II. *-āsas* and *-ās*; see N.V.p.m., p. 344.
- III. *-ā* and *-āni*; see N.A.V.p.n., p. 346.
- IV. *-ebhis* and *-ais*; see I.p.m.n., p. 349.

Only the first pair is used with non-*a*-stems. The feminine forms in *-āsas*, p. 362, the 27 forms in *-ā* and those in *-āni* from stems in *an*, p. 539, are very properly left out of account; so too

a few forms belonging to each of the four pairs, and enumerated pp. 449-52, radical *ā* and *ā*-stems.

The archaic Vedic endings *-ā*, *-āsas*, *-ā*, and *-ebhis* become entirely obsolete in classical Sanskrit. We may therefore expect *a priori* that those parts of the Veda itself which are characterized by the greatest frequency of these endings belong to the oldest periods of Vedic poetry; and that those in which they are least frequent approach the later Sanskrit most nearly in time.

In order to see whether this theory is borne out by facts, let us apply our criterion in comparing

the Riksanhita with the Atharvasanhita—§2; and
different parts of the Riksanhita—§§4-7.

§2. The Atharvasanhita, as is perfectly well known, is of much later date than the bulk of the Riksanhita. This is proved by the internal evidence of its contents, and by many other criteria of recognized authority in literary history.

The truth of this fact is confirmed in the most unequivocal and striking way by comparative statistics. The differences between the two sanhitas are large and are all in the same direction.

The following table shows, first, the actual number of occurrences of each ending in the Rik, and then in the Atharvan. Next it gives the ratio of the number of occurrences of each archaic form to that of its modern equivalent for the Rik, and then for the Atharvan. Finally, it compares the ratio of each pair in the Rik with the ratio of the same pair in the Atharvan.

	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-au</i>	<i>-āsas</i>	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-āni</i>	<i>-ebhis</i>	<i>-ais</i>
RV.	2391	293	1037	2180	1682	1050	571	666
AV.	102	474	57	1366	228	334	43	226
RV.	816	: 100	48	: 100	160	: 100	86	: 100
AV.	22	: 100	4	: 100	68	: 100	19	: 100
	37	: 1	12	: 1	2½	: 1	4½	: 1

For example, the Rik has 2391 duals in *-ā* against 293 in *-au*, while the Atharvan has but 102 in *-ā* against 474 in *-au*; or, the RV. has 816 archaic forms to 100 modern forms, while the AV. has but 22 archaic forms to 100 modern. That is, the *ā*-forms when compared with the *au*-forms are 37 times more frequent in the old text than in the young. In other words, the archaic forms are rapidly going out of use in the later Vedic period. The evidence of the other pairs all points in the same direction. While the RV. has 48 forms in *-āsas* to 100 in *-ās*, the AV. has but 4; or, the old form is 12 times more frequent in the old text. In like manner, the old form of the instr. is 4½ times more frequent in the old text than in the young; and that of the pl. n., 2½ times. Cf. also pp. 342-9.

§3. The period of the composition of the hymns belonging to the *original* Rik collection was a long one: this is a fact well established by internal evidence, e. g., by the change in the relative positions of Varuna and Indra. Moreover, it is no longer disputed that there was also a wide interval of time between the

poets of the Veda and the diaskeuasts. But there are hymns (as, iii.29: v.87: vi.46; 47: vii.33) which were added even after the close of the original collection, and the date of some of which is subsequent to that of the diaskeuasts.

If, now, the difference in time between the Rik and the Atharvan is so plainly shown by comparative statistics, why may not the different parts of the Rik be chronologically arranged, or at least separated, by the same method?

The answer to this question depends upon the way in which the Rik text is divided into "different parts." *a.* The most natural division is that into maṇḍalas; see §§4-6. *b.* The one most fruitful in striking results would be the division into groups whose temporal relations are well known by other criteria—contents, vocabulary, etc.; see §7.

§4. Comparison of the different maṇḍalas. For the purpose of this comparison, I have made tables, the most significant of which follow.

The different maṇḍalas are of very unequal extent. The evenly-printed *pada*-text of Müller's second edition fills about 842½ pages. Line 1 of Table *a* gives the number of pages actually covered by each book in Müller's text; and line 3, the number of pages which each book would occupy, if the whole were evenly printed or written on 1000 pages. Line 4 gives the rounded percentage of text for each book.

Table <i>a</i> .										
39	51	48½	60	62½	73½	110	76	153	169	842½
ii.	iii.	iv.	v.	vi.	vii.	viii.	ix.	x.	i.	Sum
46	60	58	71	74	87	131	90	182	201	1000
.05	.06	.06	.07	.07	.09	.13	.09	.18	.20	1.00

From this it appears that the family books ii.-viii. are arranged according to size in *ascending* series. The books ix., x., and i. form again another ascending series; but if book i. were divided into its 14 family collections, these would all come before book ii.

TABLE 1 gives the *actual number of occurrences of each old form and of each new form in each maṇḍala* of the Rigveda. Thus in the first maṇḍala, the ending *-āsas* occurs 187 times; and the ending *-ās*, 412 times. The forms of the Vāḷakhilya are counted with those of book viii. A form or two may have been counted twice (so *jajñānā's*, x.14.2, under *jan* and *jñā*), and some duplicates in the same verse (not given by Gr.) omitted.

TABLE 2 gives the *percentage of the old form of each pair as compared with the sum of the old and new of that pair* in each maṇḍala. By implication, it gives the percentage of each new form also. Thus in book ii. there is occasion for using the dual in *-ā* or *-au* in (92+21=) 113 instances. In 81¼ per cent of the whole number (113:92=1.00:.81), *-ā* is used; and in the rest, (100-81¼=) 18½ per cent, *-au* is used. In this way the absolute size of any maṇḍala may be disregarded. The last column gives the percentage for all ten maṇḍalas. Thus 2391+293=2684; and 2684:2391=1.00:.89¹.

TABLE 3 gives the *maṇḍalas arranged according to the relative frequency of each of the four archaic endings*, or (what is the same thing) according to the relative infrequency of each of the

four modern endings. It is based on the percentages of Table 2. Thus book viii. has the maximum percentage, 41, of the archaic *-āsas*; and, of course, the minimum, $(100 - 41 =) 59$, of the modern *-ās*. The last column shows the difference between the maximum and the minimum for each set. This difference is largest for the fourth set; but there the aggregates of Table 1 are small.

TABLE 4 gives the *most numerous and important agreements between the four series of Table 3*. Wherever the sequences of any two series are contradictory, the spaces for the books concerned are left blank. What results, now, may be deduced from these arrangements?

TABLE 1.

	ii.	iii.	iv.	v.	vi.	vii.	viii.	ix.	x.	i.	Sum
-ā	92	110	122	214	196	246	449	35	315	612	2391
-au	21	10	7	40	20	25	32	3	62	73	293
-āsas	47	66	61	83	70	113	142	103	165	187	1037
-ās	95	143	134	170	143	219	204	198	462	412	2180
-ā	105	101	118	104	150	145	207	166	272	314	1682
-āni	56	71	63	49	96	99	115	112	176	213	1056
-ebhis	25	52	25	31	61	53	76	33	92	123	571
-ais	32	53	47	48	69	63	69	23	121	141	666

TABLE 2.

	ii.	iii.	iv.	v.	vi.	vii.	viii.	ix.	x.	i.	
-ā, d.	.81 ⁴	.91 ⁷	.94 ⁶	.84 ³	.90 ⁷	.90 ⁸	.93 ³	.92 ¹	.83 ⁶	.89 ³	.89 ¹
-āsas	.33 ¹	.31 ⁶	.31 ³	.32 ⁸	.32 ⁹	.34 ⁰	.41 ⁰	.34 ²	.26 ³	.31 ²	.32 ²
-ā, p.	.65 ²¹	.58 ⁷	.65 ¹⁹	.68 ⁰	.61 ⁰	.59 ⁴	.64 ³	.59 ⁷	.60 ⁷	.59 ⁶	.61 ⁶
-ebhis	.43 ⁹	.49 ²²	.34 ⁷	.39 ²	.46 ⁹	.45 ⁷	.52 ⁴	.58 ⁹	.43 ²	.46 ⁶	.46 ²

TABLE 3.

I.	iv.	viii.	ix.	iii.	vii.	vi.	i.	v.	x.	ii.	Diff.
-ā, d.	.95	.93	.92	.92	.91	.91	.89	.84	.84	.81	.13 ²
II.	viii.	ix.	vii.	ii.	vi.	v.	iii.	iv.	i.	x.	
-āsas	.41	.34	.34	.33	.33	.33	.32	.31	.31	.26	.14 ⁷
III.	v.	ii.	iv.	viii.	vi.	x.	ix.	i.	vii.	iii.	
-ā, p.	.68	.65	.65	.64	.61	.61	.60	.60	.59	.59	.09 ³
IV.	ix.	viii.	iii.	vi.	i.	vii.	ii.	x.	v.	iv.	
-ebhis	.59	.52	.50	.47	.47	.46	.44	.43	.39	.35	.24 ²

TABLE 4.

	iv.	viii.	ix.	iii.	vii.	ii.	vi.	i.	v.	x.
-ā, d.	.94 ⁶	.93 ³	.92 ¹	.91 ⁷	.90 ⁸		.90 ⁷	.89 ³	.84 ³	.83 ⁶
-āsas		.41 ⁰	.34 ²		.34 ⁰	.33 ¹	.32 ⁹		.32 ⁸	.26 ³
-ā, p.	.65 ²	.64 ³	.59 ⁷		.59 ⁴					
-ebhis		.52 ⁴		.49 ⁵	.45 ⁷	.43 ⁹				.43 ²

§5. In the first place, negatively, as between the family books ii.-vii., the statistics fail to show any clear difference in time. This appears (a) from Table 2, in which the differences between most of the books ii.-vii. for any one ending are generally too small to admit of any conclusion respecting a corresponding difference in time. Thus in books ii.-vii., the percentages for *-āsas* range only from 31³ to 34⁰; and for *-ās*, of course, from 68⁷ to 66⁶. Furthermore, (b) there is too little special agreement between the four

series of Table 3. Thus in the series based on the frequency of the first archaic ending *-ā*, book iv. has the maximum, and book ii. has the minimum; while for the fourth archaic ending *-ebhis*, book iv. has the minimum; and for the third, book ii. stands next to the maximum.

Table 4, by leaving those spaces blank in which the four series are at variance, makes this lack of agreement evident at a glance. Thus according to the first and fourth series, book iii. stands between books viii. and vii.; while according to the second and third series (Table 3), it stands after them both.

On the contrary, as between the RV. and AV., the percentages for *-ā* range from .89 (RV.) to .18 (AV.); and for *-au*, from .11 (RV.) to .82 (AV.);—for *-āsas*, from .32 to .04; and for *-ās*, from .68 to .96. That is, the differences are large and in the same direction.

Positively stated, then, the result is that the family books ii.–vii. are in general of about the same age, so far as the evidence of forms goes. And this result is quite in consonance with what we should infer from the other criteria.

§6. In the second place, positively, as between books viii., ix., vii., and x., a rude chronological arrangement may be made.

	viii.	ix.	vii.	x.
I.	.93	.92	.91	.84
II.	.41	.34	.34	.26
III.	.64	.60	.59	[.61]
IV.	.52	[.59]	.46	.43

Here we see a complete agreement of all four series in every case but two. Taking the seventh as a fair representative of the family books ii.–vii., our result indicates that the eighth is older than the other family books; and that the tenth is youngest of all.

Now the tenth is, on the average, confessedly the latest of all, and so far our result is correct.

The eighth, or book of the family of Kanva, is distinguished from the other family books by very essential characteristics. Its redaction is by the hand of an entirely different diaskeuast; its metres are in general quite different; the responsive or dramatic structure within the strophe (e. g. viii.50), and the concatenation of the strophes themselves (e. g. viii.18), striking and peculiar. Table 3 also distinguishes it quite sharply from the other family books: in series II. and IV. it precedes all of them; in series I., all but book iv.; and in series III., all but v., ii., and iv. While, then, these figures indicate that book viii. is older than the other family books, I will not lay stress on this result until the relations of book viii. to the rest have been more carefully determined by other criteria.

The Soma-book falls between viii. and vii. according to our table. This result is acceptable enough, especially as it places book ix. decidedly before x.; for we can hardly say that the book is not antique, despite its wearisome character. But its tabulated distances from viii. and vii. are too small to have much weight.

The Atharvan is much younger than the Rik. But the Atharvan has some passages of decidedly antique cast; and the Rik has passages of as modern stamp as the average Atharvan hymn. In just the same way, the tenth maṇḍala is, on the average, the youngest book of the Rik; and the seventh, on the average, one of the oldest. But the tenth has unquestionably some parts as old as anything in the whole collection; while in the seventh occur passages which date from the latest epoch of Vedic poetry.

After all, then, we could hardly expect that a comparison of different maṇḍalas, whose periods of origin overlap and interlace, would yield figures susceptible of a rigorous interpretation. Besides, single hymns, like i.116; 117: ii.39: x.106, sometimes disturb the numerical relations inordinately.

§7. Far more striking, I am convinced, would be the results if we tried this same criterion upon groups of hymns marked as especially old or especially young by their contents, vocabulary, phraseology, metre, place in the collection, etc. It would not be difficult to pick out a mass of text (made up of such late hymns as i.133; 162; 164; 191: iii.29: v.44: vii.33; 50: x.85; 90; 109, and perhaps the last thirty of the book, and of the frequent additions at the end of hymns like viii.4.19-21) in which the comparative absence of the archaic forms *-ā*, *-āsas*, *-ā*, and *-ebhis* would reflect a striking light on the chronology of the parts selected. This evidence of their youth might then be confirmed by noting the absence of other antique forms (such as homophonous instrumentals, locatives in *-ā*, case-forms without ending, etc.), and the presence of modern forms (such as the forms of transition from the *ī* to the *i*-declension). The like method might also be applied with good results to some of the groups of the first maṇḍala. But since my collections do not include the material necessary for this investigation, I will leave the subject here.

3. *Numerical Summary of the Noun-forms in the Riksanhita.*

§1. The forms in the Rigveda which exhibit distinctively nominal inflection are more than 96,000 in number. Table 1 accounts for 93,277 forms, and the following paragraph for 2727; these two sums amount to 96,004.

Forms from the stem *sákháy* (192), from stems in *ai* (259), *o* (750), *au* (40), *t* and *d* (14), *th* (90), *m* (112), *v* (647), *sarátbhias* and *bandhupr'chá* (2) were not included in Table 1 because it did not seem worth while to increase its size by so many new columns; *viçvam* (139), *yéna* (57), *téna* (97), and forms in *-enā* (85) were excluded because it was not worth the trouble to separate them into masculines and neuters; likewise *viçvās* (104) and *marútas* (133), which were not separated into nominatives and accusatives. A few doubtful forms were excluded here and there—so half a dozen genitives plural in *-ām*, p. 353.

The number of excluded forms here noted is 2727. All other uncounted noun-forms are, I think, quite insignificant in number. The exclusion of these forms (most of them nom. or acc.) from Table 1 does not materially affect the truth of the statements based upon it. Forms showing distinctively pronominal inflection are, of course, not included: cf. p. 325.

§2. Table 1 shows at a glance the general distribution of all the forms. It gives for each class of stems the actual number of occurrences of each case: first the masculines—singular, dual, and plural; then the femiivines—s., d., and p.; and last the neuters—s., d., and p.

THE ORDER OF THE STEMS coincides with the order of their treatment in the body of this article. Grouping them as on page 327, we see that columns 1-8 of Table 1 contain the stems whose suffixes end in vowels—group I.; columns 9-24, the suffixless stems—group II.; columns 25-38, the stems whose suffixes end in *t*, *n*, and *s*—group III.

For example, the number of vocatives singular masculine from stems in *ɪ* will be found in the second column, eighth line; it is 1115, i. e. 1105 regular forms (see p. 389) and 10 transition-forms (p. 390 top).

The fourth line from below gives the SUM OF FORMS IN EACH STEM-CLASS for all cases together. The last three lines give the sums for each gender. Thus there are in all 9526 occurrences of forms from stems in *ɪ*: and of these, 6012 are masc.; 3171 are fem.; and 343 are neuter.

The thirty-ninth or right-hand column gives the SUM OF FORMS FOR EACH CASE from all stems together. Thus there are in all 2442 datives singular masculine.

§3. NOUN-FORMS. The noun-forms of the Rik are more than 96,000. The personal verb-forms number only 22,461, according to Prof. Avery's count in the Journ. Am. Or. Soc'y, x.319. The former are therefore between four and five times as numerous as the latter.

§4. STEM-FINALS. The fourth line from the bottom of Table 1 shows that the forms from stems in *ā* and *ā* are vastly more frequent than those of any other stems. They number 46,836 or about one half of the sum total: i. e., they are nearly as numerous as those of all the other stems put together.

Then follow in order the stems ending in *ɪ*, with 9526 forms; then those in *ā*, with 5670; in *as*, with 5221; *ī* (B), with 2895; *ant*, with 2750; *r*, with 2553; *man*, with 1778; *in*, with 1271; *an*, with 1240; *vant*, with 1089. For all other stem-classes, the totals fall below 1000.

By adding the numbers of the last line in columns 1-8, we obtain the number of neuter forms (12,050) from stems of group I. whose suffixes end in vowels. Performing a similar addition for each group and each gender, we get the following figures.

	TABLE 2.			
	I. Col's 1-8.	II. Col's 9-24.	III. Col's 25-38.	Sum
Masculines	44,779	2939	10,232	57,950
Feminines	11,980	3327	602	15,909
Neuters	12,050	849	6519	19,418
	<hr/> 68,809	<hr/> 7115	<hr/> 17,353	<hr/> 93,277

From this it appears that 68,809 forms, or about three-quarters of all, come from stems of group I.; 7115 from (II.) suffixless stems; and 17,353 from (III.) stems whose suffixes end in *t*, *n*, or *s*.

Radical themes in *ī* and *ā*, though belonging to group II., are included in I. In certain cases the fem. and neuter forms of stems in radical *ā* and *ā* are not distinguishable from those in suffixal *ā* and *ā* (pp. 439 med., 440), so that groups I. and II. cannot be entirely separated. And so the figures just given are not strictly accurate.

§5. GENDERS. Table 2 shows further that the masculine forms, 57,950 in number, are more frequent than the feminines and neuters together. These are not so widely different in frequency: the neuters come second, with 19,418 forms; and the feminines last, with 15,909.

NUMERICAL SUMMARY OF THE NOUN-FORMS IN THE RIKSANHI

		<i>a, d</i>	<i>i, A</i>	<i>ī, B</i>	<i>ī, C</i>	<i>u, A</i>	<i>ū, B</i>	<i>ū, C</i>	<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ant</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>t</i>		
MASCULINE.	SINGULAR.	N.	10071	1498	5	70	905	--	26	870	273	24	47	4	47	30	98	6	105	--	2	8	20	2	7	48	79	836	178	240	1	
		A.	6861	1262	1	31	740	--	28	225	115	26	33	24	61	51	58	27	17	1	3	26	43	5	17	69	46	325	14	67	1	
		I.	411	68	1	3	172	--	4	8	--	1	1	4	39	11	18	1	1	1	3	--	2	1	2	3	4	32	2	5	1	
		D.	1107	166	--	8	247	--	6	58	9	7	3	3	9	4	7	4	7	--	2	2	7	9	17	47	30	226	9	146	1	
		Ab.	183	15	--	--	34	--	--	16	--	1	1	--	2	1	1	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	1	9	3	25	1	3	1	
		G.	1890	228	3	8	245	--	2	132	2	5	3	2	4	6	3	2	4	1	1	3	7	1	9	67	8	180	21	63	1	
		L.	1235	143	--	--	38	--	--	9	--	12	1	2	1	--	3	--	9	--	--	--	1	--	3	--	1	13	--	--	1	
		V.	2498	1115	--	--	508	--	--	110	21	3	--	1	4	22	1	--	36	--	--	--	1	--	1	1	15	--	--	28	1	
		N.A.V.	1316	340	7	13	201	--	21	148	34	--	8	4	47	10	14	17	8	2	--	5	6	--	6	10	17	92	10	14	1	
	DUAL.	I.	8	24	--	--	8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	1
		Ab.	7	7	--	--	1	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
		G.	4	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
	PLURAL.	G.	27	5	--	1	2	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
		L.	27	25	--	--	21	--	--	6	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
		N.V.	3217	541	2	58	746	--	41	295	84	11	22	41	63	208	64	32	4	13	4	26	27	14	12	31	49	433	53	44	1	
		A.	908	91	--	13	196	--	2	65	--	7	22	8	12	7	9	14	--	3	--	9	7	6	14	23	12	89	3	14	1	
		I.	871	258	--	4	210	--	2	112	3	15	--	--	9	35	8	--	1	--	--	1	1	--	1	--	2	33	9	3	1	
		D.	130	44	--	1	18	--	--	70	--	1	--	--	1	13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	11	--	--	--	
FEMININE.	SINGULAR.	Ab.	25	17	--	--	5	--	--	4	1	--	--	--	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	
		G.	477	128	1	5	47	--	3	62	--	1	--	--	5	40	2	3	1	3	--	1	--	--	4	3	3	60	5	5	1	
		L.	548	37	--	--	17	--	2	4	2	2	--	--	--	8	1	--	3	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	1	6	--	--	--	
	PLURAL.	N.	1053	474	734	50	73	--	26	103	18	16	--	12	8	20	10	4	--	--	2	28	13	--	2	3	4	--	--	--	--	
		A.	522	609	303	87	51	--	64	36	81	--	--	91	61	25	15	15	--	4	12	38	17	79	4	10	5	--	--	--	--	
		I.	656	183	82	111	12	1	42	1	10	52	--	44	12	36	13	46	20	14	5	74	15	26	9	8	2	--	--	--	--	
		D.	20	551	31	46	13	1	18	3	--	9	--	4	13	3	11	36	7	--	17	3	13	20	--	4	--	--	--	--		
		Ab.	8	20	28	--	6	1	5	10	3	--	--	3	1	49	14	3	--	4	--	2	3	20	--	5	2	--	--	--	--	
		G.	54	45	116	16	28	1	21	33	8	5	--	26	24	3	--	1	--	12	21	1	7	24	--	6	2	--	--	--	--	
	DUAL.	L.	30	256	56	--	1	1	14	4	--	1	--	20	1	29	5	7	--	5	--	15	12	9	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		V.	95	29	117	3	8	--	--	20	--	3	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	
		N.A.V.	321	23	372	14	12	--	15	38	--	3	--	6	1	6	3	5	--	--	12	2	--	1	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		I.	2	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		D.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		Ab.	1	2	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		G.	4	2	21	3	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	2	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	2	--	--	--	--	
		L.	3	1	8	3	1	--	17	4	--	1	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
	PLURAL.	N.V.	606	300	435	61	91	--	53	48	28	--	--	21	13	49	14	23	--	170	6	77	49	23	9	11	24	--	--	--	--	
		A.	393	126	312	83	8	--	39	9	--	27	--	9	10	49	34	79	--	175	8	155	46	125	4	10	18	--	--	--	--	
		I.	295	376	113	44	7	--	13	8	29	--	--	1	--	1	2	3	--	15	--	91	2	--	--	--	11	--	--	--	--	
		D.	8	9	3	1	--	--	1	1	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		Ab.	18	5	4	--	4	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		G.	47	98	73	32	10	--	19	4	--	1	--	1	9	2	2	5	--	117	1	13	43	9	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	
NEUTER.	SINGULAR.	L.	182	61	65	17	3	--	36	4	7	--	--	1	34	32	7	--	81	--	13	48	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
	PLURAL.	N.A.V.	4275	256	--	--	428	--	15	7	5	78	159	1	3	6	15	--	--	151	5	--	35	1	12	272	18	2	--	--	2	
		I.	421	--	--	--	56	--	1	--	--	3	5	--	1	2	22	3	1	--	1	2	2	31	4	--	46	1	2	--	--	
		D.	395	1	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	--	--	37	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		Ab.	206	--	--	--	11	--	--	--	--	10	1	--	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	11	--	6	--	--	--	--	
		G.	695	16	--	1	168	--	--	6	--	3	--	1	--	5	1	--	--	20	1	--	--	--	41	--	23	30	1	--	--	
		L.	1256	1	--	--	49	--	--	1	--	40	--	--	--	13	--	--	--	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	1	--	--	
	DUAL.	V.	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		N.A.V.	57	5	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	
		I.	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		D.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		Ab.	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		G.	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		L.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
	PLURAL.	N.A.V.	2732	63	--	--	204	--	--	--	--	31	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	
		I.	338	--	--	--	6	--	--	--	--	18	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	7	--	--	--	--	
		D.	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
		Ab.	11	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	
		G.	50	--	--	--	44	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	
		L.	249	1	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	6	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	
SUM			46836	9526	2895	788	5670	5	536	2553	737	434	308	332	468	773	554	345	224	633	88	785	401	375	193	465	357	2750</				

ISANHITA. TABLE 1.

<i>t</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>yas</i>	<i>vant</i>	<i>mant</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>us</i>	Sum
6	178	240	56	192	100	308	207	376	213	346	8	10	17315
5	14	67	7	86	93	68	100	134	192	252	22	6	11136
2	2	5	4	25	14	12	96	9	13	36	---	5	1012
6	9	146	7	51	13	32	22	48	34	74	11	10	2442
5	1	3	6	3	---	2	6	2	4	13	---	4	338
0	21	63	7	88	24	38	18	57	71	60	8	44	3315
3	---	---	2	18	8	13	14	24	3	8	2	---	1563
3	---	28	2	162	8	179	24	105	76	190	---	1	5112
2	10	14	---	22	5	34	6	103	401	119	---	4	3044
3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	4	---	---	---	46
3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	2	---	---	---	24
1	1	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	9
1	1	---	---	3	---	1	---	2	17	---	---	---	75
3	53	44	1	91	53	77	35	81	153	287	24	14	83
9	3	14	22	54	16	33	2	13	44	51	1	6	6951
3	9	3	---	19	7	48	16	20	23	12	---	---	1776
1	---	---	---	19	2	3	3	4	---	7	---	---	1723
1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	329
0	5	5	---	14	---	31	1	2	7	20	---	6	65
6	---	---	---	11	1	4	---	1	2	---	---	---	940
6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	652
-	---	---	---	---	---	3	2	2	---	86	1	4	2751
-	---	---	---	---	---	1	4	1	---	60	---	---	2195
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	30	---	---	1504
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	---	---	827
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	5	---	---	192
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	45	---	---	499
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	5	---	---	473
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	---	61	---	---	339
-	---	---	---	---	1	1	1	---	---	29	---	1	870
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	37
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	40
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	9	---	---	95	---	---	2215
-	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	41	---	1	1762
-	---	---	---	---	1	2	1	---	---	1	---	---	1016
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	28
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	44
-	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	27	---	---	517
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	591
2	18	2	82	204	81	9	430	---	7	1421	320	143	8441
6	1	2	18	10	5	5	142	49	3	710	141	31	1718
4	---	---	13	4	---	33	32	6	---	225	2	11	823
6	---	---	1	---	---	1	14	11	---	107	2	5	393
3	30	1	2	6	1	1	73	25	1	304	28	7	1460
5	1	---	---	3	---	11	209	59	---	45	50	5	1753
3	---	---	---	---	---	---	5	7	---	2	2	---	7
3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	17	---	1	102
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2
-	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	4
6	---	---	1	1	2	15	223	18	---	284	26	23	3629
7	---	---	---	2	1	4	67	34	---	127	12	1	621
-	---	---	---	---	1	---	2	1	---	1	---	---	6
-	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	---	1	---	---	15
1	---	---	---	---	---	---	6	28	---	3	2	4	138
1	---	---	---	---	---	9	9	3	---	10	1	---	303
0	356	637	231	1089	435	978	1778	1240	1271	5221	663	347	93277
6	306	632	114	859	344	883	551	984	1260	1475	76	110	57950
-	---	---	---	---	---	7	13	14	---	489	1	6	15909
4	50	5	117	230	91	88	1214	242	11	3257	586	231	19418

About half of all the feminines come from stems in *ā* (4318) and *ī* (3171)—see Table 1, last line but one. In group II., the feminines (3327, root-words) almost equal the sum of masculines and neuters—see Table 2. Stems in *i* (p. 367) serve as feminines to most of the stems of group III. The feminine forms from adjective *as*-stems and *ushās* number 489. The feminines from stems in vocalic root-*t* number 72; but these have a certain right (p. 327) to be in group II. Aside from these 561 forms, the feminines in group III. are so very few—only 41—as to be fairly called sporadic. Nevertheless, it is instructive to observe that of all the feminines, barely one-fifth (2875) are from stems in derivative *i*.

The paucity of the neuters (849) in group II. is also worthy of notice. The neuters of this group consist chiefly of adverbial accusatives in *-ak*, *-k*, forms from “radical *ā*-stems,” from *hr'd*, *pād*, *ā's*, *bhā's*, and *māh*, *āhar*, *ā'dhar*, and *sūar*.

The fewness of datives in the neuter gender (s., 823; d., 0; p., 6) when compared with the datives masculine and feminine (3651) is worthy of remark, as showing that the dative relation most often implies a personal subject: i. e. one gifted with sex.

§6. NUMBERS. Table 3 shows that the singular forms amount to 65,608, or more than two-thirds of the grand total. The plurals number 23,321; the duals, 4348. I doubt whether any Indo-European language that had a dual number would show in any recorded text so large a proportion of duals as does the Rigveda.

TABLE 3.

	Singular	Dual	Plural	Sum
Masculines	42,233	3281	12,436	57,950
Feminines	8780	956	6173	15,909
Neuters	14,595	111	4712	19,418
	65,608	4348	23,321	93,277

§7. CASES. With the nominative coincide: the vocative (apart from the accent), in the dual and plural of all genders; the accusative in the dual of all genders, in the singular and plural of the neuter, and often in the plural of the feminine. For these cases, therefore, the forms have not been separated when coincident. For the remaining five cases, however, the forms, even when coincident, have always been separated—usually by Grassmann's exegesis of the passages in which they occur.

TABLE 4.

	N. A. V.	Inst.	Gen.	Loc.	Dat.	Abl.
Sg. m. + f. + n.	47,296	4234	5274	3789	4092	923
Du. m. + f. + n.	4016	53	116	123	25	15
Pl. m. + f. + n.	16,333	3360	1595	1546	363	124
Sum total	67,645	7647	6985	5458	4480	1062

To the first group of cases belong about three-quarters of all the forms: i. e., the nominatives, accusatives, and vocatives together number 67,645. Of these the nominatives are of course

much the most frequent, and the vocatives least frequent. Thus, in the masculine and feminine singular, where these cases differ in form, the nominatives number 20,066; the accusatives, 13,331; and the vocatives, 5451.

The remaining five cases in the order of frequency as shown by the sums total of Table 4 are: instrumental, with 7647 occurrences; genitive, with 6985; locative, with 5458; dative, with 4480; and last of all, the ablative, with 1062.

The most frequent case of all is the N.s.m. with 17,315 occurrences; cf. Benfey's remark about the prototypical influence of the form of the nom.s., *Vedica*, p. 115. For the *p*-stems alone, Table 1 shows not a single nominative. Of the D. and L.d.n. there is not a single example in the R̥gveda—see Table 1, right-hand column. Of the D.d.f. there is but one example, *ródasibhyám*, i.136.6.

The blank spaces of Table 1 show how often it happens that, even for whole *stem-classes*, we cannot make up a complete paradigm of forms in actual use. As for *single stems*, I do not believe that there is one in the whole Vedic vocabulary of which a complete set of declensional forms occurs in the R̥k. *Devá*, *rátha*, *gó*, *vr'shan*, and others are nearly complete. All the singular forms of *indra* occur (see p. 340 top), and of *vr'ka* except the loc. Cf. also the remarks on p. 350, D.p.n.

In Indo-European the ablative appears to have been formally distinguished from the other cases only in the singular. Here the ablative ended perhaps in *-at*; the genitive, in *-as*. In the dual, the ablative was made to share the same form with the instrumental and dative; and in the plural, the same form with the dative. Why now did the ablative dual and plural have no case-form of its own?

Upon this question the statistics of Table 4 cast a most interesting light. Undoubtedly the ablative dual and plural has no case-form of its own because these relations were of extremely infrequent occurrence.

Thus in the whole R̥k text, there are only about 124 instances in which there is occasion for expressing the ablative plural relation. It is therefore in perfect accordance with the principle of linguistic economy that there should be no separate form devoted exclusively as it were to the expression of this relation. And in fact it is made to depend for its expression upon the case-form of the dative, which—be it observed—is, next to the ablative, itself the most infrequent of all cases.

Similarly in the dual, *one* case-form is made to serve as the means of expression for the three relations—instrumental, dative, and ablative. Here again, the three least frequent relations (L., 53; D., 25; Ab., 15) are united under one form; and the two more frequent relations (L., 123; G., 116), also under one form.

In the singular, there is occasion to express the ablative relation 923 times. In 534 of these instances the word has a non-*a*-stem, and here the old distinction of form between genitive and ablative has become effaced and the *-as* or *-s* of the genitive is made to suffice also as an expression for the ablative. But in the remaining 389, or nearly *half* of these instances, the stem ends in *a* and the ablative is clearly distinguished in form from the genitive by the ending *-át*—see p. 337. The original state of things, therefore, is very fairly reflected in the language of the Veda, although the Avesta has retained the ablative ending in the singular of non-*a*-stems.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

- p. 327, ll. 19, 20. Read *the few masculines and the feminines in ī and ā*.
 p. 328, l. 15. Read *yākr̥t*.
 pp. 334-5. As instrumentals may be taken further: *dāṇá'*, i.127.7 (cf. p. 490d); *vīṇá*, 'allenthalben,' x.20.8; *sunirmáthá*, iii.29.12; *hāvá*, x.27.8; *himá'*, x.37.10; *má'nushá*, i.51.1.
 p. 337, l. 17 from below. Add *virídyañ*, vi.30.1.
 p. 339, l. 9 from below. Adverbial retraction of accent is seen in *divá*, and perhaps in *kshápas*, *diḍṛ'kshu*, *gúhá*, *táná*.
 p. 341, l. 4 from below. For *átmaná*, cf. p. 408c, and A. Weber, Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1878, p. 82.
 p. 345, l. 21. Add: *devá's[as]*, v.51.13a; *vájás[as]*, vii.48.1a; *ṣubhrá's[as]*, i.167.4a; *ṣucibhrájás[as]*, fem., i.79.1c.
 p. 348, l. 6. Add: *viríá[ni]*, v.29.13b.
 p. 348, l. 8 from below. In ix.82.4, *ṣévā* may be neuter pl.
 p. 360, l. 1. In AV. iv.5.6, *asyai* is G.s.
 p. 362, l. 14 from below. Here belong perhaps *gná' hutá'sas*, vi.50.15, and *ṣucibhrájás[as]*, i.79.1.
 p. 363, l. 7 from below. Cf. *awezhdánānōhō*, p. 546d.
 p. 366, column 2 of Series B. Read *ī, iam, íá, íai, íá's, íá'm*.
 p. 367, l. 12. Read *ármín-ā*.
 p. 371, l. 13. Delete *akshí*. The stem belongs to B; p. 391, l. 21.
 p. 375, l. 6. Insert *except in monosyllabic stems* after *vowel*.
 p. 375, l. 7. Read *jáya* for *kshaipra*.
 p. 377, head-line. Read N.s.f. [vii.97.2b.
 p. 381, top. For *suastí*, RV. v.42.4b, the AV. has the modern form *svastyá'*,
 p. 383, l. 27. So *ṣriyái*, TS. ii.2.8^a; *meshyái*, VS. iii.59.
 p. 388, l. 13 from below. Here Delbrück puts *bhā'má*, vi.62.8; it must be neuter pl., *pada -ā*, page 539 end.
 p. 389, l. 15 from below. Add *dsandí'*, TS. v.6.9¹.
 p. 392, l. 12 from below. Read *divás-*.
 p. 400, l. 20. Read *pátíá*; -yá, 3.
 p. 409, D.s.f. Cf. *tanúé*, AV. i.12.4, with *tanuái*, VS. xxiii.44. TBr. iii.7.1⁴ has *tanúvai*.
 p. 411, l. 3. In i.143.3, *sindhavas* is G.s.f.; cf. p. 410 end.
 p. 420. Transitions from *r* to *a*-declension: *nár, nara*; *devár, devara*; etc.
 p. 429, l. 25. As to *mátí'n*, see Whitney, Gr., 375.
 p. 449, V.sm. Cf. *ashádāo*, Yç. xxviii.7, with *ṛtadás*.
 p. 456, l. 7. TBr. ii.6.1² has *prá'ñk*.
 p. 457, l. 10 from below. Read *occurs twice*. Add viii.45.11.
 p. 462, l. 12 from below. Read *Āçv*.
 p. 480, l. 9 from below. Read LOCATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE.
 p. 485. In the Br. occur *kakubbhyám, amushtubhis* (Whitney, Gr., 151c).
 p. 489, l. 24, and 490, l. 20. *Upapr̥k* is from the root *pr̥c*.
 p. 489, end. Transition-nom. s. m., *spaça-s*.
 p. 490, last line. Read iii.463.
 p. 492, ll. 24, 23 from below. Read *vāta-wish, ávidvish*.
 p. 492, l. 15 from below. Read *ká's, nás; á-çás*.
 p. 501, l. 16 from below. Read *nádbhis*.
 p. 504, last three lines. The four stems ought, of course, to be classed with the *vant*-stems. The N.s. would end in *-ān*.
 p. 505, l. 19. The form *vavṛdhántas* is from a verb-stem in *a*: Whitney, Gr., 444.
 p. 512, l. 15. Read *jigṛvá'n*.
 p. 512, l. 16 from below. Read *ṣūcwá'nsam*, 6.
 p. 513. I should rather take *tasthúshas* as Ab.s.n.: cf. Whitney, Oriental and Linguistic Studies, i.138.
 p. 519, l. 6 from below. Read 154 *forms* (15 *stems*). Add *adrivas*, 47.
 p. 536, l. 24 from below. Read *cárman*, 18.
 p. 542, l. 13. Read *several* in *mín*.
 p. 558, l. 22 from below. *An-ádhás* is of course feminine.

INDEX OF CITATIONS

MADE IN THE FOREGOING ARTICLE, FROM THE
RIGVEDA AND OTHER TEXTS.

THIS Index is designed to include passages whose exegesis, metre, text, or word-forms have been discussed on the preceding pages. The nature of the remarks upon any particular verse is shown approximately by an *Italic* letter prefixed to the page-number. An *e* signifies that the remark concerns the *exegesis* of the passage; an *m*, the *metre*; a *t*, the *text*, its criticism, or some interesting variant; a *w*, some *word*, note-worthy, modern, or irregular in form or otherwise.

To facilitate reference, the distance from the head-line to the last line of each page is divided into four equal parts, designated by Roman a, b, c, and d after the page-number.

RV. i.	RV. i.	RV. i.
6. 1 <i>ew</i> 513a,c,d, 585.	70. 4 <i>t</i> 386c.	128. 2 <i>w</i> 516a, 518d.
3 <i>et</i> 339d.	7 <i>e</i> 422bc, 482c,3a.	7 <i>mt</i> 383d.
8. 3 <i>e</i> 335a.	71. 3 <i>e</i> 354a.	129. <i>t</i> 469d.
11. 5 <i>w</i> 513c.	4 <i>m</i> 515a.	8 <i>m</i> 350a.
23. 24 <i>m</i> 338c.	5 <i>m</i> 426d.	9, 10 <i>mt</i> 431b.
24. 14 <i>e</i> 564c.	8 <i>e</i> 433a.	130. 3 <i>w</i> 486b.
26. 2 <i>e</i> 562a.	72. 6 <i>et</i> 422b.	134. 3 <i>mt</i> 371d.
6 <i>e</i> 518d, 480bc,	79. 1 <i>emt</i> 565d.	135. 9 <i>t</i> 373b.
515d.	80. 4 <i>tw</i> 370c.	140. 9 <i>e</i> 377b. 395c.
27. 2 <i>e</i> 563d.	81. 4 <i>e</i> 562b.	13 <i>etw</i> 510b; <i>mt</i> 539d.
29. 3 <i>t</i> 361a.	85. 3 <i>mt</i> 543b; cf. 378b.	141. 4 <i>e</i> 335c.
31. 5 <i>ew</i> 570a.	9 <i>et</i> 348b.	8 <i>emw</i> 557d.
32. 8 <i>e</i> 562b.	87. 4 <i>et</i> 358d, 495a,	143. 2 <i>m</i> 535bc.
36. 1 <i>mt</i> 399a.	559b.	146. 4 <i>e</i> 430cd.
16 <i>e</i> 334d.	91. 18 <i>mw</i> 498d, 500c.	149. 4 <i>mt</i> 394d.
17 <i>m</i> 342a.	92. 3 <i>ew</i> 348d, cf. 539d.	150. 1 <i>w</i> 500c.
37. 1 <i>ew</i> 526a, 330b.	5 <i>e</i> 562b.	151. 3 <i>mt</i> 558b.
44. 5 <i>ew</i> 339bc.	93. 2 <i>e</i> 562b.	158. 6 <i>t</i> 399a.
8 <i>e</i> 482b,d.	94. 15 <i>et</i> 386a.	160. 1 344c (n. for f.).
46. 2 <i>mw</i> 420d.	97. 8 <i>mw</i> 434a.	162. 9 <i>t</i> 386c.
50. 6 <i>e</i> 330d.	102. 6 <i>e</i> 563c.	16 <i>t</i> 354c.
52. 6 <i>e</i> 335bc.	104. 1 <i>e</i> 384d, 395b,	20 <i>t</i> 408a, 416c.
54. 1 <i>e</i> 372d-3a.	558a.	21 <i>ew</i> 391b, 509c.
57. 1 <i>mw</i> 382b.	7 <i>mt</i> 387d.	163. <i>t</i> 471b. 520b.
2 <i>et</i> 348c.	105. 15 <i>m</i> 514d.	10 <i>mt</i> 345c.
4 <i>e</i> 372d.	110. 9 <i>m</i> 517d.	164. <i>t</i> 471b.
58. 3 <i>mw</i> 403d, 419a.	111. 1 <i>mw</i> 516c.	15 <i>e</i> 423a.
5 <i>e</i> 422b.	112. 10 <i>mt</i> 388a.	39 <i>mt</i> 536a.
60. 3 <i>e</i> 356c, 348d.	17 <i>et</i> 339a.	41 <i>mt</i> 536a.
61. 1 <i>mt</i> 409b, cf. 414c.	18 <i>et</i> 342d-3a, 550d,	165. 15 <i>e</i> 552cd.
13 <i>mt</i> 338b, 514d,	566c.	168. 1 <i>mt</i> 558b.
476d.	113. 17 <i>e</i> 461b.	173. 3 <i>mw</i> 539d.
62. 8 <i>m</i> 356b.	118. 8 <i>et</i> 359bc.	4 <i>mt</i> 348a.
9 <i>e</i> 563d.	120. 8 <i>mt</i> 372c.	7 <i>e</i> 373a.
63. 5 <i>e</i> 334d.	121. 1 <i>et</i> 430cd.	8 <i>mt</i> 356c.
64. 5 <i>ew</i> 474d, 488a,cd.	3 <i>mw</i> 473b.	9 <i>em</i> 332d-3a.
65. 5 <i>t</i> 530a.	122. 11 <i>mt</i> 480bc, 516a,	174. 7 <i>m</i> 556d, 485d,
66. 1 <i>e</i> 572cd.	b, 519ab; <i>et</i>	446d.
67. 5 <i>m</i> 432c, 556d, 485	509b,d.	8 <i>t</i> 348c.
d, 446d.	123. 5 <i>et</i> 359d.	179. 6 <i>t</i> 341ab.
6 <i>w</i> 500a.	127. 2 <i>m</i> 432c.	180. 4 <i>et</i> 380d.
68. 1 <i>e</i> 422b.	6 <i>m</i> 441cd.	5 <i>et</i> 373a, 376d.
70. 1 <i>t</i> 363ab.	7 <i>m</i> 346a; <i>w</i> 490d.	186. 4 <i>t</i> 406b.
3 <i>et</i> 353b, 423b.	10 <i>mt</i> 424bcd.	188. 5 <i>w</i> 486b.

RV. ii.		RV. iii.		RV. v.	
1. 5	<i>et</i> 518b, 519d.	55. 2	344c (f. for n.).	37. 1	<i>t</i> 558a.
2. 2	<i>e</i> 482b,d.	11	<i>t</i> 427cd.	41. 1	<i>e</i> 449b, 42cd, 47c; 444ab, 48c, 51d, 485c.
4	<i>mw</i> 470ab.				
3. 6	<i>t</i> 361a.	RV. iv.		3	<i>mt</i> 341d.
6. 2	<i>m</i> 334a.	1. 3	<i>et</i> 331a.	4	<i>t</i> 345c.
10. 2	<i>m</i> 342a.	19	<i>mt</i> 432a.	9	<i>t</i> 345b.
3	<i>tw</i> 548c.	2. 1	<i>m</i> 524d.	10	<i>mt</i> 348a; <i>e</i> 426d.
11. 2	<i>m</i> 350a.	3	<i>e</i> 353d.	16	<i>mt</i> 451d.
8	<i>m</i> 378d.	11	<i>e</i> 354a.	42. 4	<i>t</i> 520b.
19	<i>t</i> 333d.	12	<i>ew</i> 475b, 492a.	43. 15	<i>t</i> 386c.
3	<i>et</i> 447a.	17	<i>w</i> 505b.	44. 1	<i>t</i> 373d, 506a, 8a.
13. 9	<i>t</i> 386c.	18	<i>w</i> 516b, 521b.	2	<i>w</i> 508a.
14. 3	<i>e</i> 416b.	3. 5	<i>m</i> 524d.	5	<i>t</i> 569b.
15. 3	<i>e</i> 457d-4a.	6	<i>t</i> 534a, 448a.	10	<i>mt</i> 384b.
20. 2	<i>et</i> 381a, 443d-4a.	16. 20	<i>e</i> 336bc.	45. 6	<i>mt</i> 424bc.
21. 2	<i>mw</i> 498d, 500a.	17. 14	<i>et</i> 338d.	46. 1	<i>mt</i> 424b-5a.
23. 12	<i>ew</i> 495d.	19. 9	<i>ew</i> 474cd.	2	<i>ew</i> 339c.
16	<i>w</i> 473d; <i>m</i> 524d.	21. 6	<i>mt</i> 559a.	48. 1	<i>m</i> 524d.
17	<i>e</i> 422d; <i>m</i> 524d.	23. 1	<i>e</i> 501c, 506d.	50. 2	<i>m</i> 350a.
24. 11	<i>e</i> 501c, 506d.	27. 4	<i>w</i> 516b, 521a.	51. 11	<i>tw</i> 526ab.
13	<i>em</i> 349b.	28. 5	<i>m</i> 556d, 485d, 452b.	52. 10	<i>et</i> 339a.
27. 3	<i>et</i> 508c.	32. 23	<i>t</i> 361a, 356d.	16	<i>mt</i> 431d.
28. 4	<i>mt</i> 424bc.	33. 2	<i>ew</i> 349b, 359d,a.	53. 10	<i>mw</i> 515c.
31. 5	<i>mw</i> 391c; <i>e</i> 562 ab.	3	<i>mt</i> 529ab.	14	<i>mt</i> 420c, 427a.
		5	<i>mt</i> 424b-5a.	54. 6	<i>e</i> 553d.
32. 2	<i>e</i> 336b.	10	<i>e</i> 335d.	58. 1	<i>mw</i> 515c.
33. 2	<i>e</i> 334c.	34. 1	<i>e</i> 336c.	7	<i>et</i> 412ab, 407d.
6	<i>e</i> 379c.	9	<i>ew</i> 414b.	59. 7	<i>m</i> 393d.
8	<i>e</i> 358c.	35. 5	<i>mw</i> 420d.	61. 16	<i>t</i> 348c.
34. 2	<i>e</i> 393a.	36. 3	<i>ew</i> 414b.	65. 6	<i>mt</i> 341d.
6	<i>mt</i> 548ab.	6	<i>mt</i> 529ab.	66. 2	<i>t</i> 348c.
37. 4	<i>tw</i> 563a.	37. 4	<i>t</i> 345b.	68. 4	<i>t</i> 341ab.
38. 8	<i>et</i> 416c.	38. 9	<i>e</i> 448c.	69. 3	<i>et</i> 386a.
39. 4	<i>et</i> 343c.	41. 8	<i>e</i> 415b.	70. 4	<i>mw</i> 479c.
5	<i>et</i> 381a, 573a.	43. 4	<i>mt</i> 356c.	73. 5	<i>e</i> 335bc.
6	<i>t</i> 361a, 494ab.	6	<i>e</i> 335bc.	8	<i>et</i> 348c.
40. 6	<i>ew</i> 526b, 527d.	48. 2	<i>mt</i> 371d.	74. 4	<i>w</i> 342c.
43. 3	<i>tw</i> 506b.	51. 4	<i>tw</i> 548c, 550d.	78. 9	<i>tw</i> 493d.
		53. 7	<i>w</i> 483cd.	83. 3	<i>em</i> 376a.
RV. iii.		56. 5	<i>mw</i> 391c, 392a.	7	<i>w</i> 471b.
1. 12	<i>t</i> 398d.	58.	<i>t</i> 471b.	86. 3	<i>m</i> 538ab.
4. 1	<i>e</i> 476b,cd.	8	<i>et</i> 331c.	87. 6	<i>t</i> 386c.
8. 9	<i>mt</i> 345c.			9	<i>mt</i> 381c.
16. 5	<i>mw</i> 359b.	RV. v.			
18. 1	<i>et</i> 425d.	2. 11	<i>e</i> 332d.	RV. vi.	
27. 11	<i>w</i> 486d.	4. 7	<i>m</i> 350ab.	3. 1	<i>ew</i> 563a.
29. 16	<i>t</i> 513b.	7. 8	<i>m</i> 375d.	4. 1	<i>e</i> 386a.
30. 11	<i>e</i> 373bc.	10	<i>et</i> 430cd.	5	<i>t</i> 376b.
31. 5	<i>et</i> 457c.	9. 5	<i>m</i> 423b, 426d.	5. 5	<i>e</i> 564c.
9	<i>tw</i> 493d.	19. 4	<i>e</i> 485a.	6. 4	<i>m</i> 556d, 485d, 446d.
32. 5	<i>t</i> 363a, 348c.	27. 6	<i>mt</i> 535a.	8. 2	<i>m</i> 535bc.
9	<i>tw</i> 493d.	29. 15	<i>t</i> 348c.	11. 3	<i>e</i> 354a.
33. 13	<i>tw</i> 341ab, 565a.	30. 4	<i>m</i> 432a.	12. 4	<i>e</i> 426d.
34. 3	<i>mt</i> 554c.	13	<i>t</i> 386c.	6	<i>mw</i> 471bc.
45. 2	<i>w</i> 462c.	14	<i>w</i> 355d.	13. 1	<i>et</i> 380d.
49. 2	<i>mt</i> 406d, 571d.	32. 11	<i>e</i> 362c.	16. 40	<i>e</i> 378b; <i>et</i> 543ab.
51. 7	<i>e</i> 389a.	34. 8	<i>t</i> 341ab.	46	<i>t</i> 380c.
54. 4	<i>mw</i> 391c.	35. 5	<i>e</i> 336d.	18. 10	<i>et</i> 380d.
19	<i>et</i> 386a.	36. 6	<i>t</i> 341ab.		
55. 1	<i>t</i> 546b.				

RV. vi.	RV. vii.	RV. viii.
22. 6 <i>mt</i> 348a.	28. 3 <i>mt</i> 429b.	32. 6 <i>em</i> 446d.
24. 6 <i>t</i> 353c, 501a.	4 <i>e</i> 362bc.	33. 6 <i>t</i> 542c.
7 <i>tw</i> 493d.	35. 13 <i>t</i> 445b.	8 <i>e</i> 330d. 335ab.
26. 2 <i>mt</i> 354d.	14 <i>t</i> 345bc.	19 <i>t</i> 341ab.
27. 8 <i>tw</i> 521d.	39. 3 <i>t</i> 412c.	38. 2 <i>t</i> 545d.
29. 2 <i>t</i> 348c, 362a.	40. 4 <i>ew</i> 526b, 527d.	39. 2 <i>mt</i> 371d; <i>e</i> 562
30. 1 <i>m</i> 514d.	5 <i>t</i> 552c, 362b,d.	ab.
33. 4 <i>mt</i> 388a.	41. 4 <i>t</i> 389a.	41. 10 <i>m</i> 333d.
44. 1 <i>t</i> 520a.	47. 1 <i>e</i> 466b.	45. 13 <i>w</i> 462c.
9 <i>mt</i> 387d.	48. 1 <i>ew</i> 414b; <i>et</i> 458cd.	46. 12 <i>t</i> 400c.
12 <i>ew</i> 523c, 538d.	2 <i>ew</i> 416d, 414b.	23 <i>mw</i> 382b, 384d.
46. 1 <i>t</i> 388d.	3 <i>t</i> 363b; <i>ew</i> 495d;	47. 6 <i>ew</i> 502d.
4 <i>t</i> 329d.	<i>mt</i> 529ab.	50. 16 <i>mt</i> 395d.
8 <i>t</i> 386c.	50. <i>t</i> 341ab.	51. 2 <i>mt</i> 462d.
47. 9 <i>w</i> 509a.	1 <i>m</i> 342a.	52. 12 <i>t</i> 386c.
13 <i>t</i> 386c.	4 <i>mt</i> 373b, 379b,	55. 9 <i>m</i> 333d.
16 <i>e</i> 353d.	394a.	59. 2 <i>e</i> 423a.
48. 11 <i>e</i> 562ab.	56. 3 <i>mt</i> 546c, 345c.	61. 13 <i>e</i> 360b.
18 <i>w</i> 513ab.	58. 1 <i>m</i> 524d.	63. 1 <i>e</i> 562b.
49. 3 <i>et</i> 487d.	2 <i>w</i> 571c.	4 <i>t</i> 529d.
6 <i>et</i> 422ab.	6 <i>mt</i> 356c.	65. 12 <i>mt</i> 408a.
50. 11 <i>emt</i> 516b.	60. 3 <i>t</i> 406a, 415c.	66. 10 <i>w</i> 512d.
51. 2 <i>mt</i> 354a.	10 <i>w</i> 542d.	68. 3 <i>m</i> 351c.
53. 6 <i>w</i> 473d.	61. 2 <i>ew</i> 502c, 503d.	75. 1 <i>e</i> 336b.
59. 5 <i>t</i> 341ab.	5 <i>t</i> 362a.	80. 5 <i>w</i> 481c.
60. 14 <i>t</i> 341ab.	67. 5 <i>m</i> 342a.	85. 19 <i>et</i> 348b.
62. 8 <i>ew</i> 539d; cf. 388d.	68. 7 <i>ew</i> 529d.	90. 10 <i>m</i> 350b.
63. 1 <i>mt</i> 341d, 342d.	8 <i>mt</i> 379b, 380b,	92. 8 <i>m</i> 524d.
9 <i>e</i> 562c.	394a.	
10 <i>w</i> 342c.	70. 1 <i>mt</i> 341d.	RV. ix.
64. 2 <i>e</i> 568c.	76. 3 <i>et</i> 339a.	1. 6 <i>e</i> 518d, 480bc,
66. 3 <i>mt</i> 356cd.	77. 1 <i>mt</i> 554c.	515d.
4 <i>et</i> 358d.	79. 1 <i>t</i> 363ab.	9. 4 <i>mt</i> 373b.
5 <i>et</i> 358d, 359c.	86. 3 <i>ew</i> 405d.	10. 9 <i>e</i> 349a.
11 <i>et</i> 393a.	4 <i>em</i> 329d.	12. 3 <i>e</i> 373b, 389c.
67. 1 <i>m</i> 342a.	5 <i>m</i> 524d.	7 <i>et</i> 364d.
8 <i>mt</i> 342d.	89. 5 <i>t</i> 380a.	22. 5 <i>mt</i> 558b.
10 <i>m</i> 346a.	92. 4 <i>et</i> 414c.	46. 4 <i>t</i> 369a.
68. 10 <i>t</i> 342b.	96. 1 <i>t</i> 357a, 356d.	47. 4 <i>e</i> 423a.
72. 2 <i>m</i> 432c.	97. 6 <i>mt</i> 345c.	57. 3 <i>et</i> 339ab.
74. 4 <i>t</i> 341ab.	103. 2 <i>e</i> 389c.	58. 3 <i>e</i> 344b.
75. 4 <i>et</i> 331c.	104. 13 <i>t</i> 386c.	61. 10 <i>et</i> 376b.
11 <i>tw</i> 505d.	18 <i>mw</i> 541a.	62. 15 <i>w</i> 385d.
15 <i>t</i> 403b.		65. 12 <i>t</i> 358d.
		27 <i>t</i> 358d.
RV. vii.	RV. viii.	30 <i>tw</i> 404c, 408c.
1. 19 <i>mw</i> 359b.	2. 8 <i>mt</i> 536a.	68. 10 <i>mt</i> 548b.
20 <i>t</i> 386c.	30 <i>mtw</i> 348b.	70. 4 <i>ew</i> 447c.
2. 5 <i>e</i> 386a; <i>et</i> 415b.	3. 6 <i>e</i> 563d.	71. 8 <i>w</i> 477d.
6 <i>t</i> 406b.	4. 14 <i>ew</i> 484b, 567d.	86. 6 <i>t</i> 388b.
3. 9 <i>m</i> 428b.	6. 33 <i>mt</i> 357d.	16 <i>m</i> 524b,d, 532c.
4. 2 <i>m</i> emended 506c,	7. 33 <i>m</i> 524d.	30 <i>mt</i> 348ab.
348a.	8. 12 <i>mw</i> 420d.	42 <i>e</i> 422d.
5. 7 <i>m</i> 535bc.	13. 17 <i>e</i> 372d.	88. 2 <i>et</i> 348d.
7. 2 <i>ew</i> 348d; cf. 408c.	19. 2 <i>w</i> 486d.	93. 4 <i>w</i> 506a.
16. 8 <i>ew</i> 502c.	37 <i>t</i> 403b.	96. 2 <i>em</i> 332d.
18. 3 <i>e</i> 362c.	25. 17 <i>ew</i> 474d, 503d.	15 <i>ew</i> 406a.
7 <i>w</i> 472b.	18 <i>mw</i> 335c.	21 <i>mt</i> 408a.
19. 5 <i>et</i> 357b, 356d.	26. 6 <i>em</i> 416d.	24 <i>et</i> 362a, 356d.
25. 1 <i>ew</i> 457a.	29. 8 <i>et</i> 331c.	97. 1 <i>w</i> 495d.
	31. 12 <i>tw</i> 526ab.	

RV. ix.		RV. x.		RV. x.	
97. 16	<i>e</i> 334d-5a.	47. 6	<i>mt</i> 552ab.	94. 12	<i>t</i> 401d.
37	<i>ew</i> 411cd.	50. 4	<i>mt</i> 429b.	95. 2	<i>e</i> 358b.
38	<i>t</i> 425a.	5	<i>mt</i> 357a.	9	<i>e</i> 362d.
53	<i>t</i> 358a.	51. 2	<i>mw</i> 408a, 416c.	12, 13	<i>ew</i> 505bc.
54	<i>ew</i> 392a; <i>t</i> 531a,	4	<i>mw</i> 408a.	99. 7	<i>ew</i> 570ab.
	534d.	6	<i>m</i> 375d.	11	<i>etw</i> 488d.
57	<i>w</i> 483cd.	53. 5	<i>t</i> 345bc.	101. 11	<i>mt</i> 387cd.
98. 6	<i>e</i> 378b.	55. 5	<i>e</i> 336a.	102. 1	<i>t</i> 386cd.
101. 12	<i>m</i> 346a.	57. 3	<i>t</i> 430c.	104. 10	<i>e</i> 358c.
107. 20	<i>e</i> 335c.	59. 1	<i>ew</i> 516b, 520d,	105. 9	<i>mt</i> 536a.
108. 11	<i>e</i> 433b.		534bc.	106. 3	<i>t</i> 403c.
109. 7	<i>ew</i> 506d, 501c.	61. 1	<i>t</i> 481bc.	107. 3	<i>t</i> 381d.
14	<i>m</i> 333d.	9	<i>e</i> 488b.	108. 3	<i>e</i> 332d.
112. 4	<i>t</i> 341ab.	12	<i>et</i> 551b, 559b.	109. 1	<i>e</i> 562b.
113. 10	<i>w</i> 481c.	21	<i>w</i> 464cd.	111. 4	<i>e</i> 466d.
RV. x.		64. 7	<i>mt</i> 371d.	114. 10	<i>m</i> 338b.
5. 5	<i>tw</i> 526d.	14	<i>e</i> 354a.	117. 1	<i>t</i> 341b.
6. 1	<i>mt</i> 536a.	65. 10	<i>mt</i> 552ab.	9	<i>t</i> 341ab.
5	<i>mt</i> 427a.	66. 9	<i>m</i> 542bc.	119. 13	<i>et</i> 330ab.
7	<i>m</i> 524d.	68. 10	<i>w</i> 485c.	120. 2	<i>t</i> 373a, 377c.
10. 1	<i>e</i> 336c.	70. 5	<i>et</i> 415b.	121. 8	<i>mt</i> 354cd.
12	<i>t</i> 408a.	73. 6	<i>et</i> 363b, 447b.	123. 6	<i>t</i> 386d.
12. 2	<i>t</i> 346d.	75. 3	<i>em</i> 385b.	125. 8	<i>t</i> 533b.
14. 7	<i>t</i> 509b, 537d.	6	<i>e</i> 358c.	128. 7	<i>t</i> 430c.
11	<i>t</i> 427cd, 565a.	9	<i>mt</i> 388a.	131. 7	<i>t</i> 386d.
12	<i>t</i> 482bc.	76. 5	<i>e</i> 534b.	132. 2	<i>mt</i> 341d.
18. 14	<i>tw</i> 403b, 455d.	6	<i>et</i> 562c.	134. 1	<i>t</i> 399a; <i>ew</i> 541d.
20. 3	<i>m</i> emended 506c.	77. 1	<i>w</i> 521c.	136. 1	<i>t</i> 341ab.
22. 5	<i>mt</i> 341d.	2	<i>m</i> 345d.	137. 1	<i>t</i> 341ab.
9	<i>t</i> 373a.	4	<i>etw</i> 521c.	1	<i>w</i> 512d.
23. 5	<i>e</i> 562b.	8	<i>m</i> 524d.	140. 3	<i>e</i> 384d, 395cd,
6	<i>m</i> 338b.	78. 2	<i>m</i> 345d.		363a.
7	<i>e</i> 336b.	3	<i>m</i> 345d.	141. 4	<i>e</i> 336d.
24. 1	<i>e</i> 409a, 412a.	6	<i>t</i> 345c.	142. 1	<i>e</i> 353b.
25. 4	<i>e</i> 335b.	79. 7	<i>e</i> 451d.	5	<i>m</i> 338c.
26. 1	<i>m</i> 362b.	82. 3	<i>t</i> 444b.	146. 3	<i>e</i> 376d.
27. 20	<i>t</i> 341ab.	83. 6	<i>e</i> 375c.	148. 2	<i>m</i> 334a.
21	<i>e</i> 534bc.	7	<i>t</i> 342b.	150. 4	<i>mt</i> 388a.
28. 10, 11	<i>t</i> 445a.	84. 1	<i>t</i> 520b.	152. 2	<i>tw</i> 477ab.
29. 1	<i>ew</i> 505bc.	2	<i>m</i> 376a.	153. 1	<i>et</i> 362c.
30. 14	<i>et</i> 363bc.	85. 1	<i>t</i> 341ab.	160. 1	<i>e</i> 336d.
31. 9	<i>m</i> 556d, 485d,	5	<i>t</i> 493d; <i>ew</i> 495b.	3	<i>w</i> 473a.
	446d.	24	<i>t</i> 386cd, 557c.	165. 1	<i>t</i> 385b.
34. 14	<i>t</i> 386c.	37	<i>t</i> 557a.	3	<i>t</i> 389c.
35. 10	<i>mt</i> 429b.	43	<i>t</i> 376d.	4	<i>t</i> 386d.
37. 10	<i>w</i> 485c.	46	<i>mt</i> 404a, 420c,	178. 1	<i>t</i> 341b.
39. 1	<i>ew</i> 546c.		426d.	2	<i>t</i> 341ab, 386d.
8	<i>mw</i> 516c.	87. 3	<i>t</i> 342b.	183. 2	<i>e</i> 412a, 404a, 413c.
40. 7	<i>etw</i> 529d.	16	<i>e</i> 359c.	184. 2	<i>t</i> 544c.
8	<i>em</i> 330d.	17	<i>mt</i> 535c.		
9	<i>et</i> 348c.	19	<i>tw</i> 370c.	Vál.	
42. 7	<i>mt</i> 548ab.	90. 1	<i>t</i> 471ab.	2. 10	<i>ew</i> 377d.
44. 9	<i>t</i> 386c.	10	<i>mw</i> 509d.	8. 4	<i>e</i> 353b.
45. 12	<i>mt</i> 548b.	14	<i>tw</i> 370c.	11. 3	<i>mw</i> 393c.
46. 5	<i>e</i> 353c; <i>m</i> 481a,	91. 13	<i>w</i> 473d.	4	<i>m</i> 338b.
	501c.	92. 9	<i>mw</i> 540d.	6	<i>t</i> 397a.
6	<i>mt</i> 388a.	14	<i>ew</i> 523c, 6a, 8a,	A V. i.	
7	<i>et</i> 410d, 414c;		551d.	18. 2	<i>w</i> 474b
	<i>tw</i> 458d.	93. 1	<i>mw</i> 391c.	3	<i>t</i> 412a.
		94. 11	<i>t</i> 345b.	20. 2	<i>ew</i> 418c.

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 3. 6 *w* 482c.
 6. 5 *tw* 477d.
 27. 7 *w* 491b.
 35. 4 *t* 410a.
 A.V. iii.
 19. 1 *t* 406d.
 20. 6 *et* 336d.
 A.V. iv.
 3. 3 *t* 432d.
 4. 4 *mt* 348c.
 24. 4 *ew* 362d.
 25. 1 *mt* 403d, 413b.
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 4. 10 *mt* 558b.
 19. 2 *w* 506d.
 22. 11 *t* 495c.
 23. 12 *mt* 557ab.
 24. 3 *t* 430a.
 25. 3 *t* 544c.
 27. 6 *ew* 420d.
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 4. 3 *t* 432d.
 23. 3 *w* 482c.
 35. 2 *ew* 567cd.
 41. 1 *mt* 383bc.
 52. 3 *w* 470c.
 59. 2 *t* 377b.
 96. 1 *mt* 371d.
 133. 4 *mt* 424b-5a.
 A.V. vii.
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 81. 1 *t* 348a.
 97. 1 *t* 513b.
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 2. 28 *t* 406d.
 3. 17 *mt* 535c.
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- A.V. xi.
 1. 2 *t* 345b.
 26 *e* 337a.
 3. 19 *e* 562b.
 4. 2 *mt* 554a.
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 3. 16 *ew* 415a.
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 2. 12 *w* 474a; *t* 565a.
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 37. 2 *t* 412a.
 38. 1 *ew* 372a.
 55. 3 *t* 412a.
 60. 1 *t* 414a.
 61. 1 *t* 412a.
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- V.S.
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 xxx. 14 *w* 408a.
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 559c.
 48 *et* 552cd.
- T.S. i.
 3. 2 *ew* 481a.
 14⁶ *e* 433a.
 5. 11³ *t* 564c.
 8. 14¹ *t* 468b.
 T.S. ii.
 2. 6³ *ew* 506d.
 3. 10¹ *w* 466a.
 T.S. iii.
 2. 8⁴ *w* 447ab.
 3. 11⁶ *e* 337a.
 4. 4¹ *t* 377b.
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 4. 9 *w* 466a, 523b.
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- Cat.Br. xii.
 5. 2⁸ *ew* 512d.
- T.Br. i.
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SANSKRIT INDEX.

THE order in which the different classes of stems are treated in the several sections of the foregoing article may be seen from the Synopsis after the General Index. In every section the cases and numbers follow each other in regular sequence. It will therefore be easy to find at once those words about whose stem and ending there is no doubt.

This Index gives the words whose analysis is uncertain, whose form or construction is ambiguous, whose accent is peculiar (and of these alone the accent is marked), or which are in any way noteworthy enough to call for special mention in the body of the article. In case of failure to find a compound by its first member, look for the last.

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